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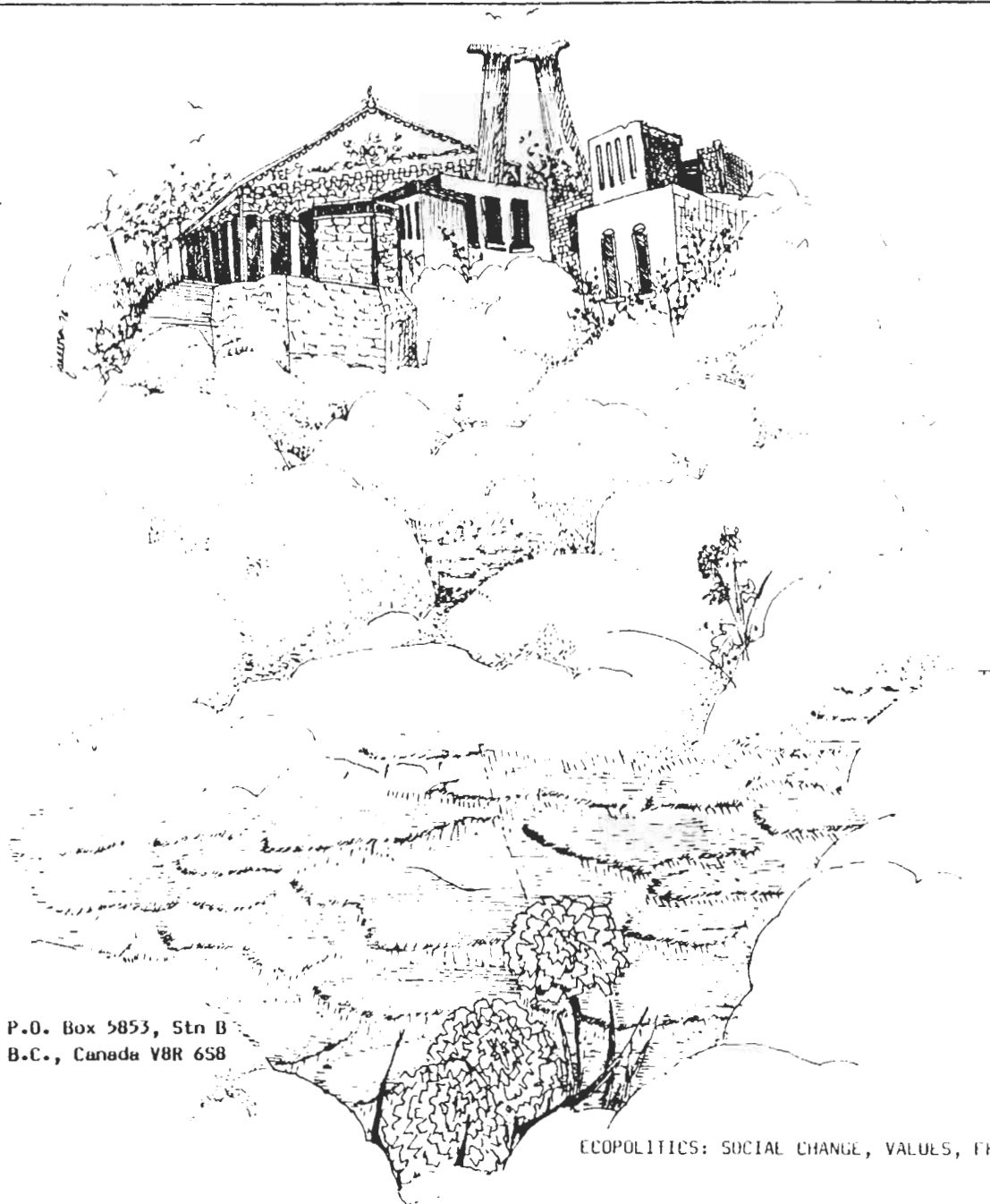


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# THE TRUMPETER

*Voices From the  
Canadian Ecophilosophy Net Work*

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ECOPOLITICS: SOCIAL CHANGE, VALUES, FREEDOM AND PEACE

# THE TRUMPETER

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### The Aims of The Trumpeter

Our basic aim is to provide a diversity of perspectives on environmental relationships and Nature. By "diversity" we mean cross- and transdisciplinary reflections from both scholarly and nonscholarly sources. Our purpose is to investigate ecophilosophy as this manifests itself in the activities and lives of people working in different ways to come to a deeper and more harmonious understanding and relationship of self, community and Nature. **The Trumpeter** is dedicated to exploration of and contributions to a new ecological consciousness and sensibilities, and the practice of forms of life imbued with ecosophy (ecological wisdom). **Published Quarterly by LightStar Press, P.O. Box 5853, Stn. B., Victoria, B.C., Canada V8R 6S8.**

**FUTURE AND BACK ISSUES:** Future 1987 issues will feature articles on community, technology, ecofeminism, paganism, ancient ecology and other topics. **Back Issues** of Vols. 1, 2, & 3 are still available. Vol. 1 presents basic ecophilosophical concepts and reading lists; Vol. 2 features a three issue focus on ecoagriculture; Vol. 3 has a three issue focus on wilderness. Each volume of back issues \$10 per set, includes postage and handling.

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## ECOPOLITICS: AN INTRODUCTION

By Alan R. Drengson, Editor

It is well to remind ourselves, at the beginning of this issue, why we address the topic of ecopolitics. Environmental politics is of recent origins, especially in North America. The environmental movement as a political phenomena began with 19th century conservation and preservation efforts. The early environmentalists were reacting to the adverse effects of the emerging industrial society on its environment and resources. As time went on, and industrialization intensified, the technological balance between sustainable ecosystems and human technology began to shift. Human numbers increased and our collective impacts were magnified by machines. The damage to the urban, rural and wild environments by industrial machines became more serious as time went by. Today our technological power gives us the dubious distinction of being the single most potent force of biological change on the planet.

Our technological power rivals those fundamental to Nature. We have realized the visions of Bacon and Descartes--to master and control Nature--beyond their wildest dreams. But far from achieving Utopia, we are on the verge of ecological catastrophe and nuclear apocalypse. We live in a world with declining margins of ecological safety, made less secure as our powers increase.

Although the twin spectres of catastrophe and apocalypse haunt our visions, small catastrophes are happening everyday in specific areas, in more glaring ways--as in the Chernobyl disaster and the Rhine River chemical spill, and in more insidious ways--as in ground water pollution by agricultural chemicals. Studies of the major environmental problems show that even if we shifted most of our global military spending toward solving them, we still would be in a race with time. According to some authorities, we have one hundred years to turn things around, provided we start right now and put forth our best effort. Otherwise, the problems, taken together, could end our civilization and possibly human life on the planet. Those problems are: acid rain, toxic wastes, nuclear annihilation, nuclear fallout and pollution from power plants, diseases and epidemics, habitat destruction and species extinction, destruction of forests, ground and surface water pollution, air pollution, the green house effect, soil degradation and erosion, desertification, climactic and oceanic changes, and depletion of the ozone layer.

This is a stunning set of problems which we have created, and since we are beings with the capacity for moral choice and spiritual perfection, the existence of such problems is symptomatic of flaws in practice, character and culture. These are all matters we can address, for they fall within the range of our responsibility for personal and social

action. They can only be addressed, however, through a political process.

The emergence of environmental politics, then, is a response to the gravity of our situation. Environmentalism, as we have noted, began as an attempt to preserve park and wildlands for human use, to conserve resources for future use, and to improve the urban environments for human benefit. As environmental politics developed it was forced to respond to minicrises. It tried to deal with environmental problems in a piecemeal way. It adopted a basically reformist approach. Reform ecopolitics attempts to work totally within the existing structures, forms of thought and practice. It aims mainly to make them more efficient, less wasteful, less damaging, but it does not attempt any deeper critique of those practices.

We have had many decades of relatively successful reform environmentalism. A wide variety of measures and changes have come in its sway. On the whole, their effect has been to slow the rate of increase of degradation. They have almost nowhere reversed existing trends.

Because reform environmentalism does not seem to be moving fast enough to save us from ecosystem collapse, and also because wildlands have become more and more intruded upon--despite efforts at protection, it has been concluded by many people that the reform approach is not going to work because it is flawed by its piecemeal, anthropocentric approach. The environment is a whole, they say, a community of living organisms and processes, complex, diverse; its evolutionary, emergent processes are poorly understood. Because of this, some think that a more radical alternative is needed. This more radical position says our approach to politics must reflect an ecological consciousness and sensibility capable of understanding the symmetries between the internal relationships forming the self, and the external relationships to culture, technology and Nature.

In the wider political context, the greening of politics represents a movement away from power and toward accommodation with the realities of human embodiment. It is a movement away from domination, hierarchy and centralized control. It is premised on the assumption that our species is but one small part of a much larger network of interrelationships. Just as there should be no domination and subjugation in human society, so should there be none in our relations with Nature. We should strive for balance and harmony.

Deep ecology, as a philosophy, represents one of the more radical Western approaches to the philosophy of harmony with Nature, and the Green Party represents one of the more radical of the political parties concerned with creating a non-violent, sustainable culture. This is why, in this issue, we consider Green politics and the philosophical issues connected with ecopolitics.

We are at a rare time of great power and insecurity, never before experienced in human history. Its problems should galvanize us to bold actions and deep commitments, for we need the courage and the intelligence to create new practices more responsible and suitable to this power. The articles that are collected in this issue discuss these over-riding concerns at the philosophical level. As will be clear from them, ecopolitics involves the range of considerations that connect self-realization, community participation, bioregionalism, appropriate technology, humanistic psychology, environmental ethics, and a new ecological metaphysics and ontology. This involves a concern with the ecology of the self, community and Nature. Furthermore, ecopolitics cuts across traditional ideological, national and other boundaries. It brings us to the realization that self-defense, whether the self is the individual, family, community, nation or species, must be defense of the other. In this way, the emergence of ecopolitics makes many of the traditional debates irrelevant.

**Don Alexander** leads off with an overview of Green politics and philosophy. He shows how the various issues connected with ecopolitics fit into the larger terrain. From his paper we get an idea of where deep ecology might fit into anarchism, the peace movement, and economic justice. A question that arises is whether there can be a melding of these various elements that might bring unity to an ecopolitics of survival and conviviality. **David McRobert** focuses on Green politics in Canada, and provides a fairly good idea of some of the practical complexities involved in effective ecopolitical thought and action. **Mark Kinzley** focuses on the ideological disputes that have arisen amongst the British Greens, especially the contentious matter of centralization vs. decentralization. How can one be a decentralist and yet effective nationally and internationally? We can not repair environmental damage without national and global effort. "Think globally, act locally" is a good slogan, but what does it mean in specific contexts? Kinzley argues in favor of a decentralized ideology. **Stephanie Mills** offers some reflections on the politics of resistance and ecotage (sabotage of ecologically damaging activities). She gives us a sense of how passionate many activists feel about protecting the Earth. As she points out, "Earth First!" is an organization that takes as its motto, "no compromise in the defense of the Earth!" Humans must be willing to make sacrifices in order to protect the Earth and save wilderness. She also explores the relationship between Deep Ecology and radical activism, in order to determine which of the basic elements of Deep Ecology are of value to the activist. **Christopher Manes** pursues this line of thought in more detail in his paper on Deep Ecology and revolutionary

thought. He shows how a deep ecological inquiry and exploration can lead us to deeper forms of commitment. Deep Ecology is a revolutionary way of thinking and being that has ancient roots. In a harmonic resonance with Manes, **David Sparenberg** voices his approval of revolution, provided it is a revolution in unconditional love, which he goes on to define. Finally, **David Bennett** and **Richard Sylvan** consider in theoretic terms the possible compatibility and meshing of Deep Ecology and Green Politics. They conclude that there are many points of common agreement, but that Green Politics needs to shed some of its anthropocentrism, and Deep Ecology needs to be more specific about political and social remedies.

All of the above papers assume the need and possibility for change and the means to bring it about. **Morris Berman** sounds more somber notes about the difficulties of social change, in his reflections on the lessons from Chernobyl. While we have rapid social change, there is no change in fundamental values, and, he points out, people resist changing their values and habits. We expect Chernobyl to make some immediate and clear difference, but for these reasons it does not. **Michael Caley** offers some additional thoughts on the difficulties of change, and asks whether certain people--who know where we ought to go--ought to lead the rest, and if so, how? He thinks that we have to each live by the wisdom that is ours; it is by being this wisdom that we are most influential, not by pushing others too hard--a valuable lesson we can learn from Taoism. **David Sparenberg** contributes a second piece to this issue on ecopolitics, which is almost a prose poem on needed fundamental changes in our presencing and relating, growing from an initial respect, to a deeper appreciation for each other and for Nature. He calls for a new politics of integrity, authenticity and respect. **Francoise Dagenais** takes up the crucial issue of freedom and considers the need for an appropriate philosophy, one that is nondogmatic, a philosophical practice that appreciates the emergent qualities of human being. She discusses the emergence of a new ontology and vision of Nature that leads to an ethics of emergence. She points out that our ontology can be liberating or confining. **Arne Naess** returns to the issue of values once more, and outlines an approach which he finds helpful in understanding what is involved in appreciating something for its inherent value. This involves acting for its sake. This is a transforming exercise--at least I have found it such.

In the last group of papers the focus is on the human person and things each of us can do to transform our own lives, which in itself is a political act. In the first of the last four papers **Kendel Rust** presents a vision of the Earth returning to wholeness, with human help--much of

which is noninterference. He emphasizes the importance of having such a vision as an empowering and encouraging part of our whole practice. **John-Francis Phipps** offers some profound reflections on the deeper meanings of peace. He stresses the need to develop a philosophy of peace that gets to the metaphysical heart of what peace is as a way of living. He analyzes the degree to which traditional, dualistic metaphysics sews seeds of conflict in our very thinking, and how peace has been traditionally associated with heaven, and seen as otherworldly, unrealistic. This is part of a process which makes violence appear strong, when it is not. Phipps inquires into the ecology and meaning of peace as a positive reality. **Franz Alt**, considers the implications of The Sermon on the Mount to our current personal, national and international situation. He shows the connections between the ethic of love--as taught by Jesus, and the need for a new responsibility--with its appropriate ethic. Alt finds the ethic of the Sermon to be just the one we need. The ethic of love is the active realization of states of being with intrinsic worth. It is an ethic of deep self-knowledge and compassion for all others. From this ethic to act from love is to act for the sake of the other. Finally, **Thich Nhat Hanh** sheds light on what it is to be peace. He describes in simple terms some subtle, yet effective, transformative practices that enable us to realize our true self nature. By being aware, breathing and smiling we can purify ourselves, and also transform all of our relationships into positive ones. While we know too much about waging war, we know too little about being peace. The only way to know peace is to be it.

The articles in this issue complement one another and form thematic unities. We are delighted with their quality and diversity. However, their quantity forced us to shorten the other sections of this issue.



**THE RE-GREENING OF NORTH AMERICA:  
An Overview of Green Politics and Philosophy**  
By Don Alexander

From North America to Europe

What is the "Green" movement? Green is philosophy, sensibility, and politics. It is an attempt at a new theoretical synthesis that goes beyond the traditional ideological bottlenecks represented by the Victorian philosophies of

capitalism and communism. A number of principles have been advanced to sum up the Green perspective. The ones the German Greens have come up with are a good place to start: ecology, non-violence, social responsibility, and grass-roots democracy.

Ecology is the jumping-off point for Green philosophy. Increasingly, non-mainstream thinkers have realized that without a new orientation to nature, attempts at social change will reproduce traditional hierarchies. Both capitalism and communism are characterized by the attitude that human comfort and freedom can only be obtained at the expense of nature, that the salvation of humanity lies in technology and constantly expanding production. While creating cultures characterized by relative degrees of affluence, such systems have done little for the human soul, and have if anything left it further degraded and impoverished.

Green philosophy was developed in reaction to the "productivism" and "materialism" of modern technological society. This philosophy is grounded in the insights furnished by the "subversive science" of ecology. Instead of the hierarchical paradigm offered by capitalism and communism (with humanity at the summit), ecology has emphasized that all species have a co-equal role in maintaining the eco-system, that the web of nature is far too complex to be blithely manipulated by scientific technocrats for dubious ends. Green thinkers have recognized that any political project which seeks to abolish the domination of human by human will fail, if the **sensibility** of domination is maintained in our relations with nature. Ironically, it is within that most technologically advanced and rapacious nation, the United States, that the ecological counter-current finds some of its strongest roots, and where the modern environmental movement first came to prominence.

The second principle, non-violence, also owes much of its recent renaissance to the U.S., where Martin Luther King and anti-war activists have carried on the work of Mohandas K. Gandhi;--who learned from Thoreau--who in turn had learned from the Vedantic tradition. The Greens in Europe have extended the principle of non-violence from the realm of human beings to the way humans treat nature--to other species, and to the biosphere as a whole.

The principle of social responsibility (or social justice) comes from the tradition of socialism and communism, but the Greens have reinterpreted this principle in ways that the solutions envisioned are relatively non-authoritarian and minimize violence. Moreover, there is the recognition that upgrading people's "standard of living" cannot be done at the expense of nature. Again, this kind of thinking (minus ecological consciousness) was a strong component of the early civil rights movement and SDS.<sup>1</sup>

The fourth principle, grassroots democracy, also derives in part from the political culture of the United States, a counter-tradition to the highly spectacularized nature of professional politics. Thus, a concern for grassroots empowerment forms an important part of the legacy of the early New Left.

#### From Europe to North America

While not wishing to downplay the importance of indigenous European traditions (such as German Romanticism), I believe it can be said with some justification that North America, particularly the U.S., furnished many of the elements which later evolved into European Green politics. After a promising start, the New Left became enmeshed in its own contradictions and was overrun by authoritarian ideologies (Marxism-Leninism). At which point the ball shifted to Europe, and the Europeans--the Germans, in particular--took the unfinished elements created by the New Left and allowed them to germinate in the receptive soil of the post-60's ecology and citizens' movements, gradually shaping them into a more unified and coherent philosophy.

Now, perhaps, the point has been reached where the Europeans have run up against their limitations. While certainly not dead in the water, the European Green movement is stalemated. In the case of Germany, the "middle of the road" has predominated. The "visionary" Fundis and the "pragmatic" Realos are kept in an unstable equilibrium by those who refuse to lean in either direction.<sup>2</sup> While this uneasy alliance has lasted longer than I certainly thought possible, its endurance cannot conceal the profound and ultimately explosive contradictions which it is masking. Entering into the parliamentary arena, whole boosting the popularity of the Greens, has catalyzed the "right-wingers", and has also had the effect of making the Greens' credibility dependent on their performance at the polls, which, after a lull, has actually improved--a result of Chernobyl and rampant pollution in the Rhine river.

#### The North American Scene

Meanwhile, in North America, the Green movement--in its bioregional, ecofeminist, deep ecology, social ecology, Green Party, and Committee of Correspondence<sup>3</sup> manifestations--has been picking up steam. It is as if, in the ongoing game of transatlantic volleyball, the ball is once more in the North American court. The outstanding contradiction which the Europeans were not able to solve, and which confronts North American Greens, is the lack of a programme on the part of the "visionaries", and the lack of a vision on the part of the "pragmatists". Whether North American Greens will be able to meet this challenge--of deepening the vision, while at the same time creating a "transitional programme"--remains to be seen. To

gauge the potential requires a brief survey of the North American scene.

As mentioned earlier, there are a number of methods one can use to classify the Greens: one can classify according to philosophy, according to sensibility, or according to politics. First, in terms of relevant guiding philosophies, four major ones have arisen in recent years: **social ecology**, **deep ecology**, **bioregionalism**, and **ecofeminism**. **Social ecology**, developed by anarchist philosopher Murray Bookchin, is an attempt to study how social developments have affected humanity's relationship with nature, and how nature and culture might be re-harmonized. For Bookchin the idea and practice of dominating nature derives from the idea and practice of dominating other humans. **Deep ecology**, developed by Arne Naess, George Sessions, Bill Devall, and others, attacks **anthropocentrism**--the notion that nature exists as a mere resource for human beings. Its understanding of the "social question" is explored via its conception of extended self-identification. This leads to "biocentrism"--the idea that all life-forms have equal claim to flourish; none can claim a right to dominate the others. **Bioregionalism** is the philosophy, redolent of the Native American worldview, that the human species functions best (to its own and Nature's benefit) when it identifies with a particular "place"--a bioregion (defined by geographical and biological features)--and strives to live within its contextual limits. **Ecofeminism** recognizes the interrelatedness between (the) human oppression (of women) and the oppression of nature. Ecofeminism, in addition, stresses that the disease of domination (in all its forms) derives from a particular psychic structure characteristic of patriarchal society.

A second way the Green movement can be divided is according to "sensibility". Some Greens, Rudolph Bahro being a singularly good example, are messianic in ambience. Their effectiveness is limited by their lack of a programme and by their "John the Baptist" attitude: "Repent! The end is near! Make way for the new ecological millenium!" Their vision is so apocalyptic that they fail, or do not know how, to move ordinary people to take the first halting steps towards a more ecological lifestyle, or to adopt more ecological patterns of thought.

Then there are the counter-culturalists who, by going back to the land, have developed a lot of the skills that make an alternative lifestyle and bioregional economic practice possible. Many are involved in the bioregional movement because, as back-to-the-landers, they have a strong sense of place.

The third group I call the "Green Technologists", exemplified by Mark Satin and the **New Options** newsletter.<sup>4</sup> They have links with New Age determinists (Teilhardians), who see the coming

"New Age" as preordained. Their methodology is eclectic. **New Options** takes from the left and the right as well as from elsewhere, and it tries to put together a "post-liberal" synthesis that will bring everyone together. The approach seems top-down, in contrast with radical Greens who seek to ground their philosophy and ideals in traditional wisdom and in a broad-based populist movement. The technologic Greens at times seem merely to want to give the old technocratic system a new coat of paint.

The third way of categorizing Greens is according to politics. At the one extreme, there are those with decided neo-Malthusian tendencies. They blame the ecological crisis on over-population. (This trend goes back to the work of Paul Ehrlich and Garret Hardin). Some of these theorists hold the people of the Third World as responsible for current environmental problems as the so-called "developed" peoples, when, in fact, rapid population growth and the current disastrous state of agriculture in the Third World can be related to the policies of the industrial, the same nations which also consume the majority of the world's non-renewable "resources". In some cases, the suffering of the poor is seen as an inevitable working-out of a "law of nature". This point of view can at times verge on eco-fascism.<sup>5</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum are "left-wing" Greens, like the "Fundis" in Germany who have assimilated elements of value in the socialist and anarchist traditions, and have a developed critique of society and of oppressions founded on race, class, gender, and political power. Murray Bookchin has been a particularly forceful exponent of this trend. His **social ecology** can be said to represent a new and valuable synthesis of anarchism, ecology, feminist and organic philosophy. While many ecophilosophers of the 70s and 80s see their recently found eco-wisdom as the new "leading edge", Murray Bookchin has been advancing these ideas since before the first Earth Day:

Our cities must be decentralized into communities or ecocommunities, exquisitely and artfully tailored to the carrying capacity of the ecosystems in which they are located. Our technologies must be re-adapted and advanced into eco-technologies, exquisitely and artfully adapted to make use of local energy sources and materials, with minimal or no pollution of the environment. We must recover a new sense of our needs--needs that foster a healthful life and express our individual proclivities, not 'needs' dictated by the mass media. We must restore the human scale in our environment and in our social relations. . .<sup>6</sup>

In the middle, between left and right, are the lukewarm Greens, who have taken German Green slogans and concepts and watered them down to make them more innocuous and less threatening. In the process this has converted their position into a sort of grey liberalism that is not radical or distinct enough to offer an alternative to the major parties. Furthermore, it is not environmentally focused enough to act as a strong pole inside the existing parties.

#### A Call to Radical Greens

As mentioned earlier, the Green movement is a product of an ongoing game of transatlantic volleyball, and the ball is in our court. As my brief (and admittedly opinionated) survey reveals, the Green movement in North America is highly heterogeneous, and it is impossible to generalize about what will happen. As Green principles and approaches filter into the mainstream (thus making for wider acceptance), the basis is formed for a popular Green movement. At the same time, as Green philosophy becomes more "vulgar" and diffuse, and as devotees of the old paradigm get on the bandwagon, what is to prevent Green politics and philosophy from becoming an enormous melting pot where the various colours merge into a uniform blend of grey? One way to resist this would be for radical Greens to continue to clarify the ecophilosophical, anarchist, feminist and Native American roots of our Green perspective, with an eye towards promoting theoretical cohesiveness.

But we should also begin to network and coalesce, not only in our cities and bio-regions, but also within a national framework. Not in order to field candidates for public office, but in order to take advantage of the quite different political and cultural traditions obtaining in our respective countries. In this way we can begin to build a distinct cultural, social and planetary ethos to replace the dominant technocratic one. The new ethos should build on the traditional strengths of Native peoples and populist movements of both Canada and the United States. Only in this way will we avoid having our movement hijacked by members of the "professional managerial class," who would give the movement an elitist edge.

As we deepen our vision, we must also work hard to develop a programme for how we get "there from here." To create such a programme will not be as difficult as it seems, but it will not be, nor should anyone expect, a detailed blueprint. It is not for lack of a blueprint that radical Greens fail to come up with alternatives to reformist environmentalism. Specific proposals remain dead letters without a "critical mass" of activists pulling in the same direction. Once we become clear on "what is to be done" (i.e. in what direction to go), the "programme" will formulate itself.

## Notes

1. SDS is the acronym for Students for a Democratic Society, the main radical student organization in the U.S. in the 1960's.
2. "Fundis" is short for "Fundamentalists", the name of the radical faction, and "Realos" is short for "Realpolitickers", the faction which wants to merge with the Social Democrats.
3. "Committees of Correspondence" is the name borrowed from the American Revolution for the Green groups which are currently springing up in different parts of the U.S.
4. **New Options** is a newsletter founded and edited by Mark Satin. It is published monthly in Washington, D.C.
5. See, e.g., the interview with Dave Foreman in **Simply Living**, an attractive "greenish" publication from Manly, Australia. The interview was in Vol. 2, No. 12. The relevant remarks were reprinted and critiqued in the Canadian anarchist publication, **Kick It Over**, in their Winter '86/'87 issue. Dave Foreman is a spokesperson for **Earth First!**, a radical environmental organization dedicated to direct action to save wilderness areas and species.
6. From "The Power to Create, the Power to Destroy" in **Toward an Ecological Society** by Murray Bookchin, Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1980, pp. 42-43. This essay was written in 1969 and revised a decade later.

**Don Alexander** is the editor of **Up From the Ashes**, a newsletter on Green politics, co-edits and writes for **Kick It Over**, an anarchist journal, and is beginning a Masters in Canadian Heritage Studies at Trent University in Peterborough. For sample copies of the above publications write to: P.O. Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1P2.

## THE GREEN MOVEMENT IN CANADA

By David McRobert

In February 1983, a new era began in Canadian politics. Approximately 200 British Columbia residents formed an organization under the rubric of the "Green Party" and announced that they intended to contest several seats in an upcoming Provincial election. Not to be outdone by their B.C. counterparts, a group of environmental activists in Toronto announced the formation of the Green Party of Ontario in May 1983.

Political observers and critics predicted an early demise for the Greens in Canada. They pointed out that many of the policies advocated by Canadian Greens were part of the platforms of the New Democratic Party on both the provincial and federal levels. Bob Rae, leader of the NDP in Ontario, told a reporter for **Maclean's** magazine in December 1983 that Green politics is irrelevant in Canada.

Over the next 18 months much of the excitement and optimism that the Greens initially generated in the media and among those interested in the transformation of our political institutions would die down. After more than two years of struggle to get established in Canada, the jury is still out on the future of Green Parties in Canada.

The main reason for this indeterminacy would seem to result from the nature of Green politics. The fundamental values that Greens promote such as local control and consensus decision-making appear to be in conflict with attempts to broaden their political support base.

This emphasis on local control has encouraged a divergence of views on how best to intervene politically to protect the environment. Historically, many environmentalists have preferred to employ techniques such as education, non-partisan lobbying or working within the established parties in Canada to, for example, promote environmental law reform. In this way, these environmentalists have realized some of their aspirations for environmental protection or conservation.

In contrast, those attracted to the Green Movement in Canada so far seem more strongly oriented to partisan political activity at the expense of these more traditional lobbying techniques. However, serious questions can be raised about the future success of this approach. Recent federal and Ontario provincial election results show that the Canadian public is not ready to vote for Green parties in Canada.

The failure of Greens to attract electoral support and the difficulties encountered in formation of an official party machinery appear to have vindicated early critics. However, two of the basic strategies of the Greens--the politicization of environmentalists and the linkage of the peace movement and environmentalism--remain the essential tasks in the pursuit of social change in the industrial nations.

There are two major reasons for the limited political support for the Greens in Canada, despite growing public concern about the arms race and environmental degradation. To many Canadians, ecological politics seems an imported movement. These people have gained awareness of the Green movement through the success of the West German party. That group has achieved considerable political support for their environmental and anti-nuclear platforms. The West German Greens, who formed a party in 1980, have consistently earned around five percent of the popular vote in state and federal elections over the past four years. This share of the vote has translated into approximately 27 seats in the Bundestag (West German Parliament), as well as seats in the state and local councils.



This success reflects the system of proportional representation in that country which grants expression to minority viewpoints. In contrast, most parliamentary democracies in English tradition stress a form of representational politics which is non-proportional and "the winner takes all." This deprives legitimate minority interests of the right to express their concerns in our parliamentary system.

The charge that Green politics is an imported movement probably does have some validity. But importation of the concept of ecological politics into Canada is not a recent event. The notion was born of the counter-culture movement in the 1960s. It was not until the early 1970s that people in the industrial nations, concerned about the deteriorating state of the environment, actually began to suspect that fundamental changes were required in our political system.

Green parties are one type of response to this desire to bring environmental issues into political prominence. Another approach favoured by many supporters of ecological politics would emphasize building a "Green Movement", a network among various groups interested in alternative technology, holistic health care, anti-nuclear protest and environmental protection.

The other major reason why the Greens have failed to receive support in Canada is that they are perceived as a one-issue party. For example, some critics claim that the Greens separate their concern for the environment from other important social and economic issues. This portrayal of the Greens seriously maligns the holistic approach of the movement, however. In response to this charge, Trevor Hancock, a Toronto physician and founding member of the Ontario Greens, comments: "Sure, we are a one-issue party. The issue is survival of the planet. If you're looking at the transformation of social values, that has implications in all dimensions of public policy."

Hancock's point highlights one of the major dilemmas that the Greens face in the attempt to publicize their aspirations. The media often has a tendency to reduce complex political policies to slogans. The significance of the holistic nature of ecological politics is simplified in the process.

Green politics, however, deserves more than a cursory dismissal from those active in or sympathetic to environmental issues. In fact, the Green Movement in Canada contains the seeds of a process of reorientation of our culture on a fundamental level. Greens argue that the real problem facing the industrialized West is a crisis of values, a lack of spiritual development, and the growth of centralized, hierarchical institutions which rob people of their role in decision-making.

Perhaps the most progressive aspect of the Green movement is the rejection of the traditional political spectrum as a basis for interpretation of

existing economic, social and ecological problems. As Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak observe in their recent book, **Green Politics: The Global Promise**, the slogan of the West German Greens--"We are neither the left nor right, we are in front"--encapsulates the essence of this view. The old ideological battle lines, they argue, are no longer relevant to the problems of a society on the brink of ecological catastrophe.

Consequently the goal of Green economics is not to appease labour or reward business initiative, but to shift the economics of modern industrial societies from growth to sustainability. Such a shift would require significant improvements in recycling, soil conservation, renewable energy use and other "soft paths" in the technical realm. Moreover, a sustainable economy would necessitate considerable institutional renovation. The Greens argue that urban-industrial society is ruled by "dinosaur" corporations and institutions which control the allocation of capital, energy and resources. These large corporations promote inefficient use of resources and often seem unable to respond to fluctuations in the demand for their product and services without extreme difficulty---witness Ontario Hydro.

The Greens reject increasing centralization in the corporate sector and advocate a type of qualitative shift in our socio-economic structure that would encourage greater work flexibility and smaller-scale co-operative businesses. This approach to economics also has considerable implications for social relationships in a Conserver Society. For example, some Greens argue that greater work flexibility, job-sharing, and co-operative business ventures would require new approaches to leisure, child care and other activities.

An important feature of Green politics is the open nature of the decision-making process. Murray Bookchin, an environmental activist involved with the Greens in Vermont, recently noted at an International Youth Conference in Toronto that the West German Greens are attempting to radicalize democracy and re-inject a sense of empowerment into decision-making. Bookchin maintains that "people are not citizens. They have been reduced to constituencies who merely vote and taxpayers who merely pay. They play no role in the political process that exists today. Hence we need a new politics."

Bookchin is convinced that empowerment can be achieved through "thinking globally and acting locally." This is a catch-phrase employed by Greens to describe their sensitivity to the need for local action. Rather than attempting to look elsewhere for problems to solve, Greens believe that solutions to environmental problems start at home.

Evaluation of the Greens' first three years in Canada is a difficult task. In Europe the presence

of the Greens has widened the content of the current political debate. However, in Canada the impact of the Greens in the last two major elections was relatively small. While the Greens did encourage discussion of specific environmental issues (such as pollution in the Junction Triangle), they have been ineffective in their attempts to initiate a critical discussion of social transformation along the lines proposed in their theories of decentralization and the promotion of economic sustainability. Moreover, their non-partisan activities, such as organizing non-violent protests to the logging of Meares Island, have often attracted far more media attention and public interest.

At the same time, it is noteworthy that many Green candidates generally were well received in the recent federal and Ontario elections. In the 1984 federal election, more than 50 Greens contested seats. Eighteen of the candidates were from B.C. and 27 were from Ontario, but Greens vied for seats in Alberta (7), Quebec (4), Saskatchewan (2), and Prince Edward Island (1). In view of the scant resources available to the Canadian Greens, participation in this election was an effective way to make the Canadian public aware that ecological politics had indeed arrived.

In terms of actual impact where politics in democratic decision-making matter--the election of individuals--the federal effort was disappointing. In no case did the Green vote surpass the gap between the runner-up and the winner in any of the ridings. Thus the Greens did not act as "spoilers" and influence the existing distribution of powers between the major three parties. Moreover, while the Greens came in ahead of the other "minor" party candidates in Ontario, the B.C. Rhinos and the Western Canadian Concept Party (Alberta) frequently attracted more votes than Green candidates.

In the Southern Ontario ridings in and around Toronto, electoral support seems to be greatest for the Greens. The Toronto Chapter of the Green Party of Ontario fielded 11 candidates in the 1984 federal election. These candidates received about 600 votes per contested seat and that translated into less than 2 percent of the popular vote. Whether or not this result should be viewed as a success is open to debate, but the Greens certainly did add a new dimension to the Canadian electoral process through participation in the 1984 Tory sweep to power.

The federal election ultimately proved a major drain on financial resources of the different chapters that ran candidates. Some chapters subsequently collapsed and many individuals seemed to burn-out during the fund-raising activity that followed the federal election. This may explain why the Green Party of Ontario ran only 11 candidates in the recent provincial election.

Most of the initial organizers of the GPU remain undaunted by their lack of success in elections. Hancock observes that "gaining support through the electoral process will be a long and difficult struggle, but it is one that has enormous value in terms of public education."

Stressing electioneering does have drawbacks, however, given the limited resources of the GPU. Green activists in Europe are involved in developing a grassroots network of groups which link up co-operative housing initiatives and other self-help projects. For example, the West German Greens, who operate in this "multi-level" sense, are effectively known as the "political arm of the citizen's movement" according to Capra and Spretnak. In comparison, Canadian Greens have yet to link together environmental groups, Cruise Missile protestors, alternative projects in health care, women's rights groups, those working for the responsible social control of technology, and so on. This failure could prove to be one of their major problems.

This difficulty also highlights the continuing debate over whether the objectives of the Greens in Canada are better served through informal networking as a movement, rather than attempting to organize as a party. It is clear that the philosophy of the Green movement could be promoted without actually participating as a party in electoral politics. In the alternative, this would provide some political clout and might induce the NDP and other parties to adopt more far-seeing policies on certain environmental issues. In any case, as Shirley Farlinger of the Toronto Chapter of the Greens in Rosedale riding has pointed out, the Greens "are a grassroots organization. We believe in decentralized decision-making." Opportunities for Green participation in local politics are substantially greater than those available at the provincial and federal levels.

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## GREEN POLITICS AND DECENTRALIZATION OF IDEOLOGY

By Mark Kinzley

There has been a great deal written in green journals about the experience of the German Greens and their debate between Realos and Fundis, whether to tolerate or not, whether to take Government seriously or treat it as an empty charade not worth compromising for. The attention given to the debate within the German Green Party is not surprising as they have been the most successful Green Party so far. And yet for this very reason their questions are not relevant to green politics elsewhere. The German Greens are struggling with the question of what to do with the power that they have, but there is no other Green Party on the verge of holding the balance of power. Surely the experience of European green parties with no electoral success is more relevant to others? In Britain, for example, we do not have proportional representation. Our questions and our answers are a response to a lack of electoral power.

Where the German debate takes the form of what kind of policies they should put forward, British Greens are debating what kind of structure we should give our Party. At our Party Conferences no two wings of the Party can be identified in policy debates, but in debates about Party structure they exist, and it is these debates which are contentious. Whether to have a centralised and efficient national campaigning machine, or whether to go for a confederation of autonomous green parties instead of one assembly to discuss politics. Or whether to go for a confederation in which possibly not enough money would be forthcoming even to sustain a national office. Ultimately, this raised questions such as: If we imitate the structure of organizations of the establishment will we ourselves become corrupted? Do we actually **want** to get into Parliament or maintain a presence in the national media? Is the best way to overcome strength by strength? Is it more potent to recognize what we are, than to try to become what we are not? Is local autonomy the way to ineffectiveness and navel-gazing? Where does it lead?

What follows are my reflections on the debate that goes on in Britain.

In Britain the organization of the Conservative Party is the perfect example of complete decentralization! The Green Party, because of its small membership, has to work at the level of the borough. The Conservative Party has committees at the level of the ward. The ward committees administer their own party membership, and there is no obligation on them to pass any of their membership money on to the national Party. Each ward party passes on whatever percentage of their

money they feel they can afford--quite anarchistic really. The ward committees join in a federation called "The Association" in order to pool resources. They employ one election agent for the borough and share the cost. Each ward sends 6 members to make up the executive committee for a Parliamentary constituency, but this committee only meets three times a year. When they want to select a candidate for Parliament they set up a temporary "joint-selection" committee, composed of members of the ward committees. Furthermore, the candidate they select must be endorsed by a meeting open to all paid-up members in the constituency. The organization that they have at the level of the borough (composed of 3 Parliamentary constituencies) is even more minimal. They have a joint AGM at which any individual member can criticise matters within the borough party.

Some people have been saying that the Green Party is too hierarchical, too similar in its organization to the conventional Parties, that we need to pass the administration of membership and the finances down to the lowest practical level. If only we had it organized the way I just described, what a democratic anti-party Party we would be! How new, how fresh! And yet, of course, the Conservative Party has stolen the march on us. Is the Conservative Party not decentralized to perfection? Are the Conservative ward committees autonomous, or are they not? As you can see, everything is initiated by the lowest level, nothing is imposed by a higher level.

It's like a conjuror's trick. Everything in front of the camera, don't take your eyes off it, etc. And yet the autonomy is missing. How was it done? We know in our guts that the old Parties are hierarchical and centrally controlled. But where is the hierarchy? Can we actually put our finger on it? Only then dare we say "It can never happen to us". We are not Conservatives, we are Greens of course; we are different. But how does this manifest, what tangible thing is different? Otherwise, it's a difference that makes no difference.

If the decentralization of a political Party only required the decentralization of its organization, its membership, administration and its finances, then the Conservative Party would be decentralized. But since it remains centrally commanded, there must be another dimension of decentralization.

This has to be the first question a Green Party asks. It's all very well passing resolution on education and health in the local community, and so on, but lest we presume to tell a local community what it should want we better make sure the lowest level of the Party is autonomous in the local community, rather than acting as a representative to the local community of a national Party and its ideas. When the local party is representing to the

local community the ideas of a national party, then the local party can't represent the local community. Which is it? Is the local party a tool of neighborhood self-government? Is it neighborhood self-expression? Or is the local party a sales team selling a new national brand to a passive electorate?

In the old parties, if we examine the direction of flow of ideology, of ideas and policy, it is always from the top down to the local level. If a local party wants a say in policy, what options are open to it? It can propose a motion at its Party Conference and have it voted on, and perhaps this will even get into the Manifesto. If it is the elected Party for its area, it can reselect its MP. But the local party remains entirely helpless to influence the daily decision-taking of the representatives. Imagine trying to decentralize the decision-taking of the Cabinet!

This is only practical, since if every local party demanded a say in every decision, how could they all equally take the same decision? This is why they have to be represented by a few voices, the representatives, and why these in turn must be represented by just the Cabinet or Shadow Cabinet. The only practical way to steer this kind of Party is for the representatives to sell generalizations, held in advance for application to all problems which may come up, the Party philosophy of principles. To this prejudice local parties can subscribe. It then becomes their job in turn to sell generalizations to the electorate.

True decentralization of a Party means decentralization of ideology as well as of organization. The decentralization of ideology means its death. Ideology is generalization. The language of local Manifestoes is the language of common sense, because they talk about problems which all local people have in common seen (sensed). They propose solutions which all local people could see, or visualize. Local Manifestoes describe alternatives to specific problems in specific places. National Manifestoes are a list of generalizations about the problems and solutions. Examples of actual working solutions, such as city farms, skills exchanges, urban communes, self-help groups, appear to fulfil all the best ideologies simultaneously. But actually not a single one of these solutions has ever been made by a Conservative, a Socialist, a Communist, an Anarchist or by a Green. They have been busy making generalizations about all schools, all hospitals, all communities, about Economic Growth, etc. Actual solutions are made by neighbors. It's the difference between having separate ideologies and becoming neighbors. Having a general solution or being a part of practical work.

The ideology of a national Manifesto is not only divisive, it is also the root of all authoritarianism. Imposing national ideas on a

local situation is to impose generalizations on a unique situation. This is authoritarian. Local problems have to conform to a category of problems. Local solutions can only be selected from such categories. In this way the local reality is pinched and pulled to fit. This hurts. As a Green I believe human nature and Nature are essentially good. Evil shows up afterwards, when we lose faith in effortless goodness and try to arrange it. A national Manifesto is a loss of faith. It is a monumental effort to arrange goodness by pinching and pulling. We call it 'only' enabling decentralization. But the Conservatives call it restoring freedom of the individual from the State, and the Left calls it restoring freedom to the oppressed from the oppressor. Everyone calls it something nice! But, it is a loss of faith.

So how might decentralization of ideology look in practice? It would mean not one Manifesto but a thousand Manifestoes; local Manifestoes neither red nor blue nor green, but common sensical; a Manifesto for a Sustainable Liverpool, for a Sustainable Thames Valley, etc. To arrive at a local manifesto would require a local annual conference for people of all alternative groups: Friends of the Earth, Green Party, Alternative Medicine, Organic Gardeners, Vegetarians, etc. Such a conference on sustainability for the local area would form working groups on different areas of policy, to submit policies for voting on. Whilst a booklet of such policies might be used in lobbying candidates of all Parties, a local Green Party could adopt it wholesale as its Manifesto. Such a shift would go hand in hand with decentralization in the Green Party of membership, administration and money. Then a Local Party would truly be a Party in its own right. But without decentralization of ideology, decentralization of organization will fail to dispense with hierarchy in Green Parties. Decentralization of ideology undercuts issues like compromise vs. fundamentalism, red-green vs. green. What we are is more important than what we preach; the one is our being and the other comes only from our head.

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## THOUGHTS FROM THE ROUND RIVER RENDEZVOUS

By Stephanie Mills

Public relations should be based on attraction rather than promotion, Alcoholics Anonymous holds. This sage bit of that fellowship's wisdom is about truth in advertising: If the message to be carried is sufficiently transforming, its bearer should evidence the message's positive effects. The message that Earth is alive and that the human species is of the Earth--flesh of her flesh, bone of her bone, nerve of her nerve; that in truth what we do to her we do to ourselves--is not a new one. It was, very likely, the essential content of the world religion of the Paleolithic era, an era which, from today's catastrophic vantage point, was incredibly stable and ecologically benign.

If the Earth is alive, the implication, for those late-twentieth century humans alive enough to sense it, is that we must take personal responsibility for the fate of the Earth. Earth's fate, Theodore Roszak eloquently argues in *Person/Planet*, is, ultimately, the fate of the self. Thus, ecodefense, the sort of nonviolent direct action practiced by members of the Earth First! movement, is simply a sophisticated form of self-defense, one that transformed the movements founders and practitioners from frustrated, politically adept Washington conservation lobbyists into ruddy, fierce forest service road blockaders. Their motto: "No compromise in defense of Mother Earth!"

Earth Firsters and other humans who exercise themselves in response to the promptings of the planet embody and exemplify the joy of empowerment. Their activism, rooted in a personal identification with the planetary ecosystem, is just human-species conscious of the necessity to co-evolve with other life forms, rather than destroy them. Such activism is the perfect antidote to the denaturing of Earth and of humanity that appears to be reaching its historical crescendo in our time. In attempting to satisfy narrowly-conceived individual needs at the expense of the ecosystem, mankind has homogenized, simplified, and sterilized both the planet and his psyche, debasing the biosphere that nurtured the evolution of everything that lives, including the human mind.

Williams James said "Lives based on having are less free than lives based either on doing or being," an observation now cynically inverted in the T-shirt slogan "The one who gets the most toys before he dies wins." It is the life based on having that our mass culture promotes and which is ultimately unsustainable on a living planet. Consequently, human lives based on **being**, in the fullest biological sense, today virtually demand activism--**doing**. Thus, the lives of ecodefenders can be, are, demonstrations of the vitalizing practice of courage; the sublimity of nonviolence;

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and the liberation of knowing that since none of us gets out of this one alive (in his or her accustomed form, anyhow), a futile clinging to life and comfort costs the very integrity that makes life worth living.

To return to the profound verity of that AA precept: In an era of decreasing literacy and increasing noninformation, individual flesh-and-blood human beings are the truest, most compelling medium for the transmission of any radical message, including that of deep ecology (Deep Ecology being shorthand for a way of seeing and acting in the world wherein man is not regarded as over and above Nature but as an integral, interdependent part of nature. This philosophy is explored and expounded by George Sessions and Bill Devall in their important book *Deep Ecology*.)

Talk is cheap, but deeds are eloquent manifestoes in body language. An Earth First! action such as camping out seventy feet up in an old-growth Douglas fir in the Willamette National Forest to impede logging there, speaks revolutionary volumes. It burns in brilliant contrast to the dreary monoculture, the life of quiet desperation that is the culmination of the post-Paleolithic era. The lives of ecodefenders and other activists are like places of natural wildness; reservoirs of *elan vitale* and evidence of diversity relieving the sameness of an exhausted landscape.

It may be that Deep Ecology has an essential rightness to it, not because it is a cause that serves something larger than self--many movements, secular and spiritual, that limit their concern to human welfare are so inspired--but because the larger-than-self something of Deep Ecology is not an abstraction like "justice", but a palpable reality. Robinson Jeffers called that reality "organic wholeness, the wholeness of life and things, the divine beauty of the universe." "Love that," he wrote, "not man apart from that." Ecodefense, then, is the expression of a love that transcends species identity. (The argument that it may also be the expression of a profound misanthropy is worth considering, but is the subject for another essay.)

Just as there are grave physical risks involved in acts of ecodefense (injury and incarceration the commonest, although the recent bombing of the Greenpeace ship "Rainbow Warrior" took a crewman's life and marks a mortal escalation of hostility toward ecodefenders), there are great psychic risks in opening the heart to the insights of Deep Ecology. "One of the penalties of an ecological education," wrote Aldo Leopold, "is that one lives alone in a world of wounds." Becoming vulnerable to and tender towards the planet's heartbreaking and beautiful truths about death, transformation, and regeneration; and of evolution's teaching of the inconsequence of the individual relative to the

species is a soul-cracking experience. Absolute compassion with Mother Earth--suffering her pangs of creation and destruction--demands inordinate strength of spirit, a strength which, like the being that exercises it, is nurtured by a sense of one's interpenetration with wild Nature, a sense most often renewed in the very wilderness whose defense is being mounted.

Philosopher Leopold Kohr once said that you can't solve a problem at its own level. Neither can a problem be understood at its own level. Hence, the need for a supra-rational, call it mythical, apprehension of the planetary ecosystem's functioning and possible destiny in order to begin to address the urgent problem of preserving the diversity of life on Earth. Such understanding is less often a product of the science of ecology, than a result of an epiphany got in Nature or distilled in poetry.

The workings of human ego, contaminated by the delusion of human superiority and so inexorably alienated from Nature as a functioning whole, have erected a damaging "civilization" that makes those epiphanies less and less available. So the ecodefender and Deep Ecologist need to share their insights with their fellow humans, particularly the humans committing the damage.

It is tempting to dehumanize the perpetrators of wilderness destruction as evil murderers, but kinder all around to offer them refuge in the insanity defense. Matricide is crazy, an abomination, and the extirpation of wilderness is a killing of the Mother. Perhaps it is an outcome of a lack of love, or the failure to perceive the overarching love that expresses in the glories, puzzles, and ingenuities of evolution. Accordingly, the ecodefender's vocation must come to include loving the matricides back to health and embodying the wilderness epiphany.

Earth First! founder Dave Foreman has characterized wilderness preservation as a losing battle and his comrade Howie Wolke bitterly despairs of communicating effectively with Forest Service and other government functionaries who capitulate to political and economic pressures to exploit publicly-owned wildlands for short-term industrial gain. It is not hard to sympathize with such pessimism. The only realized good of this cause may be the vitalization it affords--the solemn transport of the Ghost-Shirt Dance. It may be that all we can accomplish in our lifetimes by the practice of ecotage, nonviolent direct action, and other more orthodox forms of ecological activism is a slight delay in the wholesale destruction of wilderness.

Be that as it may. In the geologically long run, Earth will abide. The life force seethes in her burning magmatic heart and is, finally, irrepressible. This (pen)ultimate consolation wants to be approached gingerly, since it may be

misappropriated as an apology for a rapist approach to land use, rather than as a cause for mystic faith in the potency of the planet. It also illustrates the paradox of attempting to transcend (unenlightened) species self-interest, and presuming to speak for the larger system that enfolds the planet.

The risk is that those attempts may be a kind of psychological projection. Where one human is predisposed to see herself as but a part of an interconnected tissue of organisms--what Leopold called a "plain member and citizen" of the land-community--another--say James Watt--may see himself as an agent of a messianic apocalypse. Some say we are trapped in the solipsism of human consciousness and that there are no absolutes save those we choose. Yet the evidence of ecological destruction that mounts all around us suggests that we may not have infinite latitude for self-definition after all; that, in Paul Ehrlich's mordant phrase, "Nature bats last."

Whatever the true unknowable reality, and whatever the outcome of our behaviour as a species, it is clear that the acutest anguish for citizens and members of the land community is the near-term loss of friends and neighborhoods dear to us--this anguish is the perception of the tragic blindness of our own species, that flaw in the human mind that sets man over against the rest of Nature.

Whatever extraordinary fate is being worked out in these last days of the twentieth century, we must do our utmost to reawaken in our fellow human beings an abiding compassion with all life on Earth. The strength and vision that result from such a sense of purpose are gifts to embody and so share. The energy that comes from making common cause with all life and assuming the labour of stewardship is a gift to share. The awareness of the countless evolutionary miracles unfolding in an acre of virgin forest or prairie is a precious gift to share, as is the wider knowledge of belonging to a living reality that transcends self and epoch.

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#### DEEP ECOLOGY AS REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT (ACTION)

By Christopher Manes

Most disagreements among radical environmentalists--and there are surprisingly few considering our kaleidoscopic diversity--basically concern the

historic task of Deep Ecology. Should it abandon Western science, or merely purge it of anthropocentrism? (Can science ever be non-anthropocentric and distinct from technological praxis?) Is it literally ecology contemplated on a deeper level, the *logos* of *oikos* (our dwelling place) taken in its original pre-Socratic sense of "laying out," "bringing into the light of Being"? (As Heidegger would put it.) Should it reject the philosophic tradition of the West completely and rely on *mythos*, primal ways of understanding, or Eastern mysticism? And so on.

Rather than trying to weave together this skein of perspectives on what we would do, something Bill Devall and George Sessions have skillfully accomplished in **Deep Ecology: Living As If Nature Mattered**, I want to look at what Deep Ecology is doing, the historical role it is playing now within the Technological Culture, as opposed to its task. The former may in fact clarify the latter.

Like it or not, Deep Ecology has become the last reservoir of revolutionary energy in industrial society. Traditional opposition to technological centralization of power, whether from the Left or old-line conservatives or minority communities, has more or less been suborned by the Technological Culture. I mean that the Culture has absorbed the discourse of these groups, so that their opposition can only question the parts and not the whole. Their solutions always assume the continuation of the same technological relations that are the source of the problems. In **One-Dimensional Man** Herbert Marcuse exposes this process with prophetic fury. Technological Culture permits opposition groups to fight for pollution control, or factory safety, or a juster distribution of wealth, because that is precisely their immersion in the specific operations of industrial society which prevents them from articulating the irrationality of technological relations in general. Whatever reforms they bring about, technocracy still distributes food, water, energy only by destroying the wilderness which yields these things without technocracy: the economy of affluence still relies on the cohesive power of the State; the forests are cut by workers who must support their children, who will thereby inherit a more impoverished world.

Deep Ecology came into being at least in part due to the realization that this is exactly what happened to the environmental movement. The Technological Culture captured an emerging critique of its assault on wilderness by giving environmentalism a seat alongside government and industry in its pantheon. In this context, whatever specific policies environmental groups rightfully oppose, they actually foster technocratic dominion over nature. Their very success is an acquiescence to technology's claim of historic necessity which defines the issues in the first place. It's no coincidence that these "successes" have often been

disastrous for wilderness--conceding bioregional integrity for local concerns, accepting compromises incompatible with wilderness, and legitimating contradictory and debased concepts like "good wilderness management."

I needn't go on about the shortcomings of the mainstream environmental movement, because they aren't shortcomings at all, but the perfection of its role in Technological Culture, a source of pride to its followers. Like Saturn's children, environmentalism was swallowed alive the day it was born.

Deep Ecology, in whatever form it takes, finds itself in the role of Saturn's one undevoured child, reared to contend with the monster. Even where Deep Ecology agrees with mainstream environmentalism on specific issues, as it often does, it is on a different philosophical plane. Its critique of particular ecological issues stems from a broader critique of technological relations as a whole. That is, Deep Ecology's thinking is truly critical and transcendent, offering itself as an alternative to the whole of Technological Culture, exposing its irrationality within the larger context of Earth's natural cycles. This is the meaning behind the statement that Deep Ecology is not reformist. It is playing the role that revolutionary thinking has always played by breaking out of the universe of discourse established by the reigning ideology. We find ourselves, surprisingly enough for some of us, carrying on a revolution.

A most peculiar revolution. Deep Ecology has always asserted that wilderness must be defended for its own sake, not for human aims. But this concern for wilderness naturally has implications for the struggle to regain our humanity in the face of technological domination. There is no idea, no religion, no philosophy the Technological Culture cannot absorb, market and exploit. But wilderness is subversive. In its very existence, it negates the Culture's universe of discourse. A pristine forest shouts to the world that technology is not an historic necessity; the Earth works without it, bearing fruit, yielding shelter, proffering freedom.

How hard Technological Culture tries to establish its own historic necessity! Ask people if electricity, public schools and police are among the necessities of life and they will probably say yes, however absurd this is historically. The Culture propagates a view that life without industrial economy is virtually impossible. Its historiography is an accumulation of fictions about the misery of existence before the steam engine. Its myth of progress proclaims technology **must** be. "We have to go on because we can't go back," it says over and over again, like an ironic Virgil guiding Dante down to the Inferno.

How hard the Culture tries to establish its own

liberality! Developed countries, even in the East, hold elections, offer career choices, paint cars different colours. None of this changes the fact that our essential relation to labour is one of slavery. We are well-treated slaves, "craftily flattered and lavishly entertained," as Ed Abbey puts it--but slaves nonetheless, forced to exchange our labour for the necessities of life from a central authority and its representatives. Forced to be industrial producers and consumers. A nomadic hunter-gatherer would find very little tolerance among the law officers and tax collectors of modern society.

When Deep Ecology made wilderness its theme, it produced a rupture in the Culture's universe of discourse, a crack in the asphalt through which the grass is growing. For the first time since the Luddites, it became possible to say (and be understood): Industrial society is wrong; it has enslaved us. And further than the Luddites could go, to declare: Wilderness is the **only** safeguard of freedom.

To make these statements seems insignificant enough. But empires begin their humiliating descent with the first exhalation of breath calling things what they really are. Before Deep ecology began its critique, only novelists, poets, and artists, or prophets and madmen, could say technology was incompatible with human freedom; now the idea is penetrating the Culture. And we had to be able to say it and be understood before we could act on it.

Action, yes--I have been talking solely about Deep Ecology's thinking, which may dissatisfy some radical environmentalists who rightly feel the environmental crisis demands action, not theory. It's true that philosophy that corrupts action is mere dilettantism. But as Martin Heidegger points out in his **Letters on Humanism**, technology has so debased the terms that we hardly know what action is anymore. Technological Culture defines it as endless activity, mobilization toward a goal, a series of operations distinct from thought. Such "action" is a delusion. As a technological procedure, it only validates the Culture that needs to be acted upon. Articulating technological relations is a form of action, of dissent (all **critical** thinking is action). In fact, it is a prerequisite to any effective effort to preserve and expand wilderness through legislation, civil disobedience, and ecotage. Only if some definite critique of technology guides these actions can they be secure from degenerating into the kind of "endless activity" technology so easily absorbs and puts to its use. If radical environmentalists cease to oppose the whole and merely attack the parts--blaming the environmental crisis on capitalism or Western civilization or whatever--this is exactly what will happen. Saturn will devour us too.

"Questioning is the piety of thought." With this enigmatic sentence, Heidegger ends his seminal

essay on technology **The Question Concerning Technology**. At this time, Deep Ecology is playing the role of walking piously within the Culture's irreverence toward the Earth, of throwing industrial society into question, of interrogating it like a Socratic Ned Ludd, until it is forced to admit: It is a lie, a delusion, a nothing.

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**AUTHENTIC REVOLUTION:  
THE TRIUMPH OF UNCONDITIONAL LOVE**

By David Sparenberg

As a man in a genocidal century, poised at the abyss of annihilation, there are two questions I want to be asked. They are questions I ask and answer in myself; questions I would eventually want to ask and have answered by everyone, as they grow in their capacities to holistically respond.

First, do we, the peoples of the Earth, need a revolution? The answer is yes. Second, am I personally willing to dedicate myself to this revolution? Again, the answer is yes.

We are in need of a revolution in human responsibilities: a revolution in love, planetary concern, peace, integrity, intelligence, community and commitment. It is necessitated by the compilation of negatives burdening our time that this be both a transvaluation of the tangible and the intangible--a revolution of bread and of hope, not of bloodshed. Emphatically, this must not be a revolution like others, devouring human life.

Changes must come. Changes must be made to happen. Rapid changes that are not shallow, ephemeral, but consistent, multifaceted and proliferating are needed. Radical changes that go to the roots of contemporary malaise, because they grow out of the centers of rejuvenated identities, are imperative. Changes that are affirmations! Changes that are assents! In short, we must become revolutionaries of meaningful existence, zealots of positive values, preservers of creatures, partners in creation, pledged in sincerity.

The changes that are requisite will of course be social. They will be political, economic, personal and interpersonal, cultural, transcultural, psychical as well as spiritual. But they cannot be reduced, must not revert, to armed violence; to



overt or even subtle, while intended, violations. The moment at which it becomes otherwise is the moment in which the revolution of possibilities becomes another victim of age-old despair. What light will have been garnered will be eclipsed in deeds of destruction. In truth, we must observe Martin Buber's injunction that we do no more injustice than necessary to survive, and then move on from that principle into further restrictions of refinement and deference.

Why? Because this revolution--the only one that can anymore be justified, any longer command human respect or expect our unfailing devotion--speaks out of the mouth of the spirit, or else it is self-silenced. More correctly, it discourses in openness from the mouths of our souls. Yet it does not speak from the barrel of a gun, in the deaf ears of bombs, lest we end our species before we have ended the cancer of war and the afflictions of historical displacement.

To be revolutionaries of this revolution of body, soul and unified vision, we must begin with the person. We must demand, not of the world or of others, but from ourselves, the self-respect to build a center within; to be in that center in the process of decision making; to choose--healthily and wholly--to be choosing and transforming beings. We must demand of ourselves an internal clarity and seriousness; electing to create a dynamic of integrity that is the realizable who-ness of our persons; capable of integrating and transvaluating the givenness of situational time. . .

Liberation is a top priority. Freeing our century from the chains of ideologies is freeing our persons for authentication and reunion. Freeing our kindred from the prisons of isolation and anxiety is releasing others for affinitive coalescence, dialogic interactions. Setting free from frivolity, emptiness, hostility and confusion is exodus from the dungeons of absurdity. We must take aggressive impulses and give them nonviolent expression, turning the dark forces into bridges of light, breaking the thick walls of hatred and freeing the waters of acceptance.

The surest way to win others toward peace is through sincere goodness. It is naive and disarming. And the world is in search of those who truly care.

As a revolutionary, I would counsel potential co-revolutionaries to leave the makeshift fads and fantasies of popular happenstance, centering their minds and energies instead on an integral tradition, intent on becoming its living extensions. The reason for this is that where there are persons, there is also the urge toward meeting, which brings both renewal and newness to the experiencers of mutuality. Thus persons are needed and personhood is accessible on the paths of wisdom (what Dr. Richard Falk has called the resources of "our primitive sanity").

As a revolutionary, it is not my task to prescribe a specific authoritarian channel to others, but to stimulate seeking by living an example and through inviting a compatible community to become my shared circle of trusted loved ones and friends. . .

Labored out, a revolution such as this, virtued with patience and self-restrained within the limitations of bloodlessness, could at least provide the inspirational leap of consciousness needed to extricate our planet from the quagmire of deontological submersion and give us examples of hemispheric integration in both cosmic and terrestrial terms. In the last analysis (by which I mean only that point where speculation can cease in understanding and action commence toward meaningful wholeness), it may be best that we grasp this astounding necessity as an enthusiasm of, in, and for the triumph of unconditional love.

It has only recently occurred to me what this phrase "unconditional love" actually means. It is not a question of us, individually, loving without discrimination anybody and anything that crosses our path or happens to us. That, after all, would only result in license and bad faith. Rather, it is a matter of each of us living up to our potential to love those and that which we can love: (1) without imposed conditions prejudicing and debilitating us and (2) with an at least tacit, but nonetheless pervasive, acceptance that "just as I am a loving person involved in giving and receiving love, so are you, so are they." What this implies is love as an out in the open characteristic of community life, in fact, as a central axis upon which the wheels of social interaction turn.

The incandescence of each person's unconditionally loving who, what and where it is genuinely ours to love, would thus create a radiant ambience--so that warmth, so that passion, so that acceptance becomes conditionally given as lived common ground. Such living would (if it would eschew hypocrisy) carry with it a consciousness that "as I am here, so are you there; so could you also be;" thus generating a new (albeit unwritten) declaration of human rights.

In its emergence, this very revolutionary event (the uprising of unconditional love!) could not but result in the overthrow of the empire of pornography--from the sadistic politics of torture and mass murder to the sadistic politics of sexual degradation and racism--taking down the larger portion of modern, popular culture.

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The original version of this article appeared in **Plec Peace News** magazine. This is a revised version of the original which has been excerpted for publication here. Reprinted with permission. For a note on David please see the author's note following his article on Neopolitics in this issue of **The Trumpeter**.

## DEEP ECOLOGY AND GREEN POLITICS

By David Bennett and Richard Sylvan

Deep ecology is an environmental theory or platform with political implications. Green Politics is a political platform with significant environmental implications. Both arose in large part in reaction to prevailing environmental practices; but Deep Ecology concentrates rather on theoretical investigation and reflection, Green Politics on practical action. Deep questioning of the underlying dominant attitudes, seen as the major source of ecological and other problems, led to articulation of the Deep Ecology platform, partly outlined in "slogan form in the following table:

Table 1. Deep Ecology contrasted with dominant attitudes.

DOMINANT ATTITUDES [DOMINANT PARADIGM]	DEEP ECOLOGY [RIVAL ENVIRONMENTAL PARADIGM]
Domination over Nature	Harmony with nature
Nature a Resource; Intrinsic Value confined to Humans	Natural Environment Valued for Itself; Biocentric Egalitarianism
Ample Resources/Substitutes	Earth Supplies Limited
Material Economic Growth a predominant goal	Non-material Goals, especially Self-Realization
Consumerism	Doing with Enough/Recycling
Competitive lifestyle	Cooperative lifeway
Centralized/Urban Central/National focus	Decentralized/Bioregional/Neighbourhood focus
Power structure Hierarchical	Non-hierarchical/Grassroots Democracy
High Technology	Appropriate Technology

While Deep Ecology grew from the work of one environmental philosopher (Naess in 1972), Green Politics arose (in West Germany since 1976) from the synthesis of several movements--ecology, citizens, alternative, peace and other movements. The platform of Green Politics, which is built around four pillars--ecology, social responsibility, grassroots democracy, and non-violence--reflects these origins.

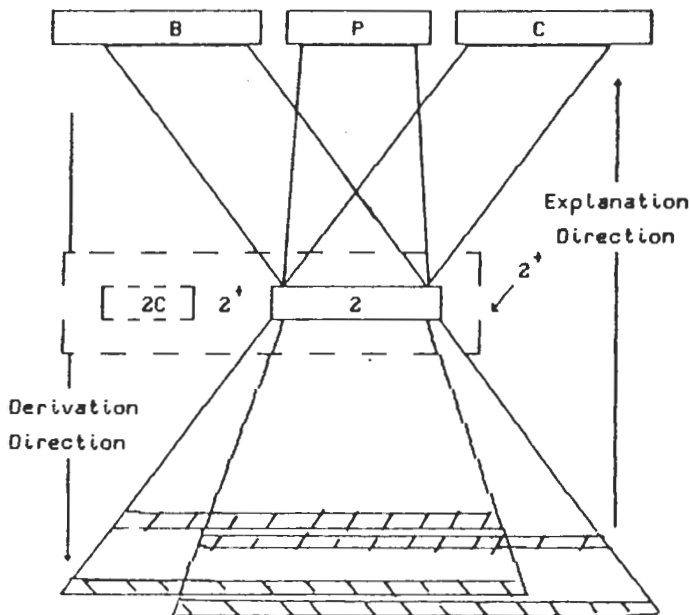
The first of these pillars, ecology, is based on the simple theme that limited ecological systems cannot sustain unlimited economic growth, or such questionable types of growth as nuclear power, without serious risk of damage and degeneration. The Green aim is to move to systems of production and consumption which maintain and restore natural processes and cycles rather than dominate or destroy them--a move towards harmony with nature. The second pillar of Green Politics, social responsibility, implies opposition to the inequalities in power and domination relationships of present society, and removal of discrimination, economic hardship and exploitation, both regionally and as regards the Third World. The Green aim--to be achieved primarily from below, through those adversely affected--is to build stable and just social arrangements, with comprehensive democratic rights and freedoms (both in Germany and where German operations impinge in the Third World). These changes are to be brought about by grassroots democracy, the third pillar, through increased realization of direct decentralised democracy. This involves organisation and coordination of decentralised basic units (local, community and district) which are given extensive, but not complete, autonomy, as well as wide use of referenda, delegation practices, and rotation of office-holders. The fourth and final pillar, non-violence, implies the removal of coercive and also oppressive practices, not merely by more powerful people, but especially by social groups and states, and also, more positively, active deployment of various methods of social protest, resistance and defence. The compatibility of means with ends serves here as an important underlying principle: that a just, non-violent, humane end-state cannot be satisfactorily achieved by unjust, violent, inhumane means.

Green politics offers, then, a broad program for social change, which includes the more specific and ecologically focussed Deep Ecology platform as a quite proper part. Put differently, Green Politics combines a wider plurality of movements of which Deep Ecology represents one important strand. The inter-relations are shown pictorially at the second level of diagram 1.

The ecological component of Green Politics may not go very deep; it may only be based upon reform environmentalism (or shallow ecology as it used to be called), which aims to reform some of the worst abuses and excesses of the dominant position, such as gross pollution, extensive despoilation of land and lakes and oceans, little thought for the future, mistreatment of animals, etc.

On shallow ecology, nature is not valued for itself, but as a resource, that is instrumentally, for what it can be used for by humans. By contrast, Deep Ecology argues (e.g. from premisses of level 1) that the environment is intrinsically valuable,

DIAGRAM 1. Double pyramid, setting ecology in place.



1. Deep Ecology fundamentals; e.g. Buddhist (B), Christian (C) and (Eco)-Philosophic (P) ultimate bases.
2. Deep Ecology platform.
- 2C. Reformist environmental position.
- 2+. Vague fundamentals of Green platform.
3. General norms and themes, substantially derived from platform.
4. Particular norms and concrete decisions, applying to relevant practical situations.

that nature is valuable in and for itself; and that, furthermore, intrinsic value is equally distributed. This projection of egalitarian or impartiality principles, usually restricted to humans, to the whole of life in the natural world, gets dignified by the title, Biocentric Egalitarianism. The principle, not part of Green Politics, is perhaps the most controversial of the central principles of Deep Ecology; but it or some substitute for it is required, granted that the natural world contains value beyond that accruing to humans and their features, to explain how value is distributed. Deep Ecology accounts for the distribution through what is presented as a 'core democracy in the biosphere.'

Deep Ecology grew out of a philosophical deepening of the new features of the science of ecology, which served to distance ecology from the standard run of reductionist sciences (through such features as holism; gestalt properties; systems

which are more than the sum of their atomistic parts; emergent elements, like life, organization, etc.). Deep Ecology quickly allied itself with the subversive features of unco-opted ecology, in particular, the emphasis on the limits, and ultimate failure of (atomistic) reductionism in science and philosophy. With such an origin, it is not surprising that there is little directly about such main pillars of Green Politics as social responsibility and non-violence in the platform of Deep Ecology. However, Deep Ecology is compatible with these Green pillar principles, and indeed permits their derivation. What is supposed to result are general norms, like No exploitation, No subjection, No violence, at level 3. (Such a derivation of a non-violence principle from the Deep Ecology principle of maximizing Self-realization is attempted by Naess in the framework of his system of Eco-philosophy.)

A main focus of Deep Ecology is on changing human relations with the natural environment, away from dominant exploitative practices. The natural environment comprises items of intrinsic value, including humans (who are not above or separate from it), and accordingly is to be treated with the care and respect valuable items warrant, and not irresponsibly. Thus it would be contrary to Deep Ecology to treat the environment or its valued items violently--which, however, is what Deep Ecology contends dominant practices do (consider such widespread phenomena as "rape of the environment", "of the land", "of the forests"). Since humans are not apart from or superior to nature, it follows from the Deep Ecology platform that natural and proper relations also exclude violence towards other humans or classes of humans.

Because it covers a plurality of positions, including shallow ecological positions, Green Politics is much more ameliorative and reformist in character than Deep Ecology, which is further removed from dominant attitudes, more hardline, and more radical. Whereas Deep Ecology goes to fundamentals, and focusses on ideals and theory, Green Politics tends to concentrate on practical political problems of an environmental or social kind, such as acid rain or river pollution or missile deployment, and (like the Peace Movement in Australia) is not so much concerned with refining its rather vague principles or working out an environmental (or peace) philosophy. Because of its environmental depth and natural world focus, Deep Ecology is concerned with a range of natural environmental issues, such as wilderness, rare species, and the radical transformation of agriculture, which are only of passing interest to a small minority in Green Politics or are beyond its political reach.

In its reformist style Green Politics does not venture far beyond previous left-leaning political movements, except, firstly, in its opposition to

environment and amenity damaging industrialism and, secondly, as regards non-violence and its commitment to attaining peace. Non-violence is the most controversial of the four pillars. For non-violence rules out a range of political action, including typical protests, confrontation and revolutions. Non-violence also implies, what is very different from current military practices, social defence. While main factors in the Green movement support non-violent methods and social defence, other lesser factions hold that force is necessary to bring about various necessary changes and for defence purposes.

The Deep Ecology platform includes several principles that would be recognised by only a minority of the Green Movement. One of these principles (which, however, unlike Biocentric Egalitarianism, would not be widely opposed by reformist Greens) is the core principle of Self-realization, or more exactly of maximizing Self-realization. The notion of self-realization of various religious positions, of the full unfolding and development of the person, is vastly expanded in Deep Ecology to include bringing to full fruition not merely one's own person, but all that one identifies with, that is the expanded Self, which is taken to be not merely one's family or fellows or fellow nationals, nor merely (as on humanistic ethics) the whole human race, but the whole natural system.

The Self-realization principle, springing as it appears from an enlightened personal self-interest principle, has an excellent philosophical pedigree (at least as applied to humans or neighbouring classes of humans). Thus rather than being argued for, a difficult matter in the case of ultimate principles, Self-realization is imported from sympathetic philosophical or religious principles at level 1 of the double pyramid, from those that help sustain Deep Ecology. However, the expansion involved, the derivation process from narrow self to comprehensive Self, severs the usual justificatory links. It is hard to indentify one's self-interests with those of a rock or an acorn. So the supposed identification--with some or all mountains, rivers and rainforests in the wider Self, Nature personified--remains, like the associated extended Egalitarian principle, decidedly problematic.

Because it is assumed that Self-realization is directed to ecological and spiritual ends, not at material goods or means, Self-realization leads to the slogan, "Simple in means, rich in ends." Among the ramifications of the slogan are those concerning what kind of technology one uses and where one lives (the matter of dwelling in situations of inherent value and the like), what and how much one consumes, and so on. The dominant attitudes, formed around maximization of economic growth and economic routes to happiness, have emphasised both material goals and material means,

particularly personal consumerism. But if material use and pure consumption are to be reduced for environmental and other reasons, what lifestyles are appropriate? Deep Ecology, like its fundamental sources, points to experiential and spiritual ends and emphasizes the richness of non-material ends available. The result, of course, is practices which are simple, voluntary simplicity, doing with enough, and, more generally, practices which lie light on the land and the natural world. In a properly ecological way of doing things, these will be integrated (in symbiotic and other natural styles) with the natural systems involved, working with rather than against the natural flow. The practices, and organizational arrangements, will accordingly be ecoregional--appropriate to regional ecological groupings--or bioregional, as they have come to be called.

Appropriate means include, in turn, techniques appropriate to the practice and theory of Deep Ecology. High technologies such as nuclear power are not appropriate, even in advanced industrial societies, but inappropriate because of the environmental and social costs and risks such technological forms impose. On both deep and green perceptions, what is required are reliable, careful technologies, which are not ecologically damaging or socially risky or otherwise undesirable; but the technologies admitted will differ according to the principles of the positions they answer back to. In each case, the practical use of appropriate technology falls at the bottom, action level, of the double pyramid.

While Deep Ecology supplies an appealing blueprint for different social and life-ways, the questions remains: How is the promised land to be reached? A main part of the answer is taken to be given through a further crucial feature of Deep Ecology: Ecological Consciousness, a notion again expanding upon conceptions of other older ideologies (e.g. of religious, or of revolutionary, consciousness). What is different is that spiritual or ideological conversion is again broadened from the personal and social to comprehend the full environmental predicament. In this explanation, of how people get, and are got, to grasp Deep Ecology and its practices, the pyramid is ascended, from action to ideas, to deeper explanatory principles. A thorough conversion process involves elevation to the top level, spiritual transcendence of the daily economic and political action level. It is assumed that, with enough converts and supporters, Deep Ecology will be put in place, like Green Politics, by grassroots democratic procedures.

Like the fundamental sources upon which it draws, Deep Ecology prescribes practices by which to achieve such conversion and through which to arrive at Ecological Consciousness. Some of the main practices, such as meditation and contemplation, are derived from the fundamental sources. But other methods which extend these, some

of them expanding upon ecological experience, include value reorientation and widened value perception--seeing things differently, and coming to appreciate the worth and well-being of other things. Connected with these widened experiential bases, and informing them, goes a holistic shift in values and perception, and an expanded identification, affording direct linkage with parts and wholes of the natural world. By these methods a person may come to a deep and joyous appreciation of the real world, convert to Deep Ecology, a fellow and advocate of its messages and life-ways.

**David Bennett** co-authored this paper while he was a research assistant in the philosophy department at Australian National University. He completed and submitted his Ph.D. thesis entitled **Inter-Species Ethics: Australian Perspectives. A cross-cultural study of attitudes towards non-human animal species.** He is now an actor and has been filmed for a TV mini-series called "The Challenge" which is about Australia's winning the America's Cup in 1983. **Richard Sylvan** (ne Routley) is a research fellow with the Department of Philosophy, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. He is the author of numerous books and articles on all aspects of environmental philosophy as well as other areas such as logic.



## THE MESSAGE OF CHERNOBYL

By Morris Berman

I was having dinner with a German friend in Zurich in late June of 1986, when the subject of Chernobyl inevitably came up. Almost immediately, the election in Neidersachsen (Northern Germany) that had taken place two weeks before that became the focus of our attention. Only three weeks or so after the meltdown at Chernobyl, with the north of Germany saturated with radio-activity that had blown in from Russia, the voters of Neidersachsen had gone to the polls and, essentially, voted for either the Socialists or the Christian Democrats. The Greens received basically the same (very small) percentage of the vote that they had always received.

"I guess what puzzles me," I said to Angela, "is what it would take to get people to vote to protect their environment, and even their own lives. Apparently, they can knowingly eat a radioactive dinner and then go to the polls the next morning and vote for candidates who can be counted on to do nothing to alter the situation. I just wonder what it is that has to happen for real changes to occur."

"Voting for the Greens is a very complex issue, psychologically," Angela replied. "It requires a fundamental change of values. It's a depressing thought, but the election in Neidersachsen suggests that people would actually rather die than change their values."

I thought about Angela's remarks in the weeks that followed; her words kept coming up in my mind over and over again. We tend to want to deal with events like Chernobyl or Three Mile Island in terms of direct political action, and that is of course necessary; but when you get right down to it, isn't it really, as Angela said, a question of values, and of changes in values? And if that is true, a further question suggests itself: What are the values involved here that are, somehow regarded as being more important than life itself?

The image that comes to mind when I reflect on these questions is that of a circle, intersected by a plane, such that most of the circle lies below the plane, and only a small arc, or 'short circuit', lies above it. This can stand for a lot of things symbolically, I suppose; one of the most obvious might be that of the relationships between the conscious and the unconscious mind that is characteristic of mental process. Yet despite nearly a century of depth psychology and psychoanalysis, the one value that remains central to the Western industrial nations--among which the Soviet Union can be included--is the belief that the 'good life' is one run on the basis of conscious will and deliberate intention. If the larger arc, for example, can be seen to stand for

our dream life, a larger wisdom guiding our lives, it is also the case that not very many people pay attention to it, or think there is much value in it. Our **values** are those of the conscious mind; we have very little faith in larger processes, and certainly not in invisible ones.

The ability to trust the self-correcting (healing) properties of your own organism, to stop manipulating the events of your life and simply decide that 'you' (little arc) are not in control of much of what happens to you, constitutes a radical change in values. This habit of 'intuitive surrender' (it is most definitely not the same thing as resignation) takes a lot of practice; in the beginning, especially, it can be quite terrifying. Since the little arc cannot see the larger arc that lies below the plane, it equates surrender--the decision to stop manipulating everything--with death. But from the viewpoint of the entire circuit, it is precisely the attempt of the little arc to run the whole show that is bringing the system down. What appears to be life is often therefore death, and vice versa.

This ignorance of the nature of circuitry is exactly what has led to the construction of nuclear power plants, to an event such as the Chernobyl meltdown, and to the ability of people to believe that nothing needs to be changed, despite all evidence to the contrary. (Keine Panik auf der Titanic, was a graffito I saw on a wall in Zurich shortly after my dinner with Angela.) The ecological analogue of 'short circuitry' in individual psychology is the assumption that conscious manipulation of the environment will have no negative effects; even stronger, that conscious manipulation of this sort--of our lives, our bodies, the people around us, the earth--is the key to power. And finally, when the last layer is peeled off, the value system revealed is that power is equal to happiness; perhaps, even, to some kind of salvation.

Another image that comes to mind at this point, and for me it is one of both horror and fascination--unheimlich (creepy, uncanny), as Freud said of certain phenomena. It is of a scene at the end of Stanley Kubrick's movie, "Dr. Strangelove", in which the American actor, Slim Pickins, dressed in cowboy boots and hat, is riding The Bomb, which has just been dropped, down to earth, as one would a bronco at a rodeo show, and shouting 'Yahoo' as he waves his hat in the air. This film, made in the early Sixties, was a kind of grotesque prediction of attitudes that are by now quite common. Dropping the bomb is the ultimate power; it represents total control, total technological mastery. Hence, in the movie, the act is portrayed as an ecstatic one, a celebration of victory, but a victory over life. Yet this victory over life does not make the cowboy unhappy; quite the opposite. The victory mentality is a 'happy' one, and is truly that of the short circuit.

It is tempting to dismiss this as an extreme case, but is it really? Do not it, and Chernobyl, lie on the same continuum? In the late Fifties and early Sixties we were regaled with stories of the 'peaceful atom', which was supposedly going to provide unlimited energy and thereby, by implication, unlimited comfort. This form of nuclear energy was part of the 'liberal package' of those times, and was sharply contrasted, by its proponents, with Hiroshima and the wartime uses of atomic energy. It seems difficult, nearly thirty years later, to buy the liberal package, or to believe that the contrast between peacetime and wartime uses of atomic energy are so stark. Chernobyl and Three Mile Island are not the only nuclear disasters that have occurred; they are, rather, the only ones that couldn't be covered up. The 'peacetime uses of atomic energy' turn out to be wartime uses as well, but we can fail to see this because the 'bomb' here is being unleashed gradually, in a kind of time-release form, and the enemy is somehow invisible: not this nation or that nation, but literally the entire planet. And in both cases, the value system is identical: power is happiness, and that can't possibly be wrong, no matter what the evidence is to the contrary. Whether it is the voters in Niedersachsen or the French government officials that ordered the destruction of the Greenpeace Ship, **Rainbow Warrior**, we--all of us--are living in a delusion, that conscious control is all that matters, that one can never have too much of it, and that it is equivalent to happiness. In less dramatic ways, we are all like Slim Pickins, waving and cheering as we 'control' ourselves into the grave.

The heart of the matter, finally, is the question of alternatives. Angela was right: people would rather die than change their values, but this is only because they think their values are the same thing as their lives. Switching values is only possible for people who have another set of values to go to, or for those who have come to the conclusion that life is its own value; that the object of life, is life itself. This is equivalent to becoming aware of the part of the circle that lies below the plane; to understand that the key to happiness is not conscious control, but the absence of a control mentality altogether. This is a difficult place to get to; it is a kind of **satori**, a thing hard to see and even more difficult to put into practice. Yet it really is at the centre of the whole thing today, the whole conundrum of Western technological madness. Demonstrations against nuclear power plants, civil disobedience, letters to the editor, public education regarding nuclear issues and dangers--all of this is important, even crucial; we cannot hope to change things without them. But the heart of the matter is nothing less than a psychic, or perhaps I should say spiritual, transformation: that if some control

is a good thing, total control is pathology; and that a way of life based on trust is a happier one than one based on manipulation. A kind of quantum leap in consciousness is required right now; our mental world literally has to turn on its axis. This is ultimately, I believe, the message of Chernobyl, that we have to confront the spiritual direction of our lives, to abandon the equation of power with happiness that has deluded us for so long, and to decide, both individually and collectively, to seek our happiness somewhere else.

This is not as impossible as it sounds. On an individual basis, many people have come to these conclusions and are struggling to turn things around in their own lives, to alter their own daily attitudes and habits. It is much of what the Sixties and Seventies were about. Whether this can influence the culture as a whole, and whether it can do so fast enough, is another matter; but it may also be the case that there is no other choice. In the last analysis, Chernobyl is about values, and it is to that question that we are being forced, relentlessly, to address ourselves as the year 2000 approaches.

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#### TAOIST MUSINGS ON ECOPHILOSOPHY AND CHANGE

By Michael Caley

In the past few years I have begun to practice some Taoist arts. I have found that these practices are slowly helping me to realize at very basic levels the tenets of ecophilosophy. That is, the esoteric learning that comes through the practice of motion and stillness is helping me to live ecophilosophy rather than simply advocate it. This brings me to the heart of the problem. The concepts of ecophilosophy can, as can any set of ideas, be realized at two dynamically different levels. The easiest level to achieve is a rather superficial cognition of simplistic logic that states that the concepts under consideration are more "correct" than other competing sets of concepts.

Thus, at the superficial level ecophilosophy is simply the individual's agreement that we ought to conserve ecosystems. It is logical that soil loss,

air pollution, water pollution, overcrowded cities, etc., are inimical to individual and group well-being. However, it is important to realize that while agreeing with ecophilosophy in principle, an individual may still drive a car, consume junk food, accept advertizing claims about the "scientific proof" for medicines, cosmetics, etc. The point is that a "frontal-lobe" acceptance of the "rightness" of a conceptual set does not imply that any behavioural changes will or must take place.

At the deep level of acceptance of a conceptual set, behavioural changes are concomitant with that acceptance. However, what is also important is that this deeper level of acceptance is almost impossible to achieve by oneself. By this, I mean the reading of books or articles about the conceptual set is **usually** not sufficient for the deeper understanding necessary to bring about the behavioural shift. The understanding necessary for behavioural shifting to occur comes only through the recursive properties inherent in the practice of the concepts in real space/time. Each individual must apply the conceptual set to his/her daily life. This implies, from the ecophilosophical point of view, some rather dramatic shifts in Weltanschauung and lifestyle. It also implies a teacher.

The teacher, master, sensei, guru is critical to the deep understanding of a conceptual set. His importance lies in the living example he provides of the behaviours that deep understanding of the conceptual set imply. Therefore, the relationship becomes one of master and apprentice. The master teaches by example and also provides a measure against which the student can compare himself.

I have been trying to establish the point that deep understanding of any conceptual set by an individual usually only occurs when the learning takes place in the unique relationship between master and apprentice. It is the uniqueness of each relationship that allows for the growth of both master and apprentice. We are not social insects, but rather social mammals. We learn and we change what we learn.

This long preamble brings me finally to my central concern. We do not have at present, and perhaps we can never have, mechanisms for teaching/learning deep understanding **en mass**. Public educational systems are not conducive to deep understanding. Traditional teaching/learning systems have always worked because the number of apprentices for each master was quite small at any one time.

Given that we cannot, at present, avoid the problem of providing a very small ratio of apprentices to masters, how can we ensure that sufficient numbers of people will attain the deep understanding necessary for behavioural shifts to occur? I do not ask this question facetiously, for

I can look back on my own journey from superficial existence to deeper understanding--a journey far from over--and perceive the efforts required on my own part, as well as those of the teachers with whom I have had the profound joy of being and becoming. It is my hope to someday become that agglomerate of master/apprentice myself. But I realize with joy and regret that I will only be able to aid a very few individuals along their own "Ways".

It is only through living the practice of ecophilosophy that we can produce the required result--our continued survival on Gaia. So I leave you with this conundrum: Can we somehow bring enough individuals along the Way in time to avert either nuclear or natural catastrophe? And if so, how? I, myself, waver between optimism and pessimism on this question.

As a would-be Taoist perhaps this question is nonsense. Tao is eternal and ineffable. We arise from Tao and return to Tao. Is there anything more important?

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### NEO-POLITICS, INTEGRITY AND AUTHENTIC BEING

By David Sparenberg

An authentic political alternative is not between platforms which, to various degrees, address the economic expansion of already in place systems; providing jobs (which only means jobs in the military and related industries) and a decrease in inflation to more efficiently stimulate pathological consumerism. The on-the-mark alternative that politics could and should be offering is to fuel a holistic difference in the modern way of life. What **is** is not enough; does not begin to provide or even honestly address what is needed for survival and the prevalence of existential growth. Nor is this lack of adequacy in the political status quo esoteric once we have the courage to recognize that the maintenance of our social world is based on deceit, as evidenced by the functionism of public roles over against the continuous erosion of personal and dialogic possibilities. We might, then, describe the real conditions behind the illusory deception as a

situation where we are given five parts contentment at the expense of others, and five more parts contentment in order to secure our allegiance, as we are prepared for sacrificial slaughter to the idols of genocidal power. While always subject to fluctuating diminutions, the ten promised (and selectively given) in time converts into zero, which is the deontological impetus seeking mastery of the world. This reduction has happened and will repeatedly happen because power in our century is sick in itself.

Terrance Des Pres, in his volume **The Survivor**, aptly expressed this last thought when he wrote:

"As power grows it grows more and more hostile to everything outside itself. Its logic is inherently negative, which is why it ends by destroying itself (a consolation which no longer means much, since the perimeter of atomic destruction is infinite).<sup>1</sup>

What the dominions of politics should be offering, as a direct and accurate response to our needs, is a toxic free environment--repurified soil, air, water--guaranteeing through its organizational capabilities that these element sustainers of organic processes are here, both for ourselves and for future generations. Science, too, is susceptible to popular indictment.

Through the descent to the level of technological application, contemporary science has made the problems of natural depletion and poisoning the stuff we subsist with and on. Yet science demands to be respected, accepted as a voice of authority. Scientific technology provides "conveniences" in order to win our favor, and turns that esteem to profit. This same technological science, meanwhile, goes part and parcel with the militarization of our planet and the indiscriminate plundering of planetary resources. Science, proposing to save, spares us a time at the expense of others. And we are already conscious of the process whereby what goes around comes around. The cognition is ambient that the clock which set out at high noon ticks toward midnight.

It cannot be amiss then to point out that if the scientist and technocrat, along with the politician and bureaucrat, can pioneer new impacts on reality, on the one hand, and conceive directorship for the course of history, on the other, they can be expected to take a priori account of their insights and efforts regarding their moral and ecological repercussions, down to and including the smallest biological specimens and the least utilizable of their constituency. Moreover, this assumption of accountability extends beyond the decisions of any individual into heritage of the past and the potentials of the future. For example, if as a Jewish writer I decide to address the world, which is given before me as an inhabited time and space



of both immediacy and continuance, then my contribution as a voice to my people is determined, in part, by the interplay of my perceptions with the tradition of faith that has gone before and the renewal of faith that might follow. Why, though, should the person of faith alone be responsible for where, when and how he or she stands in life, while the scientist is excused from this imperative through the expediency of national interests? To accept this division, which in fact means accepting an innately disastrous dichotomization, is to fail to acknowledge that the root crisis of the 20th century is a crisis of the spirit, a lesion in the integrity of civilization, which has generated both the tensions of social discontent and the demons of nonbeing. Maurice Friedman puts his finger on this predicament when, in the **Confirmation of Otherness**, he writes, "The major crisis of our time is (the) collision of immoral power with powerless morality."<sup>2</sup>

A significant step away from this dichotomization will be taken if and when enough of us begin to live beyond the authority of the Greek mind, with its definition of humanity as a polis-man and its opposition between civilization and nature, science and faith. For whether or not we continue as a species to dwell in the polis, we certainly cannot continue to see the polis as the place of humankind in hostile confrontation with the outside; with what is not human-made or dominated and accessible for exploitation. Despite the stubbornness of even the most antipathetical thinking, we cannot, finally, breathe in our architecture, eat our highways or clean in our sewage systems.

With Nature as with societies, otherness must be preserved, respected, extended when necessary, and dialectics exercised that establish curative relations based on inclusive, not exclusive, exchanges.

In this age of total war, which means total propaganda and the complete harnessing and mobilization of resources, science is politicized and technology provides its military-political application. The scarcely opposed assumptions of modern science and its ascendancy to world domination is one of the pernicious flaws of our era, informing us of the disempowerment of our intangible qualities as integral human beings, even as instinctual organisms. For the body itself, if nothing more, revolts against unmitigated horror, waste, enslavement, and will involuntarily assert the primal dignity of existence. Only those who have suicidally dissected their organismic sensibilities do not know this assertion which the Black South African poet, Dennis Brutus, has defined as "a simple lust for life" and equated with freedom.

In the reclamation of power as social power (as interpersonal fertilization and the renaissance of

community), the politicians should be brought to planning for--then doing once elected--what needs to be done to liberate us collectively from our mania for violence. Women should no longer fear the approximate certainty of becoming victims of rape. Parents should no longer dwell in dread of the sexual molestation of their children. Children themselves should no longer stand to inherit the scar tissue of generational distrust. People should not be thrown into the anxiety-violence of homelessness. Entire generations should not await the impending obliteration of mechanized or thermonuclear war.

The politicians need to be telling us, in terms they are prepared to fulfill, that we can live with a foreign policy based upon recognition, cooperation and trust--which has, in essence, exchanged the negative stigma of being "foreign" for the positive enrichments of genuine otherness--rather than the criminal program that operates under that title and inundates us with blood, moral numbness and the suppressed guilt incurred for the sake of economic expansion.

More than all else, however, the world of politics and its practitioners must become committed, with a commitment the people will not permit them to violate, to ending the necrophilic coition of the arms race and removing the instruments of mass murder from our planet, once and for all.

Martin Buber, whose teachings have opened the way to the **ontology of the between** (the life of dialogue), spoke of the narrow ridge of existence where exposure is conditional. Yet it is here that meeting is possible, because authenticity is attained only at the risk of openness and through the assumption of response-ability in the event of being present in the presence of the other. The capability to achieve nuclear disarmament, which can only begin and develop on that narrow ridge of the renewal of existential trust, depends on our personal and interpersonal courage to risk ourselves in being there, and in bringing others into that risk of intensified mutuality, where unity becomes palpable and change a source of fulfillment. And--if lacking other alternatives--we must bring the empowered but reluctant minority to that brink, or else relieve them of their power.

The world cannot be worsened by our using the compulsion of unarmed love, rather than submitting further to the armed paranoia of the balance of terror.

We do not live in a neutral zone. We do not inhabit a materialistic paradise, having privileged claim to invulnerable security. We are not perfect and cannot begin to grow toward our more human perfection until we have been broken open by the awe of the meeting. We are not righteous until we have undergone the testing of the blessed-burden of righteousness, which is a

testing that recurs to us again and again. We are not holy because we are advantaged or unholy because we are not. But we are equally capable of hallowing our shared existence, in as much as we dare "to happen to one another," as Dr. Friedman has expressed it.<sup>3</sup>

We are engaged, whether we would be or not, in a struggle for survival, in a heightened contest for the values and direction of terrestrial life. The hour is past due when we must acknowledge tension under the surface of contemporary behavior and begin to act as men and women on whom the awesome summons of history has descended. Perhaps as never since Israel stood in meeting before the God of their liberation have the words of Deuteronomy had such urgency and importance as now they do for us, as we stand before the event of our deepest humanity or under the anti-event of species annihilation.

The Torah challenges us in these words:

"I call heaven and Earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse; therefore choose life that you and your descendents may live (Deuteronomy 30:19).

Summarily, we abide in a time of decision. If we would live we must decide without shirking. To choose life, as Buber reminds us, is an act of goodness because it involves choosing with the whole of one's person. One can only choose the good in full presence.

What's more, because we can no longer regard the men in politics as omnidaddies who will do no wrong to the sheep herds of their national children, the basis for economy, the purpose of money to accompany the neo-politics of extrication and renewal, requires ample provision for a rewarding life of dignity for all, within the context of natural resources, population, global hygiene and cultural plurality. We must look to increase access to a repurified Nature, lest we lose further the remembrance of our origins and the significance of our heritage as creatures of the Earth and its atmosphere. We must look to provide the freedom of time, resources and energy to all who seek to participate in the responsible redress of those issues which threaten and say no to our survival. Jobs must be jobs to work for ending these problems; for curing the problematic that, cancerlike, eats at the moral, social and psychological composition of our century and makes of vast multitudes the insensitive executioners and automaton-victims of a genocidal continuum that relaxes only to collect statistics and improve its mechanisms of destruction. Economy, in result, must become the expansion of service for the betterment of life, not for the aggrandizement of a few who gain their wealth at the expense of entire generations.

These thoughts then point in the direction of a politics for tomorrow--a politics of decentralization, permaculture, participatory democracy, mutuality and service--no longer the predatory politics of the nation-state that demands our allegiance in order to make sacrifice to its idols of power with our millions-fold lives.

Henceforth, if the seekers of political office will not come into line with a politics to rehabilitate the contours and content of living humanity, by constructively making their contributions to a renaissance of experience, then they should be told in clear and certain terms, "You will not seek, nor will you serve, because we, the people, have no intention of investing you with the powers of public office." The same holds for political parties. We are obligated to tell them--to tell the Democrats and Republicans, the NDP, Conservatives, Liberals, Progressive Conservatives, Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, et al., socialist, communist and capitalist alike---"Evolve or face extinction!" What is more important, sets of ideologies, organizational structures, or lives?

In the last analysis, the truth of our time is this. We have allowed ourselves to be overrun by a methodology of minimal sensitivities, by a **blitzkrieg** of injustice, by the conviction of our own powerlessness and the propaganda of cynicism that can find an enemy in any obstruction to the career of greed--that salesman of duplicity who carries in his samplecase the legions of state terrorism and the blueprints of omnicide.

Let us as well make one key confession. Happiness is shattered for us under the impact of national consciousness. For we are either citizens in bad faith with the Earth, its peoples (especially its peoples of color), or we are alienated in the knowledge that too many around us practice that bad faith unquestioningly. For the alienated, happiness is eclipsed and can only come forth again out of an act of rebellion and in the labor toward holism, wherein it has been purified and restored.

To see the innovations enumerated here, we must expect as much if not even more of ourselves as a people than we expect of our government. Although any new expectations, taken seriously, will collide with the evidence that we are an immensely wasteful people. We waste one another and we permit the vicarious wasting of others who also inhabit our social space--others old and young, black, white and brown, female and male, to the count of millions--through a normative indifference fed on the loneliness of individualism and the suspension of social compassion, which is determined more through interpersonal spontaneity than by bureaucratic programs.

From this very type of collision, moreover, the fire of liberation must strike, if we are to emerge in authentic peoplehood and not proceed further as

only the citizens and patriots of a nation-state.

In 1972, antiwar activist James W. Douglass wrote that:

"Thomas Merton identified the purifying fire of . . . liberation as the angel's flaming sword placed by God in front of the Garden of Eden, 'to guard the way to the tree of life'. . . The flaming sword does not mean that the freedom of paradise. . . is no longer possible after man has left it, but only that recovering it is a matter of great practical difficulty."<sup>4</sup>

Our practical difficulties are, we know, truly great. They are greatly overburdening. We shall have to see what we have in reserve for resolution and solution, in terms of strength, intelligence and integrity. We shall have to see what there is to discover in the reservoir of the "and yet. . .", which forever defines our humanity.

Directional alternatives for a sustainable future will emerge for us; can become workable processes; once we have removed the serial numbers of moral incarceration and liberated the life-positive imperatives persecuted and buried by the arsenals, thinktanks, concentration camps and missile silos of this century of deceit. To see clearly where deception has led us and to go heedlessly onward is a lemming's choice. To see clearly where deception has led us and to reject the conclusions of an ultimate dehumanization is a life transforming perception of world-historical effects. To see through the eyes of truth, in truth's light (even with the body's innate wisdom), is to take up compassionate denouncement as sustaining obligation; to engage the dynamics of integrity as arbiter of judgements; to enter reverence for life as the promised land of here and now in need of conscientious participation.

In *The Survivor*, Des Pres has made the following evaluation. "In our time the outcome of power is hostility to life itself."<sup>5</sup> This sentence identifies the threat we, the living, must meet or perish under. It is not a new age sentiment, nor one radiant with redemptive grace. But it is real, and as real men and women we are bound to its wheel of fire which might yet become the crucible for creative transformations.

I want now to conclude with a myth, a story made from paraphrasing Biblical passages and compressing images and ideas into a montage.

The man, Moses, stood on the narrow ridge of meeting and looked from the depths of experience into the promise land of the dimensions of possibility. In his mind's eye he also looked backward over the centuries and generations of created time, until he came to the first Earthly parents of human life. There he beheld the gateway to the primordial home and the form of the cherub who holds in its hands the flaming sword of

challenge--the sword whose vision starts the soul to quiver and whose touch sets the soul on fire.

The man, Moses, knew that many times along the way the people who had come up with him from the shadow of death would meet the cherub and attempt to name its essence. Then they would feel the scorching wound of the mighty sword, whose blade had been hewn untempered from the voice of the living God.

The man, Moses, felt through the unity of his two visions--the vision of the land that he saw stretched before him and the vision of the beginning of exile and testing--that the land and the cherub, the sword, the narrow ridge and the promise were one. But he did not record this in his Torah, nor speak of it to anybody. For the greatness of Moses was that he understood that each man and woman must discover this truth by making it so, by being on the narrow ridge of meeting where unity happens.

He grasped also the mutuality potentially between each person and that creation he or she interacts with. This he did write down in the words of commandment, "It is not too remote".

#### Notes

1. *The Survivor: An Anatomy of life in the Death Camps*, Terrance Des Pres (Oxford University Press, 1976).
2. "The Confirmation of Otherness" in *Family, Community and Society*, Maurice Friedman (The Pilgram Press, 1983).
3. Ibid.
4. *Resistance and Contemplation: The Way of Liberation* by James W. Douglass (Doubleday & Co., 1972).
5. Op cit, Des Pres.

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#### FREEDOM AND AUTONOMOUS PHILOSOPHY

By Francoise Dagenais

We open these reflections with a quote from James Dagenais about Husserl:

Thanks especially to Husserl, we may assert that the subject-object dicotomy is no more relevant on the cosmological level than it is on the psychological level, and perhaps even less so.

That the emergence of ecological consciousness in several disciplines signals an end to the pathologies of the western subject-object dualism we can welcome. But as Dagenais observed, Husserl made this clear in terms of the role philosophy may play in solution of the modern problematic that now manifests itself in environmental degradation and nuclear arms. That problematic has its deepest roots in the metaphysical consciousness and the ontological beingness of humans. What sort of philosophy--as a practice--do we need today? Let us consider some of Husserl's observations.

It has been said that Husserl had "deeper motivations not evidenced on the surface of the text."<sup>1</sup> Husserl's first and foremost motivation, as has also been pointed out<sup>2</sup>, was the pursuit of "the most radical autonomy" for the human mind in its quest for meaning.

When, with the beginning of modern times, religious belief was becoming more and more externalized as a lifeless convention, men of intellect were lifted by a new belief, their great belief in an autonomous philosophy and science. The whole of human culture was to be guided and illuminated by scientific insights and thus reformed, as new and autonomous.<sup>3</sup>

Husserl mentions "the yearning for autonomous philosophy." This yearning finds his first enemy in scholasticism. Numerous citations could be made.<sup>4</sup> An omission is even more telling. When Husserl considers the history of philosophy he mentions the Greeks, the revered forefathers, and then Modern philosophy since Descartes. Everything in between is not even worth mentioning.

Husserl's second enemy, the one he often mentions, is, in fact, a betraying friend. Husserl's enthusiasm for the Enlightenment is passionate. That naturalism failed to the point of being discredited is, for him, nothing less than a tragedy. It is what forced him to an entirely new beginning. The above quoted passage from *Cartesian Meditations* continues as follows:

But meanwhile this belief too has begun to languish. Not without reason. Instead of a unitary living philosophy, we have a philosophical literature growing beyond all bounds and almost without coherence.<sup>5</sup>

So much for Husserl's first motivation, the liberation from all dogmatism and the search for autonomous philosophy which, to him, is synonymous with rational philosophy. This motivation brought about his enthusiasm for the Enlightenment and his disappointment at its failure.

But, as has also been mentioned, Husserl believed that "there must be a set of final

unchanging and definite principles that ground all human possibilities."<sup>6</sup> Husserl mentions "the system for which we yearn." He bemoans the absence of a unitary philosophy. That is Husserl's second motivation, and it is taken for granted as flowing from the first one rather than reflected upon. In that sense we can say that this motivation is "deeper," or hidden. So much so that Quentin Lauer, the translator of "Philosophy as Rigorous Science," felt obliged to add a footnote to a passage where Husserl is particularly forceful in his appeal for "a fully conscious will for rigorous science." Lauer says:

Scepticism in all its forms. . . , was particularly distasteful to Husserl precisely because he considered philosophical certitude a value necessary to humanity. Only if we recognize the value judgement basic to Husserl's quest for a scientific philosophy can we follow the argumentation here.<sup>7</sup>

In the same vein we must remember Husserl's longstanding opposition to Dilthey's Historicism, which denies human freedom.

James Dagenais did not share Husserl's search for "final unchanging and definite principles," but he shared to the utmost his concern for the freedom of the human spirit. He was thus free from the many aporias Husserl created for himself, the main one being how to reconcile his two motivations. What would a unitary, rigorous, scientific philosophy be, even if secured by human rationality? Who would interpret that Philosophy and impose it on non-philosophers? As Robert Sokolowski wrote, Husserl expected everyone to be a philosopher.<sup>8</sup> Sokolowski knows this is not and will never be the case. He solves the problem by appealing to education, but this is no solution. If a philosophy is proposed as "compelling" to every rational being, and every human being is deemed to be a rational being, then the person who disagrees is either ill-willed or crazy. Dogmatism and oppression lurk again on the horizon. We wonder how such a philosophy could be the radically new autonomous one Husserl wanted.

Like Husserl, Dagenais' enemy is dogmatism, oppression of any kind, but it is his only one. Deep human freedom becomes his theme. He wrote:

The real question is 'What can we say, and with what degree and kind of certitude, about the human subject of whom we have the intuitive knowledge that he is the source of something?'. It is a truism to assert, with Piaget, that 'man lives, makes decisions, believes in many values, hierarchizes them, and so gives meaning to his existence by options which constantly go beyond the frontiers of his actual knowledge'. Human being, then, as a kind of free, originating

center of functioning within the universe can no longer really and seriously be called into question, if only because of the contradictions implied in the negation of his relative freedom. The question and task lies in a constant reclarification of the qualifier: the **kind** of freedom that is human being in the world.<sup>9</sup>

Let us repeat: Humans do all kinds of things which go beyond the frontiers of their actual knowledge. In other words, human being is in the making, in the process of being created and realized. Our humanity is emerging. To reflect on this Dagenais uses the notion of "hermeneutic spiral" as developed by Ray Hart.<sup>10</sup> Dagenais treated it at length in his **Models of Man**.<sup>11</sup> At the end of his 1967 paper "For an Ethics of Emergence" he simply says: "the being of man is emergent, and man's comprehension of himself will be isomorphic with his emergent structure."<sup>12</sup>

Dogmatism is impossible if the emerging structure reveals itself in its emerging, what Dagenais calls "the intrinsic entelechy of man". A concrete goal, a finished end result cannot be known in advance and imposed.

Dagenais went further. With his total freedom vis-a-vis the pursuit of a unitary philosophy he was able to initiate the work toward an ontology of structure which Husserl mentions, one which foregoes dogmatism, while giving its due to rationality and rigor. It would require a long paper to present this thesis. But such a presentation would make no sense without the preamble we are giving here.

Let me simply add this: Dagenais' notion of emergent humanity is close to the Husserl of the last years with one main difference. In a late manuscript translated into French in 1950, Husserl recognizes that human life is,

a constant becoming, shot through with a constant intentionality of development. What is becoming in the course of life is the person self. The person's **being** is incessant **becoming**.

and:

Man reaching the ultimate understanding of self, discovers himself responsible for his own being.

But here lies the difference with the approach of Dagenais. Husserl still knows the goal in advance. At the end of the same paper he says:

[R]eason designates that toward which man as man tends in his most intimate being, that alone can content him, make him happy.<sup>13</sup>

Dagenais did not know the goal in advance. He only knew that possible directions and understandings would continue to reveal themselves to humans in the course of their emergence. They always have in the past, but their slow pace, until recently, made them almost imperceptible. That may explain in part the long prevailing static view of reality, which, in turn, prevented people from noticing and coming to terms with new possibilities. At today's pace the question of responsibility of choice becomes urgent. It is the question which prompted Dagenais, in his concluding remarks at the Epistemology Conference in 1976, to plea for us to engage not only in a philosophy of means but in a philosophy of ends.<sup>14</sup>

Reason alone cannot help us choose a direction, sometimes not even the intermediary goals. It can help us ordering our means according to a vision or a felt direction, whose choice we justify by tools other than reason. But we can reflect on that very process of "choosing by other tools." Naturalism would have been saved from the absurdity Husserl deplored, if it had recognized that its fundamental principles are extra-rational.

Perhaps someday I will venture to present in more detail the point at which Dagenais had arrived in what I could call, following Mohanty<sup>15</sup>, "a phenomenology of respect." I will say then in what way he had clarified humanity's emergence, its dynamics, its possible failing and resurgence, the kind of freedom and responsibility it reveals.

I would not want to do this before being sure to share with the readers the thoughts expressed in the following quotations: The first is from Bernhard Waldenfels:

One does no favor to a thinker by insisting at any price on the inner consistency of his opus; it is often the weak or flawed parts which keep his work alive, since they attest to something more, untapped possibilities.<sup>16</sup>

The other is from Iran Duc Thao:

The authentic signification of a thought reveals itself in the very moment of its discovery, when the concern for conceptual coherence has not yet blurred the living experience.<sup>17</sup>

From what has been said in this paper, we are led to these final reflections. The understanding of the radical freedom and responsibility associated with human emergence requires a different vision of reality and a different sense of what ethics involves. In this vision we will see reality as consisting of networks of mutually creative relationships, which for human beings are both a given and a task. With this vision ethics

takes on a new dimension. The ethical person finds in the scope of his responsibility, himself, others and the world **with** their inner and outer relationships. "Love your neighbour" becomes "love his mutually creative relationships." It becomes imperative, for example, that the educator in his relationship with the child respect his inner relationships, which many educators do today. Another concrete example is the ecological movement, which can be seen as stemming from an awakening to the question: What have we done to our relationship with Nature? Have we turned the mutual creativity into mutual destruction? Are we in the process of destroying the inner relationships of Nature? In this emergence through freedom it is the first task of ethical persons to have a deep self knowledge that grasps the relationship between our becoming and our understanding of ourselves. This is what Dagenais sought to bring out in his paper "For an Ethics of Emergence."

The **Trumpeter** has stressed the necessity to change our ways of thinking, if we want to change our destructive practices. How could we change our ways of thinking, if we are not free to do so? The nature and relationship of transformative freedom to ecosophy is clear. An ethics of emergence is an ethic that places human responsibility in a network of creative relationships filled with possibilities for creative emergence of new practices--free of the chains of dogmatism that prevent solution to our pressing problems. Dagenais' later work was aimed at clarifying the nature of an ethics of emergence that took full account of our moral intuitions, reason and this new coherent, yet complex vision of reality.

#### Notes

1. Patrick A. Heelan, "Husserl's Later Philosophy of Science," paper delivered at the 18th Annual Meeting of the Husserl Circle, Depaul University, Chicago, June 1986.
2. Debabrata Sinha, "Whither Phenomenological Rationality?," paper delivered at the 18th Annual Meeting of the Husserl Circle.
3. Edmund Husserl, **Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology**, translated by Dorion Cairns, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1960, p. 4.
4. See for example: Edmund Husserl, "Philosophy as a Rigorous Science" in Husserl **Phenomenology and the Crisis in Philosophy**, translated with notes and an introduction by Quentin Lauer, Harper Torchbooks, N.Y. 1965, pp. 71 and 76. See also, Antos Rancurello, **A Study of Franz Brentano**, Academic Press, N.Y., 1968).
5. **Cartesian Meditations**, p. 5.
6. Patrick A. Heelan, *ibid.*
7. "Philosophy as a Rigorous Science" p. 76, n. 9.
8. Robert Sokolowski, **Husserlian Meditations**, Northwestern University Press, 1974, p. 269.
9. Paper delivered at the Carnegie Institute

Seminar, University of Notre Dame, 1971 (unpublished).

10. Ray L. Hart, **Unfinished Man and the Imagination: Toward an Ontology and a Rhetoric of Revelation**, Herder and Herder, N.Y. 1968.

11. Nijhoff, The Hague, 1972, pp. 158-159.

12. Paper delivered at Loyola University, Chicago, 1967 (unpublished).

13. All three quotations from "La Philosophie comme prise de conscience de l'humanite", text established by Walter Biemel on a manuscript at the Husserl Archives in Louvain, translated into French by Paul Ricoeur, **Deucalion 3: Verite et Liberte**, Oct. 1950, pp. 116-127. The manuscript itself is from the early 30's. (My translation into English.)

14. Conference convened by James Dagenais at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

15. J. N. Mohanty, **The Possibility of Transcendental Philosophy**, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1985, p. 230.

16. As quoted by the reviewer, W. Blankenburg, of Waldenfels' **Das Zwischenreich des Dialogs**, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1971, p. 63.

17. "Les origines de la reduction phenomenologique chez Husserl," **Deucalion 3, Verite et Liberte**, Oct. 1950, p. 132.

**Francoise Dagenais** graduated from the School of Social Service in Brussels, Belgium in 1948, and was employed in social work for several years before gravitating to the writings of Carl Jung and Carl Rogers. In the ensuing years she studied these and other humanistic psychologies which she applied in a variety of contexts, including teaching. She has also spent part of her professional life as a private counselor. Today she devotes her time to working out the ontology that her husband James Dagenais was in the process of developing at the time of his death. From her remarks in the paper published here, it should be clear what its far-reaching implications would be for ecophilosophy. This paper is based on one presented at the 1986 Husserl Circle meeting, in a session in memory of James Dagenais (53) who was, at the time of his death in 1981, a Professor of Philosophy at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. We will publish a review of his book **Models of Man** in a future issue.

#### "For its own sake"

By Arne Naess

Many environmental philosophers find it very difficult to **justify** the position that animals or a subgroup of other items in nature have intrinsic value. Using my habitual terminology I take them to look for a set of valid norms and tenable hypotheses from which a formulation of that position

is derived. No easy task indeed! What has so far been sufficient for me has been, roughly formulated, to ask whether I have myself intrinsic value, that is, value apart from what I might do of good or useful things, or what others can use me for. And I find it completely clear that I have such value which **in practice** I take to mean that I clearly am justified in continuing doing things **for my own sake**. I am a kind of center of value, but of course not the only one.

Upon reflection, I don't see how I could avoid attributing such a value to my nearest. But that reflection is in principle not necessary in a rough formulation of my position.

The transition from attribution of intrinsic value to myself to attribution of that value to every living being proceeds through the process of identification at a deeper level. Insufficient as an explanation and justification? Schematically: Premisses: 'I have intrinsic value.' and 'I identify with you.' Conclusion: 'You have intrinsic value.' Clearly I find it meaningful to ask for a more comprehensive set of norms and hypotheses from which the position might be derived. But going through some possible sets I personally do not find them more convincing. And I do not see something wrong in stopping argumentation somewhere. Aristotle thinks it shows lack of education (apaideia) to believe everything can be proved. Even as a philosopher I am justified in stopping somewhere, that is, accepting at least temporarily, a definite set of ultimate premisses. But my interest in the efforts of others to go beyond my own premisses, or using other sets, does not stop because of the temporary abandonment of my critical assessment of my own ultimates.

In some religious circles it seems, and only seems--I think, to be a norm never to do anything for one's own sake, always serving others or God. But these others are supposed to do things for your sake. In this way the intrinsic value of everybody is affirmed. Everybody is supposed to view themselves as only of instrumental value, but to treat everybody else as having intrinsic value!

It is common to say that persons have infinite value. Interpreting here, rather arbitrarily, 'infinite' as synonymous with alef zero (the manifold of natural numbers), we can derive a central 'egalitarian' principle: However **much** a person has of positive value, infinite plus or minus that amount remains infinite. So there is basically no difference between the value of a saint or a genius, and a torturist, or more generally a 'good for nothing' type. This way of seeing things is analogous to saying that there is an intrinsic value attached to every form of life, and this special kind of value is not one of more or less. But we should be hesitant in calling this kind of value 'infinite'. The main thing is that utility or disutility to others does not count, and

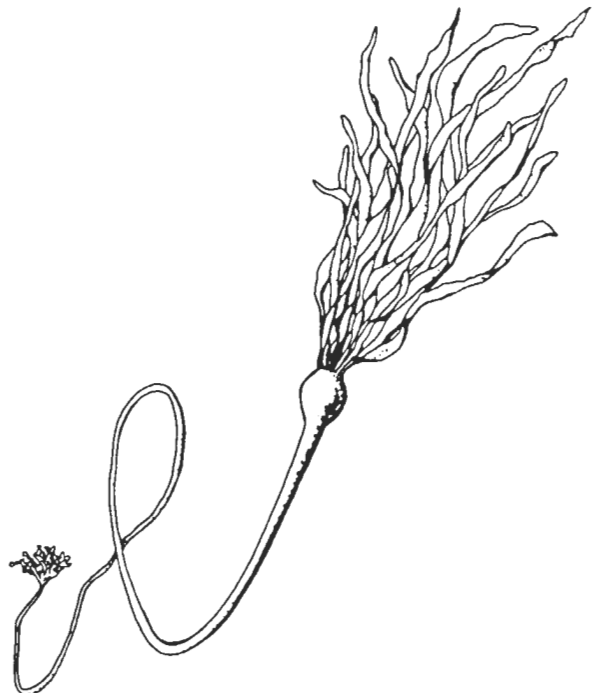
that this kind of value does not exclude, in principle, the practical justification of eating other forms of life.

'To do it for x's own sake' is an expression used not only where x is capable of sensations. Suppose we are two people, A and B, in the mountains, each removing a stone to sit on while resting. Before leaving A puts the stone back where it was, because there are some flowers obviously using the stone to protect themselves against the wind from the North. 'Why do you do this?' asks B. 'For their own sake' answers A. Inspired by A, B also puts his stone back, but he is a little hesitant because there were only some very low-status plants enjoying the protection. 'You did this for its own sake?' asks A pointing at B's stone. B smiles and says 'Nonsense!' It is my contention that the expression is meaningfully applicable to a wide but limited range of beings, and that it has at least one meaning that can stand any amount of philosophical critique.

The Norwegian poet Henrik Wergeland said, "Don't deprive the (rather untranslatable) landscape of any smiling brooks!" In his intuitive grasp of reality we should let the landscape retain its brooks **for its own sake**. "Smiling"--he says. Exactly! No need to introduce a human subject 'projecting smiles into H<sub>2</sub>O'.

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## A VISION FOR PLANET EARTH

By Kendel Rust

The task before all of us is to see and understand what is necessary to cause a shift in our way of life on a global scale, so as to bring all forms of life on this planet into balance. This seems a monumental, if not impossible undertaking. What I will consider is the process that I see as necessary to help bring human life back into harmony with the Earth.

As a first step I would ask you to spend a few minutes with me creating a vision of the world as we would like it to be. It is essential that we all have a clear vision in our hearts and minds, if we are to bring about the needed changes. You will be surprised, dare I say astonished?, at the difference this will make in both little and big ways, to the way you live your life and the harmony you begin to create with your environment and with all aspects of your life.

I would now like to describe my vision. In doing so, that is in seeing my vision, I often think back to the way Native peoples must have had reverence for the world, and for the way they treated the trees, the grass, the lakes and the rivers. They saw the spirit of life in every aspect of nature. They held it in great reverence. We must do the same. Our words may be quite different. We might not use the word spirit, but we will find our own words to describe the respect we have for Nature in all its beautiful forms.

When I create my vision, the underpinnings of it are harmony, peace and balance. If planet Earth is to survive, all the imbalance caused by our many excesses must be brought into balance. What do I mean by this?

I like to visualize myself in outerspace observing the planet Earth in a time-lapse way. With my telescope I focus on various aspects of the planet that I wish to look at more closely. From my position in space, the Earth at this moment looks like it is undergoing a phenomenal transformation before my very eyes. As I zoom in I can see the smoke stacks which used to belch dirty smoke all across the land. Now they do not, they seem monuments to an era that has passed.

What has happened is that technologies, ones that we all know are available, have been used to develop new ways of forging metals, heating buildings, and moving people that do not require the use of fossil or nuclear fuel. The sun plays a large role in these new energies.

As the Earth revolves I see a shift everywhere in the cycle of birth and death such that populations have been brought back into balance with natural system sustainability. People everywhere are taking responsibility for limiting the size of their families, and of caring for parentless children, to create and maintain this

balance. All of the things I see have been brought about by a profound shift in consciousness on a global scale.

As I continue to observe the Earth, I see forests being restored. I see strong alliances amongst all nations to preserve existing natural forests and to expand them through massive tree planting. I see newsprint being replaced by electronic and other media. I see firewood being replaced by biogas, solar and other forms of heat. I see new and longer lasting building materials replacing wood and plastics. I see forest farms in selected areas producing whatever wood is required.

As I look down again on the revolving Earth, I see a sight that is hard to believe. I see clean rivers. The Ganges at its mouth, the Rhine, the Hudson, all are clear and pure, sparkling fresh water, clean enough to drink, beautiful to see. Cleaning up the rivers I am told by my pilot was an easy task. The technologies of water treatment and purification, as well as those for reduction of wastes, have been known for a long time.

We are now passing over Africa, or rather it is revolving past us. I had expected to see extensive waste land eroding into deserts, but all I can see is green. The land has been restored to its former health. I see a village with large numbers of trees. I see well fed little children. They seem totally carefree and are having a good time at their game. They have been told by their parents and grandparents of a time gone by when there was famine and desolation, and how human work helped to make it green and the land fertile, how airplanes seeded grass, how massive numbers of trees were planted and of how ground water supported this, of how the climate actually began to regain its former balance. They were told that more rain came when the smokestacks in other parts of the world stopped belching smoke.

As I continue to observe the Earth, I see that people everywhere are well fed and healthy. I see an abundance of wild life, of birds and wild animals, of fish in the seas and oceans, of whales and other marine life.

As I look more closely, I see that something else has happened. This is even more startling. I see that people are happy. I see that people are co-operating. I see people helping each other. And I don't mean just neighbors. I see people of different cultures, of different religions, of different races, seeing each other for who they really are, of seeing past the symbols that mark our outward difference. But what is making all the people so happy? This seems curious. But then I begin to see more clearly. They are happy because everyone is engaged in meaningful work. People are replanting trees. Others are finding new and better ways to prepare and cook food, while respecting the environment. Others are engaged in developing even better means of transportation, mainly relying on energy from the sun. They are building their



communities, healing themselves and their relationships.

I can now faintly hear a news broadcast; or is it? It is hard to recognize. I don't hear anything about more money for arms, or about bombs ready to be dropped on some new part of the globe, or about the latest statistics on crime rates or suicides. No, the newscasters are talking about progress being made in restoration of the environment. The screen is now portraying some children from Papua New Guinea playing a noncompetitive game that I have never seen before. I'd like to try it.

This is a partial description of my vision. For me, it is a real vision. It is one that I feel deeply in my heart. For me, it is a vision that is a prerequisite for continued and improving life on this planet. Its not an impossible dream. It is a reality that we on the planet Earth can realize, if we so wish.

Let's now look at the ingredients of this creation. Many of the technologies currently exist to make profound changes in our environmental relationships. We have a plethora of technologies of air and water pollution abatement. We know a lot about forest preservation, management and propagation. We are getting to know a lot about technologies of building simple energy efficient dwellings. We all know that if we clean up the pollution, our health will improve. We all know that ecologically sound agriculture can produce an abundance of food to feed the world. The issue is not production but distribution. We all know that if it was possible to put people on the moon 20 years ago, it is possible to develop new technologies to use the sun in conveniently packaged ways. It is possible to develop other technologies to take care of our various needs in a way that will not disturb the environment, but would in fact allow for its restoration. Deep in our hearts we all know that such technologies and practices exist or can be created. We also know that birth rates will drop significantly with a well fed, happy population.

However, we need to look much deeper than just the technologies. The essence of what we need to understand lies in the spirit. It lies in the centre of our beings. It lies some place in the core of our existence. It doesn't matter whether we are Protestant or Catholic, Christian, Buddhist, Moslem, Hindu, Jew, Pagan, agnostic or atheist. At some level of our being, and for some of us it might not be at a conscious level, we all want to be in harmony with ourselves, with all others--including Nature. Most of us have had the experience of a profound level of peace out in Nature. Most of us have experienced a profound sense of satisfaction in being with close friends or loved ones. All of us have experienced joy in creating something that has made a positive

contribution to ourselves or to other people. This might come through creating a nice dinner, writing a poem or a profound book, or giving a smile to brighten someone's heart.

I'm sure none of us like the anger we sometimes feel, the conflicts we often experience, or the stories we are bombarded with about crime, about wars, or about greed and selfishness.

The real question we must ask is how each of us can be in touch with that inner peace all of the time, and how we can support others in doing the same? It seems to me that this world can be saved only through a shift in the consciousness of individuals all over the globe.

How do people shed their fears, greed, hatred, anger and self-centeredness? How do people get in touch with a sense of peace and well being? How can this be extended to a global level? I don't have all the answers to these questions, but I do know that if we were able to achieve this, then all of the other problems would take care of themselves. If people were in touch with their essence, and with their groundedness--in the way that Native peoples probably were, then all else would be cleared up. People would begin to see that bombing a city halfway around the world endangers their own spiritual being and lifestyle. People would see that taking advantage of someone else, or of another nation, only creates disharmony for themselves, not satisfaction. People would realize that the means to solve the problems are at hand.

So where do we begin? We have to begin with you and I. The vision that each of us creates and holds is a vital part of the foundation that is needed. Whether you see the vision as I described it earlier, or whether you define it somewhat differently is not important. What is important is to hold onto that vision. Without a vision or a goal or an objective, working toward shifting our relationship to each other and the environment will go nowhere. Whether it is in corporate or organizational structures, or in our own lives, we all know that a goal is only achieved when one is set. The book *In Search of Excellence* by Peters and Waterman has many valuable lessons for us on this subject.

It is important to keep and hold this vision all of the time. It also is important to come from the heart. If you take an action just to get ahead financially, or to please someone with power, you might find that at some levels it will put you into conflict. If you want to be a peaceful centered human being, then listen closely to your heart. This has been a hard lesson for me, and it is one that I am still learning.

When we are able to truly do these two things, i.e. hold a vision and act from the heart, we can truly be at peace with ourselves and be empowered in the world. When I say "come from the heart," I am not talking about do-goodism. I'm talking about

taking balanced action, i.e. sane, responsible, and authentic action that comes from deep within you and not just from your head. As you begin to do this, the power and meaningfulness of your actions will increase tenfold and more. It is in this way, you also will help to empower others to do the same. In this way a powerful nucleus will be formed that will have a definite impact on the world.

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### DEEP PEACE

By John-Francis Phipps

The development of a deep philosophy of peace that defines strength in moral and metaphysical rather than macho and military terms is something the defence establishment could do without. Current nuclear strategy has an obvious vested interest in maintaining the old otherworldly, weak and negative definitions of peace that have prevailed for so long in our culture. The conventional definition of peace as mere absence of war is essential to military strategy. Once the whole concept of strength is equated with armed might, any alternative views of peace are bound to seem weak, flabby, naive, prone to appeasement and so on.

Compared to other cultures, ours would seem to be unique in its dualistic perception of time: the traditional division between the profane and the finite time of this world and the sacred and the eternal time of the next. Our everyday language reveals this split: 'temporal' is taken to mean a form of time that is anything but eternal, while 'eternal' is generally understood to mean non-temporal--an infinitely vicious circle if ever there was one.

A certain morbid stiffness became associated with peace--to 'be at peace' is one of our many euphemisms for death, the implication being that death is the only passport to real peace. War was seen as something exciting and dynamic (it still is, by some otherwise quite intelligent people). Peace was thus assumed to be something static and deadly dull, not of this world.

Our culture has grown so used to these dualistic divisions that it tends to treat them as fixed and immutable points of reference. Some of our hopelessly inadequate definitions stem from this underlying attitude towards time and until this is sorted out we shall continue to operate on the basis of dualistic misperceptions.

Since the time of this world was traditionally perceived as something shoddy and second-rate compared to the time of the next world, it is hardly surprising that the idea of peace became associated with something otherworldly, sublime, too good to be true. The idea that peace might one day actually break out would spread alarm and despondency in certain quarters. The 'peace virus' would be seen by some as something far more dangerous than AIDS. For those of a strategic disposition, peace has to maintain its cadaverous associations, it has to remain safely outside the realm of the living.

One can conduct an interesting perceptual experiment with time by seeing this world in terms of the values and attributes traditionally ascribed to the next. The fact that we might not be sitting on clouds playing harps should not discourage us from conducting this experiment as a form of imaginative visualization. Moreover, we would find ourselves in illustrious company.

A notable exception to the familiar old western dualistic two-time world view was the seventeenth century Dutch philosopher, Baruch Spinoza. He saw everything 'under the form of eternity' and for him this world was just as eternal as the next one. Spinoza was really more of a visionary than a philosopher in the strictest sense and there is something noble and inspiring about his vision, even if one cannot get to grips with his philosophy, or necessarily agree with some of the statements he makes.

Moreover, he lived by his philosophy and suffered as a result of it: he was excommunicated by his own Jewish community and declared heretical by orthodox Christians. He declined worldly honours, turned down a professorship and remained all his life a grinder of optical lenses, never living to see the publication of his **magnus opus**, the **Ethics**. It seems most fitting that he earned his living as an optical craftsman, clarifying vision. It also seems rather significant that a person with such a spiritual view of the world should also happen to be one of the very few western thinkers to have supplied a positive definition of peace. He wrote: "Peace is not the absence of war; it is a virtue born out of the strength of the heart" (**Tractatus Politicus**). The original Latin reads: **ex animi fortitudine**--'fortitude of soul'. Inner strength from a deep level is the main feature of this definition.

Clearly, a person who perceives **this** time-world as being in some sense eternal and therefore sacred would be extremely well motivated to preserve the planet. Such a person would be morally and metaphysically incapable of contemplating for one split second the idea of allowing such an infinitely precious world to be destroyed. Such destruction would be perceived as the supreme act

of blasphemy and deprecation, de-sanctification. But if this physical world is merely seen as a rather large lump of matter, with absolutely no timeless values or eternal attributes, then there is no morally compelling reason to preserve it. Maurice Ash is surely right when he says that our concern for the environment in itself marks the restoration of a spiritual dimension in our lives (see *Resurgence* No. 112). In this respect, the green perception could be regarded as the re-emergence--or, more appropriately resurgence--of a vision similar to Spinoza's. There is certainly nothing new, least of all trendy, about this vision. It is timeless, part of the perennial philosophy and therefore not subject to transient whims, passing fads and fashions. Herein lies the deep strength of the vision, which provides foundations for a philosophy of peace based very much on **this** world.

At its deepest level, peace is a mystery, a paradox. Our western philosophical tradition has tended to be prejudiced against the very idea of paradox and our secular-scientific ethos tends to see mysteries as problems that have to be solved. In an essay aptly entitled *The Secret of Peace*, John Gardner explores the symbolic significance of the first three numbers in relation to peace. He observes that "war is a function of those who think in twos; peace is made by those who think in threes." The number 2 represents the "fall" into dualism, from the initial primal unity. Here everything is perceived in straight, non-paradoxical, either/or terms: good/evil, light/dark, time/eternity, left/right, east/west and so on. This state of dualism is characterised by cerebral cleverness as opposed to wisdom--the intellect operating in a manner dissociated from deeper feelings and intuitions. This is often mistakenly described as "rational" and all other feelings, sensations and intuitions are consequently seen as "irrational". So whenever anybody proposes a restoration of spirituality to metaphysics, such a proposal is seen as "an assault against reason". But the original philosophical concept of wisdom was far closer to mystical awareness than to cerebral cleverness.

According to Gardner, the peacemaker stands between two extremes and consequently needs inner strength, fortitude of soul, in order to avoid the war-prone confrontation of dualism: "Every virtue stands under the 3. But when the good is perceived as the preferred half, of a **duality**, war will be not only likely but in the long run sure. The art of life is to achieve the good by walking the middle way." As long as one is centred, one can regard opposing powers as potentialities for good. Dualism involves the denial of one's own shadow elements and their projection onto an enemy figure. The fury against the other is, as the sages have always told us, rooted in that which we hate and

cannot accept in ourselves. The third way is the way of integration, where both light and dark aspects of our personalities are accepted.

A culture that has been immersed for centuries in a dualistic worldview is thus apt to define everything in terms of opposites. Consequently we have lost sight of our own western equivalent of **ahimsa**, which is something very much more positive than a mere absence of violence. It is a sort of "soul force", something flowing from the deepest levels of our beings. We therefore need a language of soul-strength that can touch this inner sanctum, this holy of holies that dwells in each and every one of us, thereby releasing untapped latent potentials for creative growth.

It can sometimes be helpful to see things in terms of temporal rather than religious language. This can have the effect of restoring vitality to over-used and misused religious terminology. For example, when we see the varieties of religious experience in temporal terms--as experiments with time--we thereby perceive more clearly that such experiences involve the perception of a different order of time in **this** world and include temporal attributes traditionally assumed to belong exclusively to the next world.

In virtually all the main spiritual traditions, the present moment is regarded as a potential "door to the non-temporal": "The present, man's most precious gift, is the point where time and eternity meet; it symbolises hope and joy. It is the moment of faith and the door towards the non-temporal. Time itself is impregnated by the eternal in such a way that every moment of time itself is impregnated by the eternal in such a way that every moment of time is a gate to the eternal, practically all the traditions of the world speak with the same tongue concerning the present moment, the instant, the present now, the eternal now." (Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred*.)

We tend to stand in awe of great luminaries like Spinoza and Blake, but often what they are actually talking about is something we can all relate to in everyday life, in moments of stillness and contemplation. The present moment can hardly be regarded as something inaccessible, restricted only to great thinkers and visionary poets. It depends, of course, how we perceive it; perception is the key. The fact that we may not write a learned treatise or wax lyrical about our own particular timeless moments should not be construed as implying that we all perceive time in exactly the same way.

Thousands of people from all walks of life, from different religious backgrounds and many who would describe themselves as agnostic have sent in accounts of their moments of illumination to the Alister Hardy Research Centre at Oxford. Recent surveys indicate that at least one third of the populations of Britain and America would claim such experiences.

The political implications of this nobler, more joyful, unitive and life-affirming aspect of human experience need further exploration. For this is a form of liberation that goes deeper than other more familiar forms and can properly be called metaphysical liberation. Of what value are other forms of liberation if at a deep level we remain metaphysically repressed, spiritually imprisoned? Metaphysical liberation is the most powerful form of liberation. Nothing can prevail against it, no bombs, no state authority and all its armed might, no defence industry. For the human spirit is, as the women of Greenham have reminded us, free and strong and you can never kill it.

There is a great wellspring of creativity and life-affirming spirituality simply waiting to manifest itself. There are now countless sects and groups of every conceivable variety, but many, if not most, suffer from political apartheid--they impose a dualistic division between the realm of the spirit and the affairs of this world. This separation is based on a false perception of the actual nature of politics. If we are talking about inner power (which we are), then we are discussing politics. On the other hand, many political activists suffer from the illusion that metaphysical liberation is of no relevance to politics, whereas in reality this inner freedom could form the basis of a more honest and relevant form of politics based on mutual trust and co-operation rather than antagonism and confrontation.

We now seem to be moving into a much more positive phase of peace-making--a deeper, broader, more generous, more open-hearted phase, without those familiar old dualistic divisions of us/them, insiders/outsideers, members/non-members.

Only connect, only connect. . .The inner-outer connection has only just got under way and has yet to attain socially significant proportions. The emphasis is on quality, not quantity, the inner and invisible, more paradoxical processes, rather than outward and visible, non-paradoxical facts and figures. A strong and deep philosophy of peace could provide the necessary bridge between the inner and outer realms, promoting a new (yet timeless) form of contemplative activism rooted in the vision that there is in reality only **one** time-world and that this one world is sacred and therefore of infinite value.



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#### ARE WE RIPE FOR THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT?

By Franz Alt

We have yet to learn that our goal in the industrial countries should be a weaning away from materialism, rather than more and more pampering, if the tensions between the Northern and the Southern hemispheres are not to lead to further wars. We can preserve creation only if we realize that the atomic bomb is the zenith of our one-sided materialism. The issue today is not liberation from powerlessness, but liberation from military and economic superiority. The world will hardly become more human with today's destructive, macho, revolutionary values; it can become more human with the life-preserving, female, evolutionary virtues. It's no picnic living in accordance with the Sermon on the Mount, but no one who would like to be a Christian can free himself from its aims. My impression is that men have a harder time dealing with the Sermon than women do. Women know more about love.

We will be ripe for the Sermon on the Mount once we realize that the all-important question in our current situation is: Life or death? We have to understand that militarized thinking and the bubbly and optimistic trivialization of the looming nuclear holocaust are as dangerous as the bomb itself.

We will be ripe for the Sermon on the Mount once we understand what the preacher is saying: Things can't go on this way. More and more weapons, more and more environmental destruction, more and more starvation, more and more spiritual crippling--the Earth cannot endure it. Of course, the Sermon is no patented recipe. But it does outline a stance: We have to be as concerned about other people's lives as we are about our own. So far, all revolutions have proved that one cannot "create" a "new man." Yet Jesus wants the new human being, the new heaven, and the new Earth. However, this new human being can come only from within us. The failure of all socialist revolutions is due to the socialist belief that human beings can be changed if conditions of the outer, material human being is

changed--naturally under pressure and coercion. The results are well known. Human beings cannot be changed, human beings can only change themselves. Jesus wants a repentance of the heart, a spiritual revolution, a faith that can move mountains.

The goal of this repentance is not the homo oeconomicus, the economic man, but the homo humanus, the whole human being. The goal is a human revolution with political consequences. We can change ourselves if we want to change ourselves. All true change begins within ourselves. The message of the Sermon on the Mount is: "You are blessed if you. . ." People object, saying that not even the most pious can live in peace if the evil neighbour doesn't want to. But this sidesteps the problem in two ways.

First of all, this objection presumes that we ourselves (the West) are good, and the other (the East) is bad. Thus, we lack all knowledge of ourselves.

Second, we are once again demanding from the other something that we are not willing to practice ourselves: nonviolence.

"So long as the Communists do not make the Sermon on the Mount the foundation of their politics, we cannot do so either." I keep hearing this statement, especially in Christian circles. People need scapegoats if they don't live as they ought to in terms of what is considered respectable Christianity. People need the image of the enemy, saying, Do unto others before they do unto you. However, Christ did not let himself be nailed to the cross for the sake of that cynical old rule. The Sermon on the Mount is neither a sentimental romance nor an aesthetic radicalism. It is not a commandment, it is the offer of a humane life. The insight gleaned from the Sermon is: Only love helps; hatred makes us worse.

Threatening the other with an arms buildup is not helpful to him or to me. My escalation forces him into a further buildup, and his forces me to go on in the same way. The Golden Rule is: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." So if I don't want the other person to continue his arms buildup, then I shouldn't continue mine, even if he keeps on with his. We not only have to protect our enemies against us, we also and primarily have to protect ourselves against ourselves. The Christian virtues of faith, hope, love, patience, and humility apply not only to our behaviour toward others, but to our behaviour toward ourselves. Charity begins at home. Peace begins within us. There is no other way of understanding the Old Testament commandment: "You shall love you neighbour as yourself." I myself am dependent on my own love because evil is within me. According to an old story, Adam, the first man, recognized his other side, evil, when he saw himself in a mirror. He now lost his "heavenly innocence"; he became "knowing." Today, the man who threatens to use

atomic bombs in seeming innocence does not know what he is doing; he knows nothing about his other side. This other side, the evil within us, is not made harmless by our failure to admit it. Quite the contrary: it is extremely dangerous, precisely because it exists without our admitting it. Psychologists tell us that we project our evil onto others only because we repress it and fail to discern our "shadow." If you ignore your own enemy within you, then you will need the image of an enemy. If you seek evil everywhere, but not in yourself, then you will ultimately built atomic bombs while condemning others for doing likewise, and sooner or later you will use your bombs. You will regard your own nuclear mentality as legitimate, for evil must be fought. The less you recognize the evil within you, the more intensely you fight it in others. A man can threaten to use atomic bombs only if he does not realize that he is threatening himself.

We fail to recognize the link between the politics of the bomb and the destruction of our souls because we do not know ourselves. Self-knowledge is always the first step in the right direction. Meditating on the Sermon on the Mount is a way of gaining self-knowledge. Saint Augustine said about self-knowledge: "What good is it if we so carefully examine and properly grasp the essence of all things and yet fail to know ourselves?" The goal of all self-knowledge is "the divine core in the human heart" (Jolande Jacobi). Since the soul is of a divine nature, this goal remains--almost--unattainable on Earth, but we still ought to strive for it. The God of Jesus of Nazareth is a God of love; thus, He is patient and indulgent toward moral imperfection and wickedness. Threatening with the bomb means threatening one's own soul. Right after the first atomic bombs were used in 1945, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin wrote about humanity: "Its body was whole. But what had happened to its soul?" The atomic bomb had turned man "into a new being that did not know itself." Now man revels "in a feeling of infinitely developed power." He has "bitten into the fruit of a great discovery" and has had "a taste of supercreation."

The more nuclear bombs come into the foreground, the more the soul is pushed into the background. The logical consequence is the inner, spiritual illnesses afflicting more and more people. Have there ever been so many neurotics, so many drug addicts, so many suicidal individuals, so many people incapable of a relationship, so many socially motivated abortions, so much inner emptiness, so little basic trust as in our time? The bomb has already wrought spiritual havoc. Our psyches all suffer from nuclear contamination. Even worse, we don't realize it. And worst of all, most politicians don't want to realize it. If our souls die altogether, then all that will remain is the end of the world.

Is there a more humane humanism than God's humanism if God (according to Saint John) "is love?" The God of the preacher of the Sermon on the Mount is God of love. A God of love is a passionately humane God.

The real peace utopia of the Sermon on the Mount is not the dream image of an unreal world; it is the design and the knowledge--or at least the first draft and the foreknowledge--of a world that should and can be different. Today, the real utopia of the Sermon reveals not only the goal of peace, but also the way to peace: no further arms buildup, no further steps in the old direction, but at least a nuclear freeze as a first step in the right direction. The law of peace stated in the Sermon goes: Peace exists not against the other, but only with him. Peace can exist only if one person takes the first step, unconditionally. "A peace politics is a politics of the first step," said Werner Krusche, bishop of Magdeburg, in 1971. Today this means: In order to end the arms race, someone must start to stop, unconditionally. So, no further arms buildup! A basic law of psychology tells us that if you want to get someone to do something, you first have to do it yourself. If you want to get the Soviet Union to disarm, you first have to stop your arms buildup. There is no other way. We know this not only from the Sermon on the Mount, psychology, and common sense (how common is it?), but also from our dismal experiences with all the arms talks. This simple truth is not only unrecognized today, but jeered at. For centuries the motto was: If you want peace, prepare for war. Today, in the Atomic Era, the only motto can be: If you want peace, prepare for peace. This means: If you want disarmament, you have to disarm. The road decides the goal. The end does not justify the means; at most, bad means have always rendered the best ends unjust. Gandhi's philosophy of peace: "Unclean means have unclean results." "One cannot reach the truth by means of untruth." Everything has its consequences. Long before war breaks out, it is prepared; that is, it has already begun in people's minds and in the media. Today, there are not too few, but too many weapons. And West Germany is the country with the greatest density of nuclear arms.

Anyone in Western Europe who wants more rockets, weapons, and bombs will reap what he has sown. He will be an accomplice. The fact that the other side is also a sinner and an accomplice can never justify one's own sin and guilt. Violence is merely followed by even greater violence, not by salvation. The world can still be saved through Gandhi's nonviolence and the love of Jesus of Nazareth. All politicians, all who are pro- or antinuclear, assure us that of course they want peace. Nor can any rational person doubt it. Yet the desires of the politicians have not more political effect than the yearnings of the peace movement. Deeds are what count, not words. The fact

that--nearly--all politicians want peace is obvious; but the means they use to attain this goal reveal their true colours. The arms systems discussed in today's arms talks are annihilatory, not defensive. Only the right means allow us to achieve the right goals. We can reach life only by taking the right ways. The leitmotif of foreign politics in the West has always been: How can we prevent the Soviet Union from attacking us? By now at the latest, when the danger of all-out annihilation keeps growing, the new and sensible motif of our foreign politics should be: How can we get the Soviet Union interested in dismantling its destruction potential? So long as the negotiations follow Lenin's thesis that "Trust is good; control is better," there can be no progress. Someone must start to stop. We have to turn Lenin's maxim upside down: Control is good; trust is better. But why does the West try to out-Lenin the Soviet Union at arms talks? This policy is foolish, if only because the economic plight of Eastern Europe demands disarmament more than the economic problems of Western countries. All our experience tells us that a nuclear freeze would be more useful than an arms buildup. We would be more ripe for the Sermon on the Mount.

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**Franz Alt** is a well-known television personality in Germany. He was a reporter and editor with the Southwestern Network since 1962, and anchorman and moderator of the "television magazine" **Report** since 1972. His views originally favored building new arms, but as the above article shows, he has come to see the folly of this course. The article here is taken from his recent book **Peace is Possible: The Politics of the Sermon on the Mount**, (English translation by Joachim Neugroschel), Copyright © 1985 by Schocken Books, Inc., New York. Reprinted here with permission of the publisher and the author.

#### BEING PEACE:

#### Thoughts for Peace Workers and Others

By Thich Nhat Hanh

Life is full of suffering, but it is also full of wonderful things like the blue sky, the sunshine, the eyes of a baby. To suffer is not all. We also need to be in touch with the wonders of life. They are all around us, everywhere, any time. Does it require a special effort to enjoy the blue sky? Do we have to practice to be able to enjoy it? No, we just enjoy it. We don't need to travel to China in order to enjoy the sky.

You know that if a tree is a tree, that is about all it can do. If a tree is not a tree, then life is not life. The fact that a tree is a tree is very

important for us. We benefit a lot from a tree's being a tree. In the same way, a person should be a person. If one person is a real person living happily, smiling, then all of us, all the world will benefit from that person. A person doesn't have to do a lot in order to save the world. A person has to be a person. That is the basis of peace.

If a child smiles, if an adult smiles, that is very important. If in our daily life we can smile, if we can be peaceful and happy, not only we but all the members of our families will profit from it, living peacefully, joyfully, smiling. The world around us will also benefit from it. That is the most basic kind of peace work.

The other day, during a Dharma talk, children were sitting in front of me. There was a boy smiling beautifully. Tim was his name. I said, "Tim, you have a very beautiful smile." And he said, "Thank you." I said, "No, you don't have to thank me. I have to thank you. Because of your smile, you make life more beautiful. So instead of saying 'Thank you,' you should say 'You're welcome.'" When I see Tim, I am so happy. If he is aware of the fact that he is making other people happy, he can say "You're welcome."

Therefore, to be in touch with the wonderful things of the world, to smile, to enjoy the blue sky, the sunshine, the presence of each other: that is the first thing we must do. And that does not need a particular effort. We should just be aware of the presence of these wonderful things.

Smiling means that you are yourself, that you have sovereignty over yourself, that you are not drowned into forgetfulness. That kind of smile can be seen on the faces of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. So I would like to ask you all not to be observers or spectators but to be actors. Please smile and enjoy your breathing while reading. There is a **gatha**, a short verse, which I would like to share with you.

Breathing in, I calm body and mind.

Breathing out, I smile.

Dwelling in the present moment,

I know that this is the only moment.

I would like to say something about these four lines. "Breathing in, I calm body and mind." I don't just recite this, I practice it. It is like drinking a glass of ice water. You feel the cold and the freshness permeate your own body. So when I breathe in, I feel the breathing calming my body, calming my mind. I feel like a glass of orange juice just squeezed from an orange. The small particles of the orange slowly go down to the bottom and settle. So when I breathe in, I see clearly that the breathing calms my mind and my body.

When I breathe out, I smile. I actually smile. You know the effect of a smile. A smile can relax hundreds of muscles in your face, relax your nervous system, and make you master of yourself. That is why the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are always smiling. If you smile you feel the wonder of the smile.

"Dwelling in the present moment, I know this is the only moment." While I sit here, I don't think of elsewhere in the future or the past. I sit here, and I know where I am sitting. This is very important. We tend to live in the future, not now. We say, "Wait until I finish school and get my PhD degree, then I will be really alive." But after school we say, "Wait until I have a job, then I will be really alive." After the job, a house. And we are not capable of being alive in the present moment. We postpone being alive to the future, the distant future--we don't know when. Now is not the moment to be alive. And we may never be alive at all in our life.

Therefore, the technique--if we have to speak of a technique--is to be alive in the present moment, to be aware that I am here and now. The only moment for me to be alive is the present moment. So the time you are reading this article here and now--this is not just a time to read words, but to be in the present moment. Reading an article may be important, but to be here and now, enjoying the present moment, is the most important thing.

I think we can feel very happy while practicing breathing and smiling. And the conditions are available. You can do it sitting in a meditation hall or at home; you can do it walking in a park or at a riverside, anywhere. The breath is the mediator between the body and the mind. The breath unites mind and body. And it nourishes our best self.

While practicing walking meditation, you pay attention to the number of steps you make during each inhalation and each exhalation. In this way, you can make peaceful, happy steps, and you enjoy it. If you do not follow your breathing, you forget what you are doing and your steps will no longer be happy and peaceful. Following your breath is a way of reminding yourself that you are taking peaceful, happy steps.

I suggest that in each home we have a tiny room for breathing. We have one room for sleeping, one room for eating, one room for cooking; why don't we have a room for breathing? I suggest that that room be not too bright and be decorated in a very simple way--maybe just a pot of flowers to symbolize our true nature. And a table and a few cushions. If the family has five members, then have five cushions and a few more for guests. From time to time, we may want to invite our guests to come and sit and breathe with us for five minutes or three minutes.

I know of families with such rooms. Their children go in there after breakfast, sit down and breathe for ten minutes: in-out-one, in-out-two, in-out-three, ten times, and they go to school. This is a very beautiful practice. If you don't wish to breathe ten times, three times may be more pleasant. Yes, that's a beautiful thing to do.

So a room for breathing is very important. It must be very clean and simple--only cushions and one small table with a pot of flowers. Children can arrange flowers in mindfulness, smiling. And anytime you feel a bit sad or irritated, don't say anything, just begin to breathe and slowly open the door of that room, go in, slowly sit down, and breathe and smile for a few moments. That is a very civilized thing to do.

During a recent retreat, one friend asked this hard question, "How can I smile when I am full of sorrow? It's like forcing myself to smile. That is not natural." Maybe some of you think the same.

My answer was: "You should be able to smile at your sorrow, because you are more than your sorrow." A human being is like a television set with millions of channels to receive. If you turn the Buddha channel on, you are the Buddha. If you turn the sorrow on, you are the sorrow. If you turn the smile on, you are the smile. And so on. Don't let one channel dominate you all the time. You have the seed of everything in you. Therefore, you have to seize the situation in your hands, in order to recover your own sovereignty.

When we sit down peacefully, breathing and smiling, we are our true selves: we have sovereignty over ourselves. When we sit watching a TV program, we let ourselves be invaded by it. Because we don't like ourselves, because we don't want to be with ourselves, we want to have something other than ourselves enter us. Sometimes a TV program is good, but often it is just very noisy. And we let a very bad program assail us, invade us and destroy us. Even if we suffer, even if our nervous systems suffer, we don't have the courage to stand up and turn off the TV program.

We must go back to our true selves. These practices--breathing, smiling and being aware--help you go back to your true self. You are so busy that when you have some free time, you cannot stand it. You have to pick up a book saying that you have to educate yourself. Or you pick up the telephone. You don't mind that the telephone bill will be too high. Or you turn on the TV. And there are a million other things, like video tapes and music, to help you get away from yourself. Practicing meditation to be aware, to listen attentively, to smile, to breathe--all this is on the opposite side. We want to go back to ourselves in order to see what is going on. Because to meditate means to be aware of what is going on.

What is going on is very important. I think the most important precept of all is to live in awareness, to know what is going on--not only here but there. For instance, when we eat a piece of bread, we may choose to be aware of how our farmers grow the wheat. It seems that chemical poisons are used a bit too much. And while we eat the bread, we are somehow responsible for the destruction of our ecology. When we eat a piece of meat, we may become aware that eating meat is not a good way to reconcile oneself with millions of children in the world. Forty thousand children die each day in the third world for lack of food. And in order to produce meat, you have to feed the cow or the chicken with a lot of cereal. Eating a bowl of cereal is more reconciling with the suffering of the world than eating a piece of meat. An authority on economics who lives in France told me that if only the Western countries would reduce the eating of meat by fifty percent, that would be enough to change the situation of the world.

What we are, what we do every day, has much to do with world peace. If we are aware of our lifestyle, our way of consuming and looking at things, then we know how to make peace right at the present moment. If we are very aware, we will do something to change the course of things.

In the peace movement, there is a lot of anger, frustration and misunderstanding today. The people in the movement can write very good protest letters, but they are not yet able to write love letters. We need to learn to write to the Congress and to the President of the United States letters that they will not put in the trash can. We need to write the kind of letter that they will like to receive. The way you speak, the kind of language you use, and the kind of understanding you express should not turn people off. Because the people you write to are also persons like all of us.

Can the peace movement talk in loving speech, showing the way to peace? I think that will depend on whether the people in the peace movement can be peace. We cannot do anything for peace without ourselves being peace. If you cannot smile, you cannot help other people smile. If you are not peaceful, then you cannot contribute to the peace movement. We know that our situation is very dangerous. A nuclear war can happen at any moment. Practicing meditation is to practice awareness of what is going on. Therefore, if we are aware, if we know what is going on, we will be peace and make peace, so that the worst may not occur.

We need people who understand, who are capable of being in touch with people. But there are few such people. To reconcile the conflicting parties, we must have the ability to understand the suffering of both sides. If we take sides, it is impossible for us to do the work of reconciliation.



And humans want to take sides. That is why the situation gets worse and worse. Are there people who are still available to both sides? They need not do much. They need do only one thing: go to one side and tell all about the suffering endured by the other side, and go to the other side and tell all about the suffering endured by this side. That is our chance for peace. That alone can change the situation. But how many of us are in a position to do that?

The other morning I went with a young woman who was expecting a child. The child was due in four weeks. I told the young mother, "Please breathe and smile for the baby. You don't need to wait until the baby is born in order to take care of it. You can take care of the baby right now, or even sooner."

What if that lady tells you she cannot smile? That is very serious. What if she cannot breathe, cannot smile, cannot enjoy the blue sky? That's very serious. She cannot say, "I am too sorrowful. Smiling is just not the natural thing for me to do." Maybe crying or shouting is more natural for her to do. But her baby will get it all--whatever she is, whatever she does.

Even if you do not have a baby in your womb, the seed of a baby is already there. So those of you are still unmarried--even men--should be aware that the baby is already there somehow. Don't wait until the doctors tell you that you are going to have a baby to begin to take care of it. It is already there. And whatever you are, whatever you do, your baby will get it. So anything you eat, anything you do, any worries that are on your mind will be for the baby. So be aware.

Can you tell me that you cannot smile? No. Think of the baby. You smile for him, for her, for the future generations. You have a baby, so you should be responsible. So smile. We have the illusion that we are only one thing, and that if we are sorrowful, we cannot be something else. This is wrong. It's like a TV set saying, "I can only be Channel 5. I cannot be something else."

I can tell you that if you are unable to smile, then the world will not have peace. It's not by going out for a demonstration against nuclear missiles that you can get peace. It is with your capacity for smiling, breathing and being understanding that you can make peace. Practicing meditation, practicing smiling, breathing, enjoying the blue sky, we can bring a new dimension to the peace movement.

I think that if you can practice breathing, sitting with your children in your home for a few minutes every morning, that would be marvelous. Take your children out for walking meditation before going to sleep. That would make a very big difference. And a room for mediation, for breathing. These are three things I would recommend: namely, breathing and sitting with your

children every morning, walking meditation with them for ten minutes before going to bed, and arranging for a room for breathing in your home. I think these things are very important. They can change our civilization.

**Thich Nhat Hanh** is a Vietnamese poet, a Zen Buddhist monk and an honorary vice-chairperson of the Friends For Reconciliation (FOR). He now resides in France. This article is an edited excerpt from his book, **Being Peace**, 1986, Parallax Press (2637 McGee Ave., Berkeley, Ca. 94703), \$8.50 U.S., plus \$2 shipping. Reprinted here with permission of the author and the publishers. This edited version of "Being Peace" was earlier published in **Fellowship** (published by FOR) July/August, 1986, pp. 5-7. Suggested by Kirke Wolfe. Thich Nhat Hanh's last published book, **Walking Meditation** is available from FOR (Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960).



#### BOOKNOTES

**\*Program of the Green Party**, Preface by Jonathon Porritt. Published in the U.S. by LongRiver Books and available from Inland Book Co, 22 Hemingway Ave., East Haven, CT 06512. \$3.50 U.S. This book gives the political program around which the Greens mobilized for participation in the Federal West German parliamentary elections, held in March 1983. As a result of such elections, the Greens entered the federal parliament, having polled more than 5% of the vote.

The shape of the future is shown in this book. This document is fascinating and informative. It shows the concrete, yet revolutionary nature of the West German Greens and their ideas. It shows how integrated the Greens are into the ecological, social, political and cultural realities of Germany. Some examples of the exciting ideas given in the program: In future, economic aims can only be achieved in the context of ecological necessities; the supreme commandment must be the smallest possible change in natural processes; as a matter of principle, effluents must be released upstream from the intake point; the main task of forestry is to sustain the ecological stability of

the forest, timber production for profit must be subordinate to this aim; protection of native animals and plants in their natural surroundings must be given priority over economic plans. To know that a significant section of the West German population supported such ideas, sends one into ecological ecstasy. The only changes that one can think of, in considering the above quotations, is substituting "use" for "profit" in the forestry quote.

From an ecophilosophical point of view, the position presented in this political program is essentially a stewardship one:

Encroachment on natural habitats and the extermination of animal and plant species is destroying the balance of nature and along with it the basis of our own life. It is necessary to maintain or restore a biologically intact environment, in order to ensure the humane survival of future generations.

This book is a radical document, even though the appeal is basically to human self-interest. It therefore raises the important questions whether the denigration of the stewardship position, by some deep ecologists, is correct. The issue is, can our planet ecologically survive, and can a revolutionary green movement gain political power without appealing to human self-interest? The more morally advanced Deep Ecology position is, of course, "equal intrinsic value of all entities."

The West German Greens are not upholders of parliamentary cretinism. The Green movement in Germany seems to have a wide base in actual struggles in that society. Participation in elections seems to be just one forum for raising green alternatives. Here in Canada, the formation of provincial and federal Green political parties, without a mass base, has served to blur what a real Green alternative would mean for this country. The Green movement has not yet been built in Canada.

There are some redundancies in this book, particularly the middle class moralizing in the preface by Porritt. On the whole, it is well done. Highly recommended.

Reviewed by David Orton, who is an environmental activist associated with the North Shore Environmental Web (NSEW), PO Box 101, New Glasgow, N.S. B2H 5E1. His writings have appeared in a number of environmental, alternative forums.

\*Jonathon Porritt has also written *Seeing Green*, published by Blackwell, London, 1985. Our source says a broad look at Green Politics.

\*Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak have written what many see as the most comprehensive look at

Green Politics, its philosophy, history and so on. Published by Dutton, New York, 1984.

\*Kirkpatrick Sale offers a detailed discussion of the bioregional vision in *Dwellers in the Land* published by Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, 1985. A clear statement of the philosophy of bioregionalism, which envisions a world that is based on natural geographic regions, rather than arbitrary political boundaries. Sales says that bioregionalism is "not merely a new way of envisioning and enacting a very old American ideal, but also a crucial, and perhaps virtually the only possible means of arresting the impending ecological apocalypse." Sale argues for the necessity to shift to an ecocentric philosophy and practice.

\*Nicholas Maxwell has published *From Knowledge to Wisdom: A Revolution in the Aims and Methods of Science*, Blackwell, London, 1984. This is a very important book, which examines our current problem context from the perspective of a science dedicated to not merely instrumental knowledge but to the enhancement of possibilities for wise action. It is the aims and methods of inquiry in science that must change if we are to solve the problems pressing upon us. The problems are in part caused by aims and methods no longer appropriate to our interconnected world. The importance of reforming science and technology cannot be underestimated. This can be done, Maxwell sets out to show, in ways that are effective and yet in rational and cooperative ways.

#### ART

\*Lee Nading has just completed an 8 X 2640 foot highway painting which is the final work in his *Trail of Rising and Falling Birds*, a series of highway paintings and totemic sculptures begun in 1983. The half-mile long painting expresses his "philosophical view of modern man's conflict with and desire for nature." For more information contact the Center for Contemporary Arts of Santa Fe, 905-982-1338.

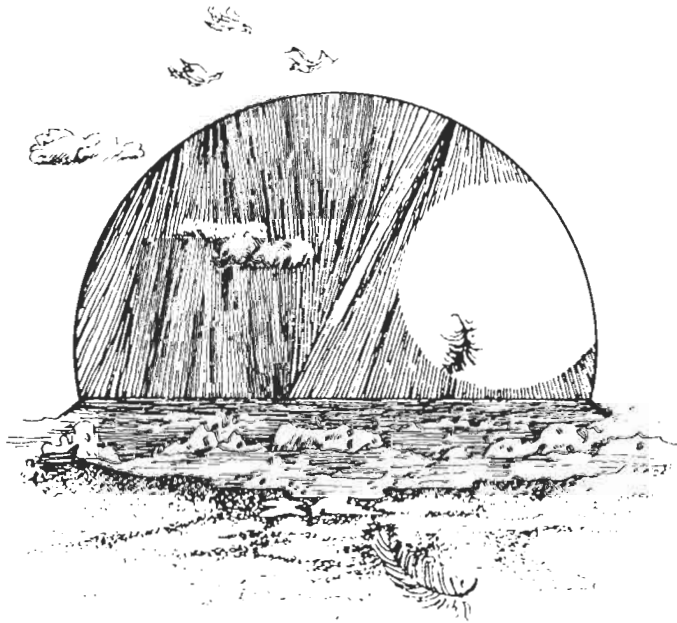
#### PERIODICALS, ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

\*The Newsletter of the Canadian Network for Ethical Investment is available from CNEI, Box 1615, Victoria, B.C., Canada V8W 2X7; Co-editors: Larry Trunkey and Elaine Weidner. \$10 per year, includes membership in CNEI. Ethical Investment is based on two major considerations: financial soundness and ethical criteria. Ethical investment usually refers to investing in companies that do not exploit nature or workers, that do not discriminate on the basis of sex, religion or race and that do not profit from the arms race. However, different funds

and investment advisors **apply different screens** at the option of the investor. A fast growing sector of the financial world that is based on the assumption that good investing cannot be based solely on financial considerations. (Suggested by Nancy McMin.)

**\*Ecoforum Appeal** was issued by the Ecoforum for Peace, Varna, Bulgaria, 1986. 88 natural and social scientists from 32 nations East and West, North and South, met to discuss the two major threats to human life-nuclear war and environmental degradation. They issued an appeal to all peoples and governments to begin to work cooperatively to prevent these two threats from becoming reality.

**\*Ecopolitics II** is the second annual conference for all those involved in ecology and politics; for activists, academics, writers and politicians. It follows the highly successful inaugural event at Griffith University in August 1986. The program for this year's conference is impressive. It is the most extensive, ambitious conference of this type to come to my attention. This year the conference will be hosted by the Centre for Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania, Box 252C, GPO Hobart, Tasmania, Australia 7001, Contact Michael Lynch. There are plans to publish the proceedings. (Suggested by Robyn Eckersley.)



The Trumpeter: Dedicated to the exploration of and contributions to  
a new ecological consciousness and the practice  
of forms of life imbued with ecosophy.