EMERGING IDEOLOGIES IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT The N.American Case of "Deep" and "Social Ecology"

5.

Manussos Marangudakis

Department of Sociology McGill University 1

30 September 1991

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts CONTENTS

Y.

Ţ

4.....Acknowledgements 5....Abstract 6.....Sommaire 7....List Of Tables 8.....Interviewees (Montreal Ecology) 9.....Interviewees (Earth First!) 10.....Introduction 14.....CHAPTER 1: The Previous Research 24.....CHAPTER 2: Reviewing the Characteristics of "Modern Environmentalism" 29.....CHAPTER 3: Concepts and Methodology 29..... for the Paradigm 45..... CHAPTER 4: The Green Ecologists 45..... 4.1. Values and Beliefs 48.....4.2. The "Montreal Ecology" Case 50.....CHAPTER 5: The Deep Ecologists 50..... Beliefs 58..... First!" Case 60..... CHAPTER 6: Comparing Deeps and Greens 75.....CHAPTER 7: The Psychological Dimension of the Debate 89.....CHAPTER 8: Organizational Differences - Strategies and Tactics 94.....CHAPTER 9: Conclusions

108.....APPENDIX I: Interviews 108...... Montreal Ecology 128...... Earth First! 143.....APPENDIX II: Graphics 148.....APPENDIX III: Principles and Political Program of ME 155.....APPENDIX IV: Profile of a Good EF!er 157.....APPENDIX V: The Questionnaire 169.....BIBLIOGRAPHY

-

The reader will soon discover that this project aims to reevaluate the methodology, concepts and focus that, to a large extent characterize the sociological research on the environmental movement. The task was risky and ambitious and we cannot be certain how successful we have been. But I am positive that without the unfaltering patience, constant encouragement, and most of all faith in the significance of this project given by my Thesis supervisor, Professor Roger Krohn, the effort would have never materialized.

I would like to thank Sally Shortall, Martin (Ted) Hermary, and Virginia Thomas for their numerus proofreading, and comments that sometimes moved my thoughts out of stagnation; Professor James Robbins for his advise on the formation of the questionnaire, Suzan Krohn for her French version of the questionnaire, and Ron Gravel for his French translation of the Abstract. Also, Dimitri Vlasopoulos, his 1975 Lincoln (it never let us down), and his easyrider's spirit, for they turned a seven day trip in southern California into an adventurous one month voyage in the forests of Oregon, deserts of Arizona, and mountains of Northern California, in search of people and landscapes which reflect the Deep Ecology spirit.

If this study has brought forward any valuable insights concerning the understanding of the people who make movements move, the Barbara Eales, Lorin Lindner, Mary Tradii, Mark Williams, Bill Devall, Christopher Maness, Graig Giacopuzzi, Robert Parker (he still owes me one subscription), among the Deep Ecologists, and Jery Gray, Dimitri Rousopoulos, Mike Feinstein, Murrey Bookchin, Jan Ouimet, Hariet Fels, Jane McDonald-Duvalt, and Guy Rodrigez, among the Greens, are responsible for its success. ABSTRACT

The Green Movement is assumed to introduce a new way to organize society, politics, economics, and technology in such a way that environmental damage will be minimized. This new approach has been called the "New Environmental Paradigm", denoting its holistic character, as much as its antithesis to the dominant "Western Paradigm". My investigation of North American environmental movement led me to conclude that the Green Movement is neither an ideologically nor a socially homogeneous movement. Instead, it consists of two distinct movements. The first one is "politics oriented", influenced by the New Left ideology. The second social movement, previously unnoticed by sociological literature, is "experience oriented", highly activist, influenced by Naturalist philosophies, and the one which really introduces a new societal paradigm.

- **\$** 

#### SOMMAIRE

Le Mouvement Vert prétend présenter une nouvelle façon social, politique, d'organiser le milieu économique et technologique de tel sorte que les problèmes environnementaux seront minimisés. Cette nouvelle approche qui a été appelée le "Nouveau Paradigme Environnemental" dénote un caractère holistique. Cette nouvelle approche se présente comme une antithèse du paradigme dominant de l'occident. Mon investigation du mouvement environnemental nord- américain m'a permis de conclure que le Mouvement Vert n'est pas un mouvement homogène tant au niveau idéologique que social. Le Mouvement Vert consiste plutôt en deux différents mouvements distincts. Le premier se présente davantage comme une orientation politique influencée par la nouvelle idéologie de la gauche. Le second mouvement (qui n'avait pas encore été identifié dans la littérature sociologique) s'oriente vers l'expérience, l'événement. Cette approche qui est très activiste est influencée par les philosophies naturalistes. C'est grâce à cette nouvelle approche qu'il nous est vraiment possible de parler d'un nouveau paradigme social.

## LIST OF TABLES

# Chapter 3

ۍ چ

Dominant Western Paradigm vs New Environmental Paradigm....30

# Chapter 6

1.	Styles of Thought
2.	Status of Man in Nature
3.	Influential Readings
4.	Post-Materialism Scale65
5.	Socio-Political Themes
6.	Economic-Technological Issues
7.	Demographic items (1)
8.	Demographic items (2)
9.	Attitude for Solving Social and Environmental Problems71

## Chapter 9

Trends	of	Mode	ern l	Enviı	conme	entalis	n		•••	• • •	• • • •	•••	 .102
Enviror	hmer	ntal	Tho	ught	and	Social	Action	(18	Bth	to	20th	с.)	 .103

## INTERVIEWEES

(Montreal Ecology)

Dimitri Rousopoulos108
Jean Ouimet
Murray Bookchin
Peter Davis
Jean Francoise Bourdeau120
John Lincoln
Jerry Forester
Joan Fciset
Mike Feinstain
Supplementary Notes

8

٠

ź

### INTERVIEWEES

t

1

(Earth First!)

Jim Bradley128
Liz Teylor
Paul McArthur
Ted Montgomery
Brian Adams130
Judy Garland
Barbara Stanwick
Mark Sherman
Bill Devall
Chris Manes
Mary Charles
Robert Lee

### Introduction

For the last two decades we are witnessing a sociopolitical phenomenon named "Environmentalism".

Environmentalism can be viewed under its three basic forms: the scientific, the intellectual, and the social. All three of them have their own particular history, and they are loaded with such diverse qualities that even though they operate in roughly the same cultural context, they cannot be described under one definition.

The scientific form of environmentalism derives from two distinct (scientific) trends: Ecology (ie holistic biology) and the economics of finite resources<sup>1</sup>. Ecology looks for causal and given interactive mechanisms that rule "system" any of interdependent natural elements (fauna and flora). Consequently this approach focuses on the results of human interference with these systems. The economics of finite resources deal with the problems exponential economic growth and over-population bring on a closed system with limited resources as Earth.

The <u>intellectual</u> form could be described as the thoughts (mostly antithetic to each other), publications and experimental life-styles of those people who find the following in Nature: (1) the source of ethics and values appropriate for the improvement of society, or...

(2) the visual pattern that demonstrates the crimes of the modern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>. Anna Bramwell: "Ecology in the 20th Century. 1989, Chapters 2 - 4.

culture against nature (eg pollution, urban alienation) and thus, the grounds for the thinker to argue for the societal changes he recommends. These ideas usually find a basic justification coming from Ecology and Economics of Finite Resources: the former shows the path mankind has to follow, the later the end of mankind if he doesn't follow the scommended path.

The <u>social</u> form of environmentalism is the popular concern for Nature. This is motivated by a worry regarding pollution, environmental damage and a particular affection for Nature.

The "social form" has found institutional expression through the environmental movement. Since the 1970's this was a successful lobby force. By the beginning of the 1980's it has also been involved in the European political arena and became known as the Green movement.

It is not the "concern" about environmental damage which has been particularly interesting about the movement. Rather, it is the bitter criticism of the modern (western) world, and the rethinking of the relationship between Man and Nature. It is the rethinking of the position of Man in Cosmos<sup>2</sup> that follows from a concern for Nature and its future.

These two subjects are not necessarily linked to each other. Empathy for the natural surroundings does not always, nor necessarily, lead to the broader question of "how Man relates to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>. In philosophy "Cosmos" (ie jewel in Greek) denotes the artificial interference of Man in Nature to "better" it. To transform the amorphic Wilderness into Garden (see also the subject of "Gardens of Renaissance").

Nature". This is where the subject becomes intricate, and requires answer to three basic questions:

1) Who relates concern for the Natural World with the rethinking of basic categories in Man-Nature relationship?

2) What are the terms that characterize of this rethinking?

3) How was this course of thought generated and developed?

This study addresses these questions.

In particular, the purpose of the study is to identify significant socio-demographic, ideological and psychological patterns which could lead to a basic understanding of the people who constitute the movement.

The definitive effort will be to identify the intellectual sources of the contemporary Environmental Thought. Its significance for the western culture will also be analyzed.

Until today, the sociological investigations<sup>3</sup> have been focused on the radical "Green Movement<sup>4</sup>" located primarily in W.Europe. These investigations have shown the ideological, and socio-demographic characteristics which distinguish the movement from other social groups. As the political phenomenon of the 80s, it overshadowed another expression of radical environmentalism, this time American, named "Deep Ecology". This seems to be quite different from the "Green" environmental movement, both in social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>. The themes presented here will be analyzed in details in the following Chapters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>. We identify as "Green Movement" both the political Green parties, and the members of lobby groups ("Friends of the Earth", "Green Peace") that follow the "Green Principles" - see p45.

and intellectual form.

nt at 1

Thus, the present study has focused on this second, and more "unknown" Deep Ecology movement. It was decided to compare the Deep Ecology movement with the Green movement because it is considered to be merely an insignificant part of the latter<sup>5</sup>. However our comparison distinguishes the distinct properties and potential of the Deep Ecology movement for the global environmental movement. Nature Conservationism and some other social groups are not included in this analysis since they have been analyzed elsewhere".

Two groups were chosen to accomplish this task; "Montreal Ecology" and "Earth First!". The principals of "Montreal Ecology" (ME) locate the group in the broader "Green Movement"<sup>7</sup> while "Earth First!"<sup>8</sup> (EF!) is the major social expression of Deep Ecology (DE).

<sup>5</sup>. L.Milbrath (1984 p24).

- <sup>7</sup>. See attached copy of the "Principles of Montreal Ecology".
- <sup>8</sup>. For information about EF! see p 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>. Cotgrove (1982), Lowe & Goyder (1983), Milbrath (1984), Muller-Rommel (1985).

#### CHAPTER ONE

### THE PREVIOUS RESEARCH

During the last two decades an increasing number of studies have looked at the environmental (or ecological) movement<sup>9</sup>.

It has primarily been studied from a "social movement" and political perspective. Specifically, major concerns have been:

1) History of the Movement.

2) Who the movement's members are.

3) Values of its supporters.

 Relationship between the movement and the modern tendencies of governmental practice in western societies especially the role of the New Middle Class and "post-material" values<sup>10</sup>.

Yet, the major sociological investigation of the movement in the 80s, has been carried out by the "Three-nation Study of Environmental Beliefs and Values". It consists of a combined effort by the international Institute for Environment and Society in Berlin, The Department of Sociology at the University of Bath in England, and the Environmental Studies Centre at the State University of New York in Buffalo. Out of this study a series of publications came forward. Their most complete versions are found in the books "Catastrophe or Cornucopia" (S.Cotgrove 1982) and

<sup>10</sup>. See Inglehart (1977); also Inglehart vs Flanagan (1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>. Cotgrove & Duff (1979, 1980), Cotgrove (1982), Muller-Rommel (1985), Hodges (1985), Lowe & Goyder (1983), Rothacher (1985), Milbrath (1984), Buttel (1979, 1980), Milbrath (1984), McCormick (1989), among others.

"Environmentalists - Vanguard for a New Society" (L.Milbrath 1984). The intention of the writer is to focus extensively on the hypotheses, findings, arguments, and speculations derived out of that project. This serves as the basis for this study's further exploration and understanding of the movement.

Other works that will also be considered are: O'Riordan's "Environmentalism" (1976), Lowe & Goyder's "Environmental Groups in Politics" (1983), J.McCormick's "Reclaiming Paradise" (1989), S.Parkin's "Green Parties" (1989) and A.Bramwell's "Ecology in the 20th Century" (1989).

I believe that it will be convenient, before anything else, to make a brief presentation of some of these works which have shaped the view of the public, and academia about the movement today.

<u>O'Riordan</u> (1976) identifies two major historical trends that deal with the Man-Nature relationship: the "ecocentric" and the "technocentric". The first trend relies on the predominance of natural order, where the second refers to the application of rational and 'value-free' scientific techniques by a professional elite to a neutral and exploitable nature<sup>11</sup>. These two perspectives reflect different kinds of morality: reverence, humility and care characterize the ecocentric, while aggression, arrogance, and assurance of human supremacy characterize the technocratic trend. Furthermore, ecocentrism is concerned with <u>ends</u>, whereas technocentrism focuses more on <u>means per se</u>.

<sup>11</sup>. Ibid. Ch1.

In detail, O'Riordan places the roots of the ecocentric trend back to the philosophies of the romantic transcendentalists of the mid-nineteenth century America (ibid. p18), whose major interest became the blending of freedom and equality through the symbol of nature.

He identifies two lines of thought in ecocentrism: The "bioethics" and the "self-reliant community". The first line discovers a <u>biotic right</u> for natural ecosystems to exist per se<sup>12</sup>, while the second gives priority to the reconstruction of social life establishment of small, through the self-sustained communities<sup>13</sup>. The line was implemented with the call for participatory democracy (ibid. p25) as a necessary mechanism in the design of a better community<sup>14</sup>.

As for technocentrism, it is identified by rationality<sup>15</sup>, managerial efficiency, and optimism and faith in the ability of man to understand and control his life and future. Natural Conservation is regarded as an expression of this trend<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup>. Interestingly enough, during the mid-70s the self-reliant community theme was non-political (Also Santmire 1973 p67). Today the theme is presented by the numerous Green Parties.

<sup>14</sup>. O'Riordan (1976, p26); also Goodman 1972, Kasperson and Breitbart 1974.

<sup>15</sup>. O'Riordan (1976, p26) defines "rationality" as the 'objective' appraisal of means to achieve given goals.

<sup>16</sup>. T.O'Riordan (1977, pp26-27).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>. In the mid 70's when O'Riordan wrote "Environmentalism", the Green movement had not yet made its appearance on the political and social scene, and environmental thought was in its infancy. The two lines in the ecocentric mode today seem to indicate the separation of Deep and Social ecology.

The central theme of <u>Cotgrove's</u> book (a theme common to the rest of the projects), is that the "New" Environmentalism that emerged during the 60s differs radically from the environmental efforts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as much as from the contemporary Nature Conservationism<sup>17</sup>.

It is argued that a set of new values have emerged since the Post-War era. These are called "post-material" values<sup>14</sup> and have primarily appealed to the younger generations. This value shift has led to a "new paradigm" to develop regarding the environmental issue. This "new paradigm" is a coherent set of beliefs and values that contrast with those which dominate the modern industrial world.

He identifies two major trends in New Environmentalism: The traditional and the radical<sup>19</sup>. The former shows affection for order, traditional, small-scale communities shaped with an aura of mystical notion about Nature. The radical trend is attracted to small-scale libertarian communities, equality, and rejection of science - as a means for the liberation of Man.

Yet, as the argument unfolds, these two trends become blurred. New Environmentalists appear as a monolithic body which (according

<sup>19</sup>. S.Cotgrove (1982, 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>. This notion is shared by Muller-Rommel who distinguishes between "pure Green reform parties" who do not reject economic enterprise, and the "alternative green radical parties" who ask for fundamental changes, coming with a new paradigm (p.491). (International Political Science Review, Vol.6, No 4, October '85 pp483-496)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>. Inglehart (1977).

to what they stressed out of the "post-material" questionnaire<sup>20</sup>) show emphasis on personal and political freedom, direct participation in making decisions in government, community and the job, equality, tolerance of minorities and those holding different opinions, openness to new ideas and new life styles, environmental protection and concern over quality-of-life issues, self-indulgence, and self-actualization (also Flanagan 1987).

demographic variables of The income. education, and occupational status were found to be modestly related to the Environmental concern. There was an interesting correlation between participation in New Environmental aroups activities and occupation. Members of the new environmental associations were disproportionately "employed in the personal service professions and creative arts - as teachers, social workers, lecturers, doctors" (p.19). Cotgrove reasons that since they were not directly involved in the marketplace for their livelihood, they could comfortably hold anti-authoritarian views. This leads Cotgrove to posit (p.22) that value differences are responsible for "differing perceptions of the nature and extent of environmental dangers."

According to Cotgrove, the New Environmentalists' antithesis to the "dominant paradigm" can be identified by their beliefs about science, industrialism, and economy (ibid. pp122-132). His findings suggest a clear rejection of these foundations of the contemporary Western World, and the confirmation of a turning point to a "new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>. Used first by Inglehart (1977); also by Cotgrove, Milbrath, and Flanagan (1987).

paradigm" with the characteristics I have already described.1.

Lowe and Goyder (1982), focused their study on the organizational structure and strategies of the various types of environmental groups in Great Britain. Though the last orientation is not the primary concern of this study, Lowe and Goyder have paid considerable attention to the emergence or rebirth of the environmental concern over the last century, ie the phases in 1890s, 1920s, 1950s, 1970s (ibid. p26). They note that these previous uprisings appear "towards the end of periods of sustained economic expansion", suggesting that during these periods "more and more people turned to count the mounting external costs of unbridled economic growth and sought to reassess non-material values" (ibid. p27). They agree loosely with the notion of "postmaterialism" as a major shift in societal values. However, they insist that the motivation of environmentalists is extremely complex and cannot be attributed to this alone. They identify another major motivating factor as the "people's experience and expectations of affluence and material security" (ibid. p87).

They reject Cotgrove's findings, regarding environmentalism as an expression of occupational positions, and the emerging new paradigm, since he based his argument on the investigation of only two Environmental groups (Friends of the Earth and The Conservationist Society). Instead, they propose the connection of the environmental concern with perceived "social limits to growth",

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>. For the two "paradigms" see p.31. Also, Cotgrove (1983, p27), Milbrath (1984, p22).

that is, "social scarcity": the good things are restricted not only by physical limitations, but also by the deterioration in their quality as they are used more and thus become more generally available<sup>22</sup> (p27).

They distinguish two kinds of groups: the interest (particular aims - problems of the "neighbourhood"), and the principle groups (upholding a particular set of values) which they divide into emphasis<sup>23</sup> and promotional<sup>24</sup> groups; only the last category of groups challenge the social and political status quo.

Relating each one of the historical environmental eras to new social groups (ideas too, I presume) coming into the movement (p22), they do admit that the emergence of the latest principalpromotional groups <u>are</u> related to the growth of the service-sector of the western economies and the reasserting of non-material values.

<u>Milbrath</u> (1984), basically follows the same methodology and beliefs as Cotgrove (questionnaire, "paradigm shift" acceptance, socio-demographic differences). However, he adopts a more advanced conceptual scheme which argues that a silent revolution is taking place in U.S.A., England and Germany, with the emergence of an environmental "vanguard". Moreover, Milbrath pictures a new belief structure (NEP: New Environmental Paradigm) that is gradually

<sup>22</sup>. Also Hirsch (1977).

<sup>23</sup>. "... groups whose aims do not conflict... with widely held social goals or values..." (p33).

<sup>24</sup>. "...groups that promote causes involving social or political reform" (p33).

replacing the Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP).

Milbrath establishes a typology of environmentalists ranging from the radicals (the "vanguard"), through the sympathizers (the "undecided middle") to the opponents of the NEP (the "rearguard").

The question of the basic common characteristic of the Vanguard (and the immediately next to them pro-environmental group), is answered not by the traditional categorization of social classes, but by their occupational orientation: the vanguard is made of individuals employed in the service industries, that is the occupations Cotgrove names as "outside the productive sector of economy".

On this scheme Milbrath identifies the "Deep Ecology<sup>4</sup>" movement as a part of the vanguard". His notion about the deepecologists is that they constitute an isolated, extremist part of the broader movement with no political program.

According to <u>McCormick</u> (1989), the public concern for the environment and the perception of the inevitable consequences that human intervention has on it, evolves according to the actual political and social circumstances. Thus, he identifies three 19th C. tendencies: the British protectionism, and the American resource conservation and wilderness preservation trends, evolved to the modern tendencies of the Environmental concerns. His categorization never becomes explicit; instead, he presents as accurate, the categorizations of Joseph Petulla (1970), and O'Riordan. The first identified three major tendencies: the biocentric (Natura gratia

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>. For a full presentation of "Deep Ecology" see pp50-57.

Naturae), the ecologic (scientific understanding of ecosystems and rational building of human/nature relationship) and the economic (optional use of natural resources. O'Riordan divides the trends into ecocentric and technocentric; a division which is related to Petulla's if we consider the ecological and the economic as one trend.

Borrowing Fox's<sup>2</sup>, view of the subject, he argues that Environmentalism in N.America matured when it became politicized relating itself to the major political and cultural issues of the late 60's (p64).

Presenting the Greens's case (Cotgrove's New Environmentalists, the vanguard in Milbrath's terms, and the principle groups according to Lowe and Goyder) McCormick admits that they seek fundamental social changes as the only way to a final solution of the environmental problem. He also shares Spretnak's and Capra's (1984) notion that their platform lies on four principles: ecology, social responsibility, grassroots democracy, and nonviolence (p138).

These principals become unhelpful indicators when we try to compare the Greens (national political parties) with the international activist groups such as Greenpeace, or Friends of the Earth, since the principle of nonviolence is often violated, and the grass roots democracy gives way to the iron law of oligarchy (see Lowe and Goyder).

. ......

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>. Stephen Fox, "John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement" (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1981, p292).

The only principle that remains common is ecology, that is, the scientific understanding of the ecosystems, and the rational use of natural resources. I will return to this subject later.

ين. رويد

\* \*

CHAPTER 2

2

REVIEWING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF "MODERN ENVIRONMENTALISM"

The characterization of Environmentalism in respect to its intellectual form (Cotgrove's, O'Riordan's, McCormick's systematization among others), centres on three trends<sup>27</sup>:

a) the Rational (optimal usage of Natural Resources).

b) Social Ecology<sup>28</sup> (small, decentralized "soft"<sup>29</sup> communities).

c) Deep Ecology<sup>30</sup> (small communities living in "harmony" with the rest of the Natural inhabitants).

The Rational trend stresses the need for optimal usage of natural resources (eg Club of Rome, Brundtland Committee), without questioning the given societal structure.

The Social Ecology trend stresses the need not only for optimal usage of natural resources, but for political decentralization and the creation of small, self-sustained

<sup>29</sup>. Based not on authoritarian, traditional values, but on liberal ones: "Self-development", tolerance, etc.

<sup>10</sup>. "Deep Ecology" is close to Cotgrove's "traditional", O'Riordan's "bioethic", and Pettula's "biocentric".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>. Though the theoreticians use different titles for the following trends, the distinctions they make are similar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>. "Socio", or "Social ecology" stands for Cotgrove's "radical", Milbrath's "vanguard", O'Riordan's "self-reliant", Lowe and Goyder's "principal", and Petulia's "ecologic".

Since the beginning of the 80s the terms "Socio" and "Deep" Ecology have been established as the representatives of the movements.

communities (eg M.Bookchin<sup>31</sup>, P.Kropotkin, D. Chodoikoff<sup>1</sup>, I.Sandy and A.Ponton<sup>33</sup>) instead of the modern, centralized, and industrial society.

5

The Deep Ecology trend [i.e., (c)] advocates, before anything else, the intrinsic rights of the natural habitants to exist for themselves, and rejects any kind of human superiority to them. Thus, its message for decentralized, small communities (similar to the Communal trend) aims at the abandonment of civilization as we know it today. Instead, it proposes a new way of living where wilderness - not civic life - is the reference point for civilization<sup>34</sup>.

Thus, the social form of modern environmentalism, as described by the sociological studies of Cotgrove and Milbrath, appears as: A1) A multi-faceted, value oriented phenomenon, which seems to concentrate the attention, and become the perceptual arena of various social groups.

A2) The movement could be divided (among other possibilities) into:

(a) Conservationist/Protectionist (traditional) groups.

<sup>31</sup>. Murray Bookchin (1962, 1965, 1976, 1980, 1982, 1986, 1986, 1987, 1987, 1989).

<sup>32</sup>. For a series of articles on the Communal trend see <u>Renewing</u> the Earth (ed. J.Clark 1989).

<sup>33</sup>. <u>A Green Manifesto: Policies for a Green Future</u>, London: Optima, 1988.

<sup>34</sup>. B.Devall (1985), W.Fox (1990), C.Manes (1990) among others.

For a complete presentation of the work of the theoreticians of the movement, see Ch.6).

(b) "New Environmental" groups.

The (a) groups care for a rational management of the natural resources and the preservation of "natural areas and monuments"<sup>35</sup> without questioning the economic/ethical foundations of the western world.

The (b) groups care also for the rational/sustainable management of natural resources but in addition they challenge the economic/ethical foundations of the western world, as being responsible for the destruction of Nature.

A more detailed description of the New Environmentalists identifies the following characteristics:

B1) The members of the movement are young, white, and belong to the middle class. Their occupations lies outside the market-sector of economy - a fact that has shaped<sup>36</sup> their beliefs and values.

B2) These activists, and the supporters of the movement, share the so called "post-material" values - a leftist, non-marxist set of values.

B3) They support the concept of participatory democracy and political/power decentralization.

As a socio-political phenomenon New Environmentalism is described as constituting a New Paradigm, a distinct social and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>. Lowe and Goyder (1982).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>. Milbrath hesitates to suggest that this type of occupation is the reason for the ethical and political values of the New Environmentalists. He suggests that further investigation is necessary before making such conclusion. On the other side, Cotgrove seems to accept that the type of the occupation provides a good reason for their beliefs.

intellectual movement, clearly different from Nature Conservation, with only secondary varieties within the movement striving for the same objectives (see B3).

Comparing the intellectual to the social formulation of environmentalism we notice that it is Nature Conservationism and Social Ecology ("New Environmentalism" for the researchers) that appear both as intellectual and as social movements. In contrast, what we have identify as the Deep Ecology intellectual trend, appears to have no social parallel.

Two apparent reasons could explain such a management: (1) Deep Ecology is an intellectual movement with little or no social support<sup>37</sup>, or (2) Deep Ecology (in its social form) is incorporated in New Environmentalism<sup>38</sup>.

Yet, my investigation led me to realize that neither of the previous reasons is correct. Instead, Deep Ecology appears strong both as an intellectual and a social movement. However, examples of Deep Ecology as a social movement have been ignored ie, Earth First!

In addition, I believe that the methodology that was adopted for the "Three-nation study" (on which the accepted description of modern environmental movement is based) is partially problematic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>. Mitchell (1980) in a mail survey he conducted (1978) among the major Nature Conservation organizations found that overaly 10-25% of their members supported Deep Ecology positions. The number is surprisingly high, since Deep Ecologists (DEsts) dislike the mild character of these organizations, and avoid participation in their activities (Maness 1990, Forman 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>. As Milbrath suggests (1984, 25).

and misleading.

Instead, I argue - and will try to prove - in the next chapters that:

1) "New Environmentalism" (N.E.) as presented in that Study does not bring forward any New Paradigm. Rather, sociologists have failed to distinguish between the "Social Ecology" (politically, the "Green" movement) and "Deep Ecology", which have been presented together under the label "New Environmentalism".

The neglect of Deep Ecology could be perceived as a result of the disregard of North American environmental activism and related philosophies; Deep Ecology is almost unknown in Europe.

A reconnection of the intellectual with the social forms of environmentalism in both the cases of Social and Deep Ecology, and a possible identification of certain boundaries between them, brings a number of issues to the fore. It not only focuses attention on the differences between European and American environmentalism, but more importantly it provides some insight into the future of environmentalism per se.

#### CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY

### 3.1. The Search for the Paradigm

By the term "paradigm" Thomas Kuhn (1962) wanted to indicate that scientific research takes place not as an incremental process, step by step, but in stages of well-defined philosophical and conceptual frameworks with definite conceptual boundaries. After a period of time these boundaries become obstacles for further scientific progress. Then, the whole framework (paradigm) changes and gives way to a more advantageous one which has already proven its superiority, until the next critical point.

Because of its heuristic properties the concept has been introduced to social sciences in a more general form, including the definition of any sharp departure from the past political, ideological, or philosophical status quo.

Most of the time, unfortunately, the social phenomena, appear in forms more complex, or perhaps only less understood, than in science. Forms whose conceptual boundaries are vague, intricate, and even made of contradictory qualities. Then, how can we realize when a social movement suggests a "new paradigm" or if it constitutes a "step in the conventional paradigm"? The implications which a neo-paradigmatic social movement brings forward are of a different quality than those of a merely revisionist social movement. How could we identify such a neoparadigmatic social movement? What kind of characteristics should we look for? In terms of the strength of its suggestions, such a social movement does not accept compromises. It does not because its suggestions (as the ones in scientific fields) are simple, and in contrast to fundamental positions in the dominant way of thinking. The suggestions of a new paradigm may be formulated in a single phrase. As with Copernicus's thesis that "Sun - not the Earth - is the centre of the Universe", the proto-Christians were fighting for the one and only "Promising God of Love and Humility" and the Communists were arguing against the "surplus value" for capital, and struggling the "rights of the proletarians"<sup>39</sup>.

It is this unyielding character which dissociates these social movements from the rest, and that also brings forward such heavy social consequences as the previously mentioned movements did.

A more systematic (to the previous) way to identify such a movement could be to compare the message of this rising movement to the dominant themes of the society the movement is opposing. If they are "incompatible" and antithetical, then the movement could be described as a neo-paradigmatic one.

This suggestion generates two questions: (1) Which of the established paradigm-themes are essential for that society? (2) How many of these themes are questioned by the social movement?

In our case, if we compare the Dominant Western Paradigm (D.W.P.) with the New Environmental one (N.E.P.) as it has been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>. Instead of "Christians" and "Marxists" I refer to "Proto-Christians" and "Communists" to emphasize the fundamental part of these movements, since the state-christianity and socio-democracy consist of the mild expression of the ideology introduced by Jesus/Paul and Marx/Lenin respectively.

presented by Cotgrove, we will notice that their components are presented in list-form as 5 clusters of issues<sup>10</sup>:

Theme/ Suggestions: (D.W.P.)	(N.E.P.)
Economy:a.Market forces	Public interest
b.Risk & Reward	Safety
c.Differentials	Egalitarian
d.Individual self-help	
Polity:e.Authoritative structure	
f.Hierarchical	Non-hierarchical
g.Law and order	Liberation
Society:h.Centralized	Decentralized
i.Large scale	Small scale
j.Associational	Communal
k.Ordered	Flexible
Nature:l.Ample reserves	Earth's resources
	limited
m.Neutral/hostile	Benign
n.Controllable	Delicate balance
Knowledge:o.Confidence in science	Limits to science
p.Rationality of means	Rationality of ends
q.Separation of	Integration of
fact/value	fact/value

This presents the questions:

1) How different would the western world be if we accepted <u>some</u> propositions of the N.E.P. as the fact that "Earth's resources are limited", or that "there are limits to science"? Actually, international organizations and think-tanks, such as the Club of Rome - clearly not part of "New Environmentalism" - have indicated the limits of natural resources and they have proposed (among other organizations) models for sustainable development.

The fact that prestigious groups who belong to the D.W.P. line, suggest specific change that follow N.E.P., is a strong indicator that social paradigms are more flexible, complex, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>. The following table constitutes Cotgrove's idea of the D.W.P. and the N.P. (1982 p27). Milbrath (1985) uses a similar, scheme (ibid. p22).

serve a different purpose than the scientific ones. They are able to accept regulations, something not even relevant for a scientific paradigm.

Clearly, the framework of norms and values of a complex society are never totally accepted by all its sectors. Instead, parts of this framework are questioned by social groups which want to erase, replace or add some new values and norms in that framework; to regulate, or to change course doesn't necessarily mean a paradigm-shift.

Furthermore, it is common sense to suppose that the more peripheral a norm, or value, the more possible it is to be questioned and changed: The idea that Man is superior to the other species, has been questioned less than the idea of progress, and much less than the role of big corporations in the modern society<sup>41</sup>.

Another problem with this presentation of paradigms is that the themes of both the old and new ones are presented in extreme/absolute forms. And even though this kind of abstraction is helpful for the identification of patterns, it remains an intellectual scheme with no equivalent in the real world. Actually, the western economic-industrial notion lies somewhere in between these two extreme clusters of themes with the American model closer to the D.W.P. and the European social-democracies (eg Sweden) closer to the N.E.P. This vast "grey" area between some of the

1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>. Probably, some parts of the framework are so deeply rooted in our thought, that we do not even realize that they are a part of the paradigm and that they could give way to other concepts.

absolute paradigmatic forms (items a, b, c, d, g, i, j, k, n, o, and p in Cotgrove's list) indicates an inconsistency with the concept of paradigm.

To review the analysis, the diagrams that present the differences between the Old and New paradigms face the following problems:

(1) The absolute forms are misleading because they cannot separate the items which could be parts of different societal frameworks, from those items that shape and are organic parts of the western society.

(2) Presenting the components of the paradigms as of equal importance, Cotgrove and Milbrath are unable to distinguish between essential (ie central), and peripheral themes.

Thus, Cotgrove's scheme confronts us with a dual problem: When does a change constitute a "part of the paradigm-shift", and how can we identify a value being vital, and central to the dominant paradigm?

To answer these questions, we have to take into consideration that the framework of norms and values that shape a society at a given time are the result of an unequally long historical intellectual process. Some of these values have been incorporated in the scheme a long time ago, and some others just recently. Since the more recent ones entered the scheme without questioning some of the already established values, their significance (explicitly or implicitly) is relative to the older ones. Thus, it is reasonable to assume, for now, that the older values are central, and vital to

the paradigm, while the recent ones depend on the former, they are peripheral and less stable.

Furthermore, to identify which items are parts of a paradigm, I will use an implication a new paradigm brings forward: Replaced knowledge becomes unnecessary and forgotten<sup>42</sup>. This aftermath is of major importance to our objective since it give us a hint of what kind of changes we should look for:

 The paradigm shift does not bring a regulation or restructuring of a given concept, but a different concept which <u>replaces</u> the former one. In relation to the prior argument (see previous page), this means that whatever lies in the grey area means regulation and it does not constitute a part of the potential paradigm-shift.
 If some themes of the old paradigm change without affecting the rest of them, this would suggest their peripheral position.

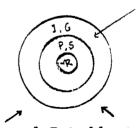
To explain this argument I will use a stratified scheme of concentric circles:

MODEL OF WESTERN DOMINANT PARADIGM IN RESPECT TO ENVIRONMENTALISM

Reason (R)  $\rightarrow$ 

Progress & Science (P&S)  $\rightarrow$ 

Industrialism & Growth (I&G)



More stable

Social and Intellectual Criticism

Less stable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>. Kuhn has indicated this implication. The parts of the theories (used in his analysis), that were criticized by the "new paradigms" are today a forgotten knowledge: the Ptolemaic "epicycles", and Stahl's "phlogiston" belong to this category.

This scheme suggests that the centrality of a concept could be "measured" according to how many values and norms depend on it. Thus, all the circles depend on the central one (i.e. 'R'), and the peripheral circle (i.e. 'I&G') depends on both inner circles (i.e. 'P&S' and 'R'). Then, someone who opposes "industrialism" does not, necessarily, opposes "progress", but someone who opposes "progress", also opposes "industrialism". In this way we can realize the importance of a given item that belongs to a social paradigm. Its central, and hypothetically the most stable conceptual layer is "Reason". Certainly, the concept has various meanings<sup>43</sup>. Two of them are the most common:

(1) The human ability to understand ourselves and the world using our mental capacities.

(2) To systematize and control the world<sup>44</sup>.

...

.^

<sup>43</sup>. R.Williams (1976 p252): <u>Keywords</u> Fontana Press, London.

<sup>44</sup>. These two meanings evolved in parallel. The notion of "Consciousness" is the fundamental and the least criticized or changed. Yet, the implications, consciousness brings forward for Man-Nature relationship, have been so. Briefly, the history of the two meanings of Reason could be summarized:

"Reason" (Logos) was introduced first by Ionian Greek philosophers (6th C. BC) to denote the ability of the Human Mind to understand the world logically, and thus to make a clear distinction between Man and the rest of the living creatures. <u>In respect to Nature</u> the realization of self-consciousness led Greek philosophers to assume that Man is responsible for Nature. To "realize" its potential abilities; to better it.

With the coming of the Christian era, Reason first was discarded as false, but soon recovered as (a) weapon against the Pagan and Arab philosophers (3rd and 6th C.), and as a tool to understand the Divine (10th-15th C.). In respect to Nature the notion of "potential-actual" was not rejected. Rather, it was accomplished by the idea for the divinity of Nature.

As western thought became secular, the concept of Reason became the tool to understand the Natural world via the deductive and inductive scientific methods. In respect to Nature the divine

(3) Deep Ecologists do not question (1) per se, that is our ability to 'understand the world, and ourselves. They do question the implications this ability brings to Natural Order<sup>45</sup>. as much as to use this ability (2) to control - to dominate the world with the assumption that humans are superior to other species<sup>46</sup>.

Thus, for the purpose of this essay, Reason will be used to denote both (1) and (2) - the superior position of Homo Sapiens in Nature.

The second concentric circle is "Progress and Science".

The concept of "progress" was first introduced to the western world by Christian theology. The notion of the Second Coming, gave a new sense to Time, and replaced the cyclical, or spiral concept, with the linear one. Now Time had a meaning, and an end. With the coming of the secular era (16th C.), the notion of the Second Coming faded away, but the one of "linearity" and "meaning" remained to denote the improvement of the human conditions in the world both physically and intellectually. This would be accomplished by science - the deductive and inductive methods of investigation. signifies Science the notion of progress

character of Nature, even the notion of "potential-actual" was replaced by the Cartesian notion of "matter in disposal to Man".

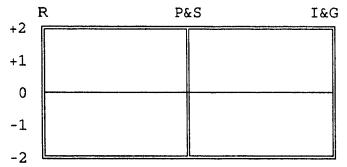
<sup>45</sup>. "From the perspective of biocentrism, therefore, the problem goes deeper than the monolithic and destructive technologies of industrialism. Civilization itself seems to be the problem" (C.Manes 1990, p228).

<sup>4b</sup>. "Darwin invited humanity to face the fact that the observation of nature has revealed not one scrap of evidence that human kind is superior or special, or even particularly more interesting than, say, lichen" (C.Maness, 1990, p142).

pragmatically rather than philosophically: today's discoveries become tomorrow's starting points. Knowledge in this sense is accumulated [Allen de Benoist (1980), P.Kondilis (1983), B.Russell (1946)].

"Industrialism and Growth" constitutes the peripheral layer. For the last two centuries these two concepts were inseparable. Today, "Sustainable development" has made their separation possible. Yet, the dominant Paradigm still trusts Growth and human ability to find new resources<sup>47</sup>. For this reason the items will be treated in one layer and not separately.

The concentric circles could be represented by the following scheme.



Each one of the vertical lines suggest a circle starting from the central one (on the far left), to the external (on the far right); the values, theoretically, should form an inclining line with the higher value on the left, firm side (ie "R"), and the lowest, one on the right, soft side (ie "I & G").

The items that deal with the political structure of a given society do not appear on the scheme because they comprise an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>. C.Adler (1973), H.Cole (1973), P.Becmann (1973), P.Vajk (1978), Simon in R.Arnold (1982).

independent variable in the historic process: the struggle for power penetrates the whole of western history without clear connection between any given power-structure and the attitude of Man towards Nature<sup>43</sup>. Thus, these items constitute an issue by themselves and they will be treated as independent from the layer scheme.

This theorem was tested on two environmental groups<sup>49</sup> through a survey (North American Environment Survey) that was conducted between April of 1990, and March of 1991.

As part of the sociological investigation of the modern Environmental Movement, the study, though introducing some methodological innovations, wanted to stay comparable to the previous ones. For this reason, the questionnaire developed for the task has incorporated themes introduced previously to the "Three-nation Study" conducted in U.S. by L.Milbrath (1984), in G.Britain by S.Cotgrove (1982) and in W.Germany by researches from the International Institute of Environment. In detail, this questionnaire was as follows:

 $4^{\circ}$ . See Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>. In the West: Egalitarian and anti-hierarchical states (as Athens circa 5 C.) can be militant, and brutal towards Nature (see <u>Nea Ecologia</u> No65) and authoritarian, and aggressive states (as Nazi Germany) can be industrial, public-interest oriented and ecologically aware and friendly (see Bramwell 1989, Ch.7-10).

In the Far East: The Chmer Empire (inspired by the Buddhist philosophy) destroyed vast areas of fertile land (and finally itself) by the over-use of the channels which controlled the rivers of that ecosystem (<u>Historia</u>, Greek Edition, No265).

In the Americas: The Indians in N.America extinguished the Mammoth species by over-hunting (<u>Nea Ecologia</u>, March 1990, 65, p49).

## 3.2. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire is roughly divided in two parts. The first deals with philosophical, societal, and behavioral preferences all connected to issues which concern environmentalism. The second part asks for primarily demographic data from the respondents.

The first part is divided into six clusters of items, each one of them presenting a specific theme:

1) The first cluster presents the "post-material" questionnaire of Inglehart (1977), used extensively by previous studies on the environmental movement. On this first cluster, the responder had to rate twelve issues according to his/her opinion about future politics. An innovation suggested by the writer was the addition of "0" as a potential response. Thus, the respondent, in contrast to the previous studies, has had the choice to "reject" an issue that s/he disliked instead of rating it with the lower value ("1") that was available to him/her until now.

2) The second cluster is identical to the first one (the respondent reads again the "post-material questionnaire") with one difference: He/she had to choose only three items out of the twelve and rate them in terms of preference, with values of "3", "2", and "1" with the rest remaining unchecked. This second cluster limited the respondent's preference to the most desirable ones.

3) The third cluster deals with societal matters. The issues the cluster is focused on is western politics (variable 3.1: vr3.1), and forms of hierarchy (vr3.2 - vr3.5).

4) The fourth cluster deals with economic issues. Four out of five items deal with economic growth (vr4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.5). Humanistic aid to Third-World countries (vr4.4) was added to test the presumption that EF!ers support "natural processes" in matters of human societies' well-being.

It should be noted that in terms of semiotics, the items on the third and fourth clusters present only positive aspects of the Dominant Western Paradigm (DWP). This was done because it was the only way to identify the essential differences between people who dislike only negative aspects of the DWP, and those who, no matter what, reject the DWP per se. If negative aspects of the DWP were presented (as in the "Three-nation Study"), these differences would never have surfaced, since both MEsts and EF!rs (as well as others) would reject them.

5) The fifth cluster does not have a central theme. Instead it consists of "residual", or independent issues which could not be part of the other clusters.

The first two items (vr5.1, 5.2) refer to the contribution of technology to bettering the environment and our society. The latter was added to test how this "Green" position is shared by the members of ME.

The third item (vr5.3) refers to non-rational, subjective philosophical preferences, while the fifth (vr5.5) to Reason per se.

The fourth item (vr5.4) suggests "non violence" which presumably constitutes one of the four corner-stones of New

Environmentalism, yet, it has been violated by EF!ers (eg "monkey wrenching" tactics).

The sixth and seventh items (vr5.6, 5.7) deal with the Man to Nature relationship. The former proposes a hierarchical scheme in which humans have a superior position. The latter, even though it does not reject the first statement in principle, suggests a "softer" approach: Stewardship; that is, superiority of human species plus responsibility for matters of Nature. The writer believed that offering a "hard" and a "soft" version of the same theme, would distinguish between those who rejected the first option but embraced the second "liberal" and anthropocentric one, and those who rejected both of them and support, consequently, a non-anthropocentric concept of life. The next two items refer to Growth as responsible for environmental damage. Specifically, the eighth one (vr5.8) refers to industrial growth, the ninth to population. An environmental response should hold industrialism responsible, but the response on population growth depends on humanistic values. Although these values have been criticized by Deep Ecology, the response of the EF!ers on it was unknown.

The tenth and eleventh issues (vr5.10, 5.11) refer to optimism about the future. Both of them are directly linked to a Western belief in a constant overall bettering of the human conditions.

The last issue (vr5.12) revisits, indirectly, the issue of the relationship between Man and Nature, this time on a specific issue. Though a Green advocate would not necessarily reject the option of

experiments on animals - if no other option is available, a Deep Ecologist should do so: humans should be subjects to natural mechanisms of population control as other species are.

6) The sixth, and last cluster, deals with four different styles of thought. The idea, and its formulation in the questionnaire are borrowed from S.Cotgrove's scheme (1982, 63).

The first item (vr6.1) refers to deduction and the second one (vr6.2) to induction. Both of them together define the traditional scientific "objective" method used, primarily, in the industrial Western world.

The third item (vr6.3) refers to mysticism, while the last one (vr6.4) to romanticism. Both of them represent subjective styles of thought.

The items on the first part of the questionnaire, except Cluster 1 and 2, allow the respondent to choose among: "strongly agree" (+2), "agree" (+1), "neutral" (0), "disagree" (-1), or "strongly disagree" (-2).

The second part deals with:

1) Demographic issues (vr7 - vr13, vr22, vr23, vr26).

2) Respondent's sympathy and participation in previous liberal social movements before and along side his/her involvement in environmentalism. Neither involvement or sympathy (the latter option for the younger members of the groups) for those movements could mean a non "liberal" ideological approach to environmentalism (vr14 - vr17).

3) Position of the respondent in the environmental party he/she belongs to (vr19 - vr21). Instead of asking the members to define their status in the group in terms of position (leader, member) we asked them to rate their involvement in terms of participation. This was done knowing that the groups dislike official positions which assume hierarchical status.

4) Social and family environment the responder grew up in (vr24, vr25). These two items were included due to L.Milbrath's suggestion that early childhood experience could be important (1985, 79).

5) Influential readings (vr27). This item presents the choice of five readings which later were summed up in different categories by the writer.

6) Suggestions by the respondent (vr28). A typographical error is responsible for the inconsistency between the number given in the beginning of the question and the beginning of the space available to answer. This item was suggested by Pr. R.Krohn and proved of great value since it provided us with small interview-like statements by members of the groups (mainly Mests) which were not interviewed.

Finally, it should be noted that the forward to the questionnaire is based on L.Milbrath's.

## 3.3. Practical Application of the Layer Theorem

For the subject "Reason" two variables were chosen (vr5.5,

vr5.7)<sup>50</sup>. The first refers directly to the concept. The second refers to "stewardship" of Nature, which implies the predominance of Rational Man over Nature<sup>51</sup>.

"Progress and Science" was defined with the use of four items (vr3.1, vr5.11, vr6.1, vr6.2). The first refers to the "promotion" of human values (from less to more desirable ways of government). The second to the promotion and betterness of society (more humane society). The rest define "objective knowledge"<sup>52</sup>, that is the dominant western way to "learn more" about the world.

The outer layer refers to "Industrialism and Growth". The subjects are represented by the variables 1.1, 4.3, 4.5, 5.8, 5.9. The first three items refer to economic growth, the fourth one to industrial growth, while the last to population growth.

Before we apply the suggested methodology to the environmental groups, we will describe the values, ideologies and other characteristics which distinguish one from the other.

<sup>52</sup>. St.Cotgrove (1982, p63).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>. For the relation of items and variables see Appendix IV: The Questionnaire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>. The 5.6 variable was left aside because it implies hierarchy (..."higher position") which is a subject that both groups are sensitive to with the EF!ers being three times more negative than the Mests.

Although 5.7 implies hierarchy ("stewardship"), it uses a softer vocabulary.

#### CHAPTER 4

### THE GREEN ECOLOGISTS

# 4.1. <u>Values and Beliefs</u>

The Green international movement emerged at the beginning of the 80s as the political expression of a wider, and preexisting Environmental movement<sup>53</sup>.

The international Green movement embraces 10 basic principles: (1) Ecological Wisdom, (2) Grassroots Democracy,

(3) Decentralization of power - political and scientific, (4) Inclusiveness, (5) Community based economics, (6) Global Responsibility, (7) Feminist Values, (8) Personal and Social Responsibility, (9) Nonviolence, (10) Focus on the Future<sup>54</sup>.

We can identify four major areas that attract their interest: Economy, Science, Society, Politics.

The first one deals with the way <u>economic activities</u> have been formulated during the last two centuries, that is, through the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>. The Environmental movement started in the beginning of the 70s as an international network of lobby groups. The contemporary Green and Conservation movements, as well as the contemporary "radical" environmental lobby organizations (Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace) are considered parts of the same movement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>. Out of these "Key Values", Green Politics are shaped according to the particular character of the local groups. The four issues which are discussed in the main text consist a generalization of these politics (Campus Green Network - Organizers Manual, California).

It should also be noted that the North American Green movement is influenced by the School of Social Ecology (see following text). Though the writer does not know any significant difference to exist between the American Social Ecology and the European Green thought, this possibility should not be excluded.

systems of capitalism and socialism. Without making any distinction between the two, the Greens accuse the modern economy of favouring growth, accumulation of capital, assimilation of the human being to economic units, disregard for problems associated with pollution etc.

<u>Science</u> is accused of being unethical (since it has linked itself to the interests of the large, polluting enterprises), elitist (holding the monopoly of information about environmental pollution and environmental recovery) and responsible to a large extent (chemicals, nuclear waste) for the pollution itself.

Being basically patriarchical, <u>Society</u> is (in this argument) primarily responsible for ecological degradation. Relationships between the sexes (patriarchy), and the social structure itself (hierarchy), have nurtured aggression both between humans and between humans and Nature.

<u>Politics</u> - representative democracy under the best circumstances - coming out of Patriarchy, is accused of corruption, serving the interests of large corporations, caring for the few and well-off citizens, alienating the majority from matters of public interest, dividing people and promoting war and destruction.

Instead, the Greens propose a system which emphasizes small scale activities by small self-governed communities<sup>55</sup>. Community life - not the civic life - should be the characteristic of an ecological society. In this scheme human society will find their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>. In cities it would be accomplished by neighbourhood councils.

proper size and functions.

<u>Economy</u>, will concentrate on the sustainability of the community -the "caring for the household"<sup>5b</sup>.

<u>Science</u>, specially soft technology, will assist the community, justifying itself by this service<sup>57</sup>.

Politics will concentrate on the issues concerning this community. Access to the decision-making process should be available to all community members. The representatives of these core-communities to higher assemblies should be rotating. Presumably, this will help to avoid professionalism. Representatives should be recalled whenever the majority of the community feels those chosen no longer represent their interests. Man and Woman will be equal, functioning together in all levels of social life<sup>58</sup>. By developing such functions, <u>Society</u> will find its real self, with harmony prevailing in all the actions of Mankind<sup>59</sup>.

For these people, to save Nature means, first of all, to save ourselves, to create a more <u>human</u> society for everyone. The preservation of Nature will blossom out of the reconstruction of society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Eco-nomia: "the caring for the household" is the actual meaning of the word.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Thus, the independence of science, as a function by itself, is rejected.

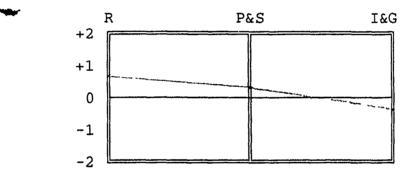
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>. Green parties use in official positions equal number of men and women; for "Montreal Ecology" for example, the equal representation of men and women is a part of the party's constitution.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>. For a complete presentation of the Green Parties' programs see <u>Green Parties - An International Guide</u> (Sara Parkin 1989).

# 4.2. The "Montreal Ecology" Case

We invited the members of "Montreal Ecology", the Green Party of Montreal, to answer the questionnaire which deals with the layer-list theorem. The statistical analysis of their response<sup>60</sup> provided the following results:

Reason (items: 5.5,5.7) = .86 in range of (+,2) Progress/Science (items: 3.1,5.11,6.1,6.2) = .243 " " Ind/sm/Growth (items:1.1,4.3,4.5,5.8,5.9) = -.62 " " <sup>61</sup>.



The curve supports the hypothesis proposed in the previous chapter: the Mests do reject "Industrialism and Growth". Yet, they accept the two inner circles with "Reason" holding a higher value than "Progress and Science".

New Environmentalism has been seen as a neo-paradigmatic movement because the Man-Nature relationship is of fundamental

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>. Out of 100 mailed questionnaires, 80 were completed and mailed back.

 $<sup>^{61}</sup>$ . Population growth (vr5.9) has been added as another part of the general subject "Growth". If we do not compute this item with the rest, the value becomes -.5767.

If we calculate the subjects "Industrialism" and "Growth" separately we come to "I"= -.9394, "G"= -.387, "G" (without "population growth")= -.2139.

importance for the identity of the Western World. But how deeply does New Environmentalism penetrate the Western paradigm?

The layer scheme suggests that what is criticized is not the foundations of western values, that is, trust in the mental abilities of Man to understand the World "objectively", his/her superiority to the rest of the species, and his/her abilities to reach better conditions. Rather, it is the course of Industrialism and Growth, which are criticized, as has been indicated by the "Three-nation Study" as well. This rejection has been combined with a preference for post-material values which condemn the aggressive, cruel, and expansional models of the centralized and authoritative industrial States.

Cotgrove and Milbrath have suggested that these liberal New Environmentalists are most likely to be found working in the service and "creative" economic sectors: the wealth of these people does not depend on market factors as much as it does for people who are employed in the production and exchange sectors. Thus, they are able to ask for non-material goods and it is easier for them to assume post-material values.

The study of Montreal Ecology seems to confirm this connection. Yet, these activists are not led to reject the whole western paradigm, but only the issues seen as immediately responsible.

#### CHAPTER 5

### THE DEEP ECOLOGISTS

## 5.1. Values and Beliefs

The Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess first distinguished<sup>62</sup> between "shallow"<sup>63</sup> and "deep" ecology<sup>64</sup>. The "shallow" ecologists are interested in limiting the growth of the world population and in conserving natural resources so that they could also be used by following generations. The Deep Ecologists (Dests), on the other hand, seek a new philosophy for the relationship between humans and nature and a radical change of the dominant socio-economic system. An extreme but popular tendency of "deep" ecology is the rejection of the western rational model of civilization as destructive. It turns instead to "irrationalism", mysticism, the oriental theosophies, and, to a certain degree, to primitivism<sup>65</sup>.

Deep ecologists assert that modern industrial society has proven itself destructive for the natural environment because it favours a catastrophic human attitude towards Nature. A harmonious relationship between humans and Nature presupposes a change in our

<sup>61</sup>. We could assume that by "shallow ecology" A.Naess refers both to the Protectionist and New Environmentalism movements.

<sup>64</sup>. J.Passmore, Inquiry, 16, (1973 ppviii-ix).

<sup>55</sup>. See Gary Snyder and the series of the Coyote Man stories ("Renewing the Earth" ed. John Clark, Green Print - DEC Toronto).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>. This distinction is one among many others (see, for example Cotgrove's, Milbrath's, Lowe & Goyder's, McCormick's, Bramwell's, Bookchin's etc). For the history of the acceptance of Naess's typology see Fox (1990, pp55-77).

attitude, and deeper values. The new values - or the new metaphysics<sup>56</sup> - have to be (re)discovered outside the framework of modern western civilization, primarily in pre-industrial, non-western prototypes.

In this context, the role of science, technology, education, politics, and society as a whole change rather dramatically. Humanity is part of the natural world. Thus, moral and ethical principals should remain in the context of Natural evolution. To distinguish ourselves and our future from Nature would lead to catastrophe. For example, the growth of population should be left to the "natural" capacity of the planet, not to political decisions taken by humans<sup>67</sup>.

<u>Economics</u> is treated as a sub-branch of ecology and will assume a subordinate role in the new structure.

<u>Technology</u>, is viewed with scepticism since it is responsible to a great extent for environmental destruction. In so far as it is acceptable<sup>68</sup>, its role is seen as reducing the energy consumed, and "increasing our understanding of the nature of the cosmos and our

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>. Metaphysics: the absolute and final reality hidden behind the phenomenon world (P.Condylis: "The Critique to Metaphysics by Modern Thought", Gnosi, Athens, 1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>\*7</sup>. "I take it as axiomatic that the only real hope for the continuation of diverse ecosystems on this planet is an enormous decline of human population... if the AIDS epidemic didn't exist, radical environmentalism would have to invent one". That was written by 'Miss Ann Thropy', a regular columnist in Earth First! Magazine (May 1st 1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>. E.Schumacher (1973)

place in it69".

The role of <u>Education</u> is seen as fostering the spiritual development, and of the personhood of the members of ecological communities.

Actually, the concept of <u>Community</u>, the decentralized, small, self-sufficient, (self?) disciplinary settlement, comprises the major political axis of both Deep and Social Ecology. Theodore Roszack, Raymond Dasmann, Peter Berg, Bill Devall, E.F.Schumacher, Murray Bookchin, D.Chodorkoff have all proposed the small decentralized community as the appropriate future social organization<sup>70</sup>.

Devall (1980), identifies five major conceptual sources for Deep Ecology:

(a) The Eastern spiritual tradition that began influencing western thought in the 50s.

- (b) The re-evaluation of Native Americans and their culture that took place during the 60s and 70s.
- (c) The so-called "minority tradition" of Western religious and philosophical traditions (Presocratics, Theofrastos, Lucretius, St. Francis, G.Bruno, Spinoza, J.Muir, J.Shephard, A.Naess etc).
- (d) The scientific discipline of Ecology.
- (e) The artistic work that tries to maintain a sense of place in

Y

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>. W.Fox (1990, pp45-6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>. Bill Devall: "The Deep Ecology Movement" (Natural Resources Journal, vol.20 1980).

its own development.

While Devall presents these five sources as independent of each other, a critical examination reveals a common denominator: the recognition of "Nature" as the major value and source of absolute Truth.

Actually, there is little doubt that "Deep Ecology" is the modern face of what we could call "Mystical Naturalism". The first three sources could be seen as one: the transcendental philosophies in three Continents, that is Europe, Asia, and the Americas.

The fourth, Ecology is used by the Deep Ecologists<sup>11</sup> to justify and promote their philosophical argument which comes from the previous sources<sup>72</sup>.

<sup>71</sup>. The science of Ecology is used by all Nature Conservationists (NC), Deep Ecologists (DE), and Socio-ecologists (SE) but not in the same way.

J.V.Krutilla (NC) and his colleagues have introduced a new theory of discounting using specially weighted interest rates to reflect the inability to replace natural areas. (Source: O'Riordan 1972).

H.Henderson (SE) introduced "Environmental (or Solar) Economics" (H.Henderson 1981).

M.Bookchin (SE) has connected ecology to community life - a combination that presumably will bring harmony between Man and Nature, as well as harmony among the members of the community. Yet, he speculates on this social system as the beginning for a better, post-scarcity society able to actualize the human potential (M.Bookchin 1986).

The Deep Ecologists use ecology as a scientific method (as do the previous scientists) to prove the fundamental similarities and connection of Man to Nature (B.Devall 1990, W.Fox 1990).

<sup>72</sup>. The fundamental link between Deep Ecology and Ecology can be traced back to the late 19th century. In 1866 Ernst Haeckel wrote "Generelle Morphologie" introducing holistic biology and bringing forward the theory of "vitalism". The last could be described as a "blind" form of energy that provides matter with

Thus, H.E.Odum (NC) and some of his students have developed sophisticated computer models of the ecological 'carrying capacities' of cities and regions.

Finally the fifth one seems to be of secondary significance. There is no evidence<sup>73</sup> of any arousal caused by viewing a painting. In contrast, the Naturalist philosophers, as we read from their books, and hear from their lips, find the meaning of life by visiting wilderness areas - not art galleries<sup>74</sup>.

Naturalism perceives Humanism (Man being the centre of the Universe, transforming it into "Cosmos") as the synonym of social individualism, intellectual aggressiveness, economic utility<sup>75</sup> and consumerism<sup>76</sup>. The application of utilism, implies the notion of efficiency, the attempt to achieve the highest profit out of the management of available resources. Human well-being and happiness becomes identical to individualistic thought.

The Deep-Ecologists believe that the previously mentioned characteristics of the modern capitalist/socialist societies have

<sup>7</sup>. See interviews with EF!ers.

See also the Chapter: "EF! - Confessions and Life-styles".

<sup>75</sup> See Shumacher (1973), Roszak (1972), Thoreau (1974), etc.

<sup>7</sup> D.Bell (1973).

life. This theory became essential to the pre-2nd World War ecological movement (A.Bramwell 1990).

Today, the contribution of Ecology to the movement is given epigrammatically by Reed F.Noss: "We know intuitively, as followers of deep ecology, what is right. We are beginning to know rationally, as scientific ecologists, how to restore what is right." (Wild Earth Vol.1, no.1, Spring 1991, p19).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>. This argument is supported by the fact that naturalists and deep ecology are permanent residents not of cities but of rural or wilderness areas. Well known cases are J.Muir, A.Thoreau, G.Snyder, B.Devall etc.

been formed in the process of centuries of patriarchical, societies<sup>77</sup>. The same attitudes that rule human relationships have been also been applied to Man-Nature relationships. Thus, for Mankind to overcome its destructive attitude towards Nature, the abandonment of these patriarchical values is a must. We should shift to an opposite set of values; that is cooperation, sensitivity, balance, inner-growth, caring, love, etc. These values have been linked historically to Women, and many ecologists call them feminine values. Both Dests and SEsts believe that the adoption of feminist values would solve the problem of our relationship to Nature and other human beings.

However, there is a slight difference that clearly demarcates the views of the two movements. This difference concerns:

1) Our position in our Natural surroundings as individuals; and

2) Our position in Nature as a society.

1) Deep Ecologists glorify "Mother Nature"<sup>78</sup> and the returning of mankind to her arms<sup>79</sup>. They consider man as "just one constituency in the biotic community"<sup>40</sup>. Since the rise of

<sup>77</sup>. F.Capra (1982), B.Ealsea (1981), N.Noodings (1984), Caring (1984).73

<sup>78</sup> The usage of the phrase "Mother Nature" holds more serious implications than in common usage: Accepting Nature as our creator, and not God, implicitly we also accept that the rest of the species are our brothers and sisters.

In contrast to this, the Christian, Jewish, Buddhism and Muslim Religions among others, present God as keeping a special position for Man among the other creatures.

<sup>79</sup>. Wilderness, in the eyes of Deep Ecologist, is the crystallization of the image of Nature.

<sup>80</sup>. S.Parkin (1989 pp296).

civilization Man has dissociated himself from Nature and turned himself against her. Thus, the abandonment of civilization is the solution to the ecological crisis<sup>81</sup>.

In contrast, the Greens and the school of Social Ecology argue that Homo sapiens' self-consciousness distinguishes the species from the rest Natural inhabitants<sup>82</sup>. This property allows us to become the steward of Nature. However, Dests say that this property cannot be considered as superior to any other (C.Manes 1990, Ch.13).

2) Deep Ecologists regard human beings as a species that should be subject to the "Laws" of Nature along with all the other species<sup>83</sup>. The reason for the ecological crisis we face lies in the fact that we no longer obey Natural laws<sup>34</sup>.

On the other hand, Social Ecology argues that responsibility

<sup>42</sup>. This idea is identical to the Neo-platonic notion of "humans as stewards of Nature" (Vasilis Karasmanis, <u>Nea Ecologia</u>, 73, p58).

<sup>81</sup>. Population control presents clearly the differences between the Deep Ecologists and the Socio-ecologists. The Deep Ecologists suggest a rapid decrease of the human population as a solution to the problem, almost welcome epidemics such the AIDS as a reaction of Nature to regulate life on Earth; in a sense, human life as such, is not valuable.

In contrast, Socio-ecologists argue that population expansion and control, is related to human relationships, and it will be self-controlled if we change them (B.Hartman: "Reproductive Rights and Wrongs" 1987 - source: "Fifth estate", vol.23 Spring 1988).

<sup>84</sup>. By not allowing the "natural" reduction of the world population (famine, plague), we have overpopulated the world and pushed other species to extinction (EF! journal, May 1st 1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>. "...the problem goes deeper than the monolithic and destructive technologies of industrialism. Civilization itself seems to be the problem." (Ch.Manes 1990, p228).

for the ecological crisis belongs to the hierarchical political systems societies have adopted for the last two millennia". The oppression of humans by humans is extended to the oppression of Nature by humans too.

In spite of these differences the two Schools of Thought are not mutually exclusive. This is shown by their partially common argument. In fact, the most influential and well known bibliography on ecology comes from the Deep Ecology side. But still, in the significance attributed to consciousness, and on the location of ultimate control in humans or in Nature, Deep Ecology and New Environmentalism<sup>36</sup> are ideological opponents<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>95</sup>. M.Bookchin (1974).

11.6-

<sup>86</sup>. Perhaps the proper names of these schools of thought is Natural Ecology and Socio-ecology. But I decided to keep the terms "Deep Ecology" and "Earth First!" for Natural Ecology, and "Social Ecology" and "Greens" (the popular and Europe-based name) for the parallel dimensions of Socio-ecology.

"Ecology", as such will always refer to the scientific discipline, and "environmentalism" to both Natural and Social Ecology.

<sup>87</sup>. W.Grey "A Critique of Deep Ecology" Journal of Applied Philosophy 3 (1986): 211-216.

R.Watson "A Critique of Anti-anthropocentric Biocentrism" Environmental Ethics 5 (1983): 245-256.

A.Chase <u>Playing God in Yellowstone: The destruction of</u> <u>America's First National Park</u> (Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986) pp. 372-73.

M.Bookchin's critique of Deep Ecology is self-explained: "a bottomless pit in which vague notions and moods of all kinds can be sucked into the depths of an ideological toxic dump" (from "Social Ecology Versus Deep Ecology Movement", <u>Green Perspectives:</u> <u>Newsletter of the Green Program Project</u>, Summer 1987. (Source W.Fox 1990).

# 5.2. The Earth First! Case

"Earth First!" (EF!) is a prestigious, influential, and well known group to North American environmentalists, public, and federal police (FBI)<sup>88</sup>. The objective of the group is the protection of wilderness areas, mainly in the western and southern U.S. It is best known for its "direct action", guerilla and civil disobedience tactics against raw materials industries (mining, timber, and fishing companies) which enter unprotected wilderness "development" purpose<sup>89</sup>. The estimated damage areas for to equipment of these companies, caused by EF!ers over the last decade, rates between 0.5 to 1 billion \$; the amount of slipped profits, 10 to 20 billion  $\$^{90}$ . The originality and significance of EF! is located in the fact that it is by far the world's most militant environmental group. It also ideologically backed by the intellectual movement of Deep Ecology<sup>91</sup>.

Earth First! was invited to answer the same questionnaire

<sup>vo</sup>. C. Manes (1990, pp3-22).

a a

<sup>41</sup>. Only two writers have dealt with EF!: Murray Bookchin (1987), and Alston Chase (1986). Both articles constitute political libels against the group which they accuse of misanthropism, and of "destructive amateur spirit" (see Ch.4).

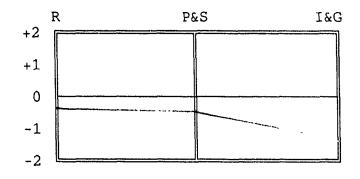
Because of their polemic character, these articles hardly could be seen as research reports dealing with "Earth First!".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup>. C.Manes (1990, p6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup>. American Federal laws protect some parts of wilderness areas. This is accomplished mainly by lobby activities of the major Nature Conservation organizations as Sierra Club. Yet, other wilderness areas remain open to exploitation. This is accomplished by lobby activities of resource industries. EF! concentrates its attention on those areas (C.Manes 1990, Ch.3 - Ch.5).

given to Montreal Ecology. The statistical analysis of their response provided the following results:

Reason (items:5.5,5.7) = -.73 in range of (+,2).
Progress-Science (items:3.1,5.11,6.1,6.2) = -.7 " "
Indust/sm-Gr/th (items:1.1,4.3,4.5,5.8,5.9) = -1.15 " "



The curve shows that "Reason" and "Progress-Science" have almost the same (negative) value, with "Reason"'s value being slightly higher. "Industrialism/Growth" has the lowest value (-1.15), twice as low as ME's value (-.62).

Comparing EF!ers' response we observe that they perceive the western world quite differently from ME. Earth First! does not reject only "Industrialism and Growth", but also the significance of "Progress and Science", and most importantly, the central value of "Reason".

We will proceed to compare the rest of the items ME and EF: responded  $to^{92}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup>. Part of the items which belong to the first 6 clusters of issues follow the phrasing and meaning of the questionnaire used by the Three-nation Study. In this way the subjects in focus are comparable to the later.

### CHAPTER 6

1

COMPARING GREENS AND DEEPS

Social Ecologists and their local version in Montreal have made a "peripheral" critique to Western Dominant Paradigm (W.D.P.). In contrast, Deep Ecologists, and the S.W. America EF!ers have made a "central", or "deep" (as they would prefer to name it) critique of the same Paradigm. The reason for such different views can be found by comparing the remaining issues which were part of the questionnaire. First we will analyze philosophical issues and then demographic ones<sup>93</sup>. We will end the comparison with the presentation of the groups' common ideological characteristics.

TABLE 1		
STYLES OF THOUGHT94		
(Items from Cluster 6)	ME	EF!
Support for the Deductive method of knowledge (6.1).		1
Support for the Inductive method of knowledge (6.2		.6 .7 1.4
Support for Mysticism (6.3) Support for Romanticism (6.4)		1 1
(Items from Cluster 5)	1.0	1.4
Contribution of Spiritualism and Religion (5.3)	2 N=80	1.2 N=50

For Ef!ers "Romanticism" (+1.4) and "Mysticism" (+.7), both

<sup>93</sup>. For the complete version of the responses, see APPENDIX II.

<sup>94</sup>. Values out of a possible +2, to -2. The numbers in parenthesis refer to the numeration of the variables in the Questionnaire (APPENDIX IV). subjective styles of thought<sup>95</sup>, are welcomed as alternatives which allow a new, personal relationship of Man and Nature. On the other hand the objective styles of thought ("Induction" and "Deduction") are disconnected from each other: Induction (+.6) is supported, but not Deduction (-.1). This eclectic preference of Induction (the holistic approach) combined with subjectivity reveals a situation where fact (what is real) and value (what is desirable) do not belong to different spheres of cognition. Instead, they are diffused to one another (see item 21 in Cotgrove's index of paradigms)<sup>96</sup>.

In this, EF! contrasts with the belief of Mests: For Mests Deduction (+.75), and Induction (+1.1) are connected to each other, and separate from Spiritualism (-.2) and Mysticism (.1). In this group the trust in objective knowledge and the separation of fact and value remains firm. Still, Romanticism is welcomed (+1.0) probably because it denotes anti-conformism and spontaneous forms of living. The different styles of thought accepted by the two groups are also shown by their response to "Spiritualism and Romanticism" (Table 1). Though the latter does not refer directly to a particular style of thought, yet is logically connected to the issue: Spiritualism and Religion hold a subjective value since

<sup>95</sup>. Following Cotgrove's reasoning (1982, 62) I considered "Induction" and "Deduction" as objective styles of thought, and "Mysticism" and "Romanticism" as subjective ones.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup>. Interestingly enough Cotgrove, and Milbrath, though they were the first to present the "fact/value" connection in a sociological study, did not provide evidence to support the suggestion.

their subject is a matter of belief rather than of proof. Here Reason is of a secondary importance. EF!ers strongly supported the item (+1.2) - MEsts almost rejected it (-.2).

On the issue of the Man to Nature relationship, Anthropocentrism, central to western cosmology, is in dispute.

TABLE 2		
STATUS OF MAN IN NATURE97	ME	EF!
(Items from Cluster 5) Humans are superior to other species (5.6) Humans should become stewards of Nature (5.7)	3	-1.4
Population Growth is responsible for the environmental crisis we face (5.9) Animals should be used for medical experiments(5.12)		
(Item from Cluster 4) Rich countries should help the 3d World ones (4.4)	.7	

MEsts do not refute the unique position of Man in Nature. This is clearly shown by their support of the notion of stewardship (+.8). Trust in Anthropocentrism is also shown, indirectly, by their support of humanitarian aid to 3d World Countries, though they recognize that population growth is a serious problem (+.7). In addition, they recognize that human life is more valuable than animals' one and, overally, they do not reject medical experiments on them for human benefit (5.12=.2).

On the other hand, EF!ers reject the notion of stewardship (-1.1) almost as strongly as they reject human superiority to other species (-1.4). Thus, Anthropocentrism is directly refuted, as is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup>. Values have been calculated as in Table 1.

its implication that animals can be used for human benefits (vr5.12 = -1.1). This means that the large human population, which they recognize as a serious problem (vr5.9 = +1.8), should be balanced naturally with no human intervention (vr4.4 = -.4). It is this line of thinking that gives rise to charges of "misanthropy", and posses a delicate ideological problem for EF!ers.

1.0

It is clear, from what we have seen, that both groups consciously follow the teachings of their ideologies. This is confirmed also by the readings<sup>98</sup> which both groups report as having influenced them (item27).

The books members of Montreal Ecology have read come from a wide variety of subjects with no overwhelming predominance of one type. These are traditional leftist (Marx, Lenin, Kropotkin), socio-ecological (Bookchin) or "doomsday-books" (R.Carson, J.Meadows). Feminism, Ecology, New Age, and general literature are also themes of interest, although less so than the former categories.

TABLE 3		
INFLUENTIAL READINGS (%)	ME	EF!
Left politics (eg Marx, Kropotkin) Ecology (eg Green Guides) Left-Environmental politics (eg Bookchin) Feminism Literature New Age (Buddhism, Tao, Mysticism) Psychology (Jung, Freud)	12.218.03.08.012.2	2.4 6.0 .8 0.0 4.4 30.0 .2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup>. Though the variable refers to "readings" some responders have indicated their influence by movies, documentaries and conversations with friends.

Science (C.Sagan)	1.0	0.0
Politics which cannot be identified as Left ones <sup>39</sup>	4.0	0.0
Deep Ecology (Devall, Session, Abbey)	2.0	26.4
Non identifiable	10.7	12.8
No response	15.0	17.0
	N=80	N=50
1		

In contrast, EF!ers show a clear preference for readings on two particular subjects: "Deep Ecology"<sup>100</sup> and "New Age". Writers such as H.D. Thoreau, Aldo Leopold, John Muir, Edward Abbey, Christopher Manes, Bill Devall, and George Sessions, appear on almost all the questionnaires of EF!ers. The rest of the potential subjects are absent with one exception: Ecology. These three repeated themes follow the argument of Bill Devall (1980) that the movement has been intellectually shaped by Transcendental Naturalism and the Science of Ecology<sup>101</sup>.

Our comparison now shifts to societal, political, and economic issues. These are also located on the first part of the questionnaire. We will start with the "post-material" issues (1st and 2nd Cluster). On the first cluster, the respondent had to rate all the twelve issues (scale: 0 to 5). The second cluster is identical to the first one with one difference. The respondent had

Ť

<sup>&</sup>quot;.Plato, contemporary themes about Canadian and American political matters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup>. We should keep in mind that the Deep Ecology bibliography is relatively resent since most of DE books appeared after 1985.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup>. Note that three subjects (Deep Ecology [26.4%], New Age [30%], and Ecology [6%]) constitute 90% of EF!ers readings.

to choose only three items out of the twelve and rate them in terms of preference, with values of "3", "2", and "1". The rest should remain unchecked. In all the following sentences "support" for the issue is always assumed. Average scores were calculated<sup>1,12</sup>.

TABLE 4			
POST-MATERIALISM SCALE 1st Clu	ster	2nd Clu	ster
ME 1) Economic Growth	4.3 .8 4.2 3.5 4.4 3.1 2.6 2.9 4.5	ME .05 .8 .02 .6 .2 .8 .3 .02 .05 .5 2.1 .07 N=50	EF! .0 .2 .0 .8 .2 .7 .9 .0 .0 .6 2.4 .0

The response of MEsts is almost identical to that of the EF!ers. Both groups show interest in all post-material issues when they had the choice to do so (1st Cluster). Protection of Nature (item 11) had the first priority. Material items were not neglected but were given far lower values. "Economic Growth" (item 1), and "Defence forces" (item 3) had the least priority.

On the 2nd Cluster material issues were abandoned. EF!ers concentrated on post-material items more strongly than MEsts. Yet, no sharp views on the subjects were found.

**₽** ->

1. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup>. Underlined numbers refer to post-material items.

Apparently, the Post-Material scale failed to identify any qualitative differences of principal between the groups.

Y

On the 3rd Cluster, which deals with socio-political issues we found:

TABLE 5		
SOCIO-POLITICAL THEMES <sup>103</sup>	ME	EF!
(CLUSTER 3) Western societies have promoted human values (3.1)	٨	1
Law and order secures social harmony (3.2) Political decisions should be made		1 7
by representatives of the public (3.3)	-1.1	9 2
We should emphasize achievement and reward (3.4)		
We should recognize skill and education (3.5)		.6 N-50
We should recognize skill and education (3.5)	.6 N=80	N=5

MEsts, following the principles of their party, believe in direct participation in governmental decisions (see attached "Principles of Montreal Ecology"). Presumably for this reason, they reject not only the item on "Representation" (vr3.3 = -1.1), but also the proposition that western societies have promoted basic human values (vr3.1 = -.4), since real "democracy" is not present in these societies. "Law and Order" (vr3.2 = -1.2) is also rejected (I assume as oppressive), as well as "Achievement and Reward" (vr3.4 =-.8). The latter, if we follow the Green theory, because it promotes competition and aggressiveness. In contrast, "Skill and Education" is accepted (vr3.5 = .6).

On the other hand, EF!ers, even though they follow the same line MEst do, appear milder than MEsts. This is surprising since

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup>. "Aid to 3d World countries" has been already presented.

their extremism has led them more than once into confrontation with State authorities - unlike the ME case. This response could be explained as that of people who are not interested in political matters and remain indifferent.

On the economic and technological issues:

TABLE 6		
ECONOMIC-TECHNOLOGICAL ISSUES <sup>104</sup>	ME	EF!
(4th CLUSTER) Bad economic situation concentrates political power in the hands of a few politicians and		
technocrats (4.1)	1.3	.5
A stable economy is part of a good society (4.2)	1.2	.1 -1.3
Economic growth secures social harmony (4.3) Technology and new fuel sources discard the	7	-1.3
"limits to growth" argument (4.5)	4	8
Soft technology could help us solve our		
socio-economic problems (5.1)	.06	4
pollution problem (5.2)	1.0	. 2
	N=80	N=50

"Growth" appears on the questionnaire as a positive factor (vr3.3, vr3.5) and it is disregarded by both groups. However, EF!ers have rejected these two statements with double the intensity of the MEsts<sup>105</sup>.

The concept of Stable Economy is supported by MEsts (3.2=1.2) while EF!ers hesitate to do so (vr3.2=.1). Furthermore, MEsts

<sup>104</sup>. Values have been calculated as in Table 1.

-#¥

 $<sup>^{105}</sup>$ . It should be noted that the percentage of the EF!ers who remained neutral on these two matters (vr6.3 and vr6.5) in respect to MEsts were 5.9% to 17.7% on the first issue, and 2.9% to 22.8% on the second one.

share the wary for concentration of power in the hands of few people due to bad economic conditions. Actually, on this matter they have given their strongest support (vr4.1= 1.3 out of a possible +2). EF!ers' response on the same issue was mild (vr4.1= .54).

, în

**FIRES** 

The opinion of MEsts on "Soft Technology" (vr5.1, vr5.2) is positive, though they hesitate to support the Green position that the computer will be able to better society (vr5.1= .06). Yet, they give their strong approval to the notion that soft technology could help us solve the pollution problem (vr5.2= 1.0).

On the same issue (i.e. "Soft Technology"), EF!ers responded quite differently. They disapproved of the notion that it could help us in societal matters (vr5.1= -.4), and they remained neutral on whether it could be a weapon against pollution (vr5.2= .2)! This response would be puzzling if the reader was assuming that pollution deals with dirty or clean environment. For Deep Ecology, pollution means an unstable, overpopulated environment<sup>106</sup>. Under this assumption, soft technology is of little help.

In general, MEsts believe in a society where stable economy, decentralized political structure, and clean environment prevail. On the other hand, on the same subjects EF!ers appear negative or indifferent. These issues seem almost unimportant to them. Instead, for EF!ers the major problem is the ar ogant predominance of the human species on the planet.

Shifting to the second part of the questionnaire, we observe

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup>. See interview with Bill Devall.

that the groups show similarities in sex ratio, level of education, occupation, involvement in previous social movements, social and family liberal - authoritarian backgrounds.

TABLE 7								
SEX	(in %)	EDUCATION (ye	ears of / in %)					
Male ME 62 EF! 70	Female 38 (N=80) 30 (N=50)	<10 11-14 1 4 3 0	>14 95 (N=80) 97 (N=50)					
	OCCUPATION	(sector / in %)						
-	Market n ME 12 EF! 12	on Market. 88 (N=80) 88 (N=50)						
BROAD SOCIAL	ENVIRONMENT (in	<pre>%) FAMILY EN</pre>	JVIRONMENT (in %)					
Liberal ME 84 EF! 86	Authoritarian 16 (N=80) 14 (N=50)	Liberal 39 32	Authoritarian 61 (N=80) 68 (N=50)					
	OTHER MOVEMENTS	(in %) (N=80, N=	=50)					
ME E	F!         ME EF!           3         61 56	Civil Rights ME EF! 61 62 15 21	Peace Movement ME EF! 79 80 42 38					
Symp. 65 8 aft.Actv. 10	0 62 70 9 8 6	63 60 10 6	73 80 20 18					

In contrast, we observe significant differences in age, activism, residency, perceived pollution rate, and political preference:

-142 -142

TABLE 8										
	<20			(in % 31-4		<u></u>		ACT Strong	IVISM Mild	Week
ME EF!	12 12	5	20 35	$\begin{array}{c} 4 \ 0 \\ 4 \ 0 \end{array}$				29 62		
R	RESIDENCY IN YOUNG AGE (in %) PERMANENT RESIDENCY (in %)									
		ru	U	ır				ru	ur	
	ME: EF!	30 35		0 (N 5 (N	=80) =50)			7 62	93 38	(N=80) (N=50)
	F	PERCE	EIVE	D POL	LUTION	I IN RES	SIDE	NTIAL A	REA (i	n %)
				H	igh	Mild		Low		
		ME : EF :	: ! :	22 15		56 41		(N=60) (N=50)		
					POLII	CICS (ir	n 8)			
			rig	ht	centre	e left	:	mixed	rejec	:t.
r i	ME EF !		2	<u>:</u> )	4 0	45 11		14 12	35 77	(N=80) (N=50)

The members of EF! are younger, and more active. They live in rural areas where pollution certainly lies on lower levels than in urban areas where MEsts live - a fact supporting the notion that the primary objective of the group is not fighting pollution (as MEsts<sup>107</sup>), but defending key Natural areas.

An interesting finding is located on the two items of "residency" on the previous page. Though the pattern of early

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup>. See MEsts' interviews at the last Chapter.

residence (RESIDENCY IN YOUNG AGE) is quite the same for both groups, they moved in opposite directions later. PERMANENT RESIDENCY indicates that EF!ers moved to rural areas while MEsts moved on to cities. EF!ers show a "back to Nature" movement.

71

These people have left the urban centres, ("fed up" as they indicate in their interviews<sup>104</sup>), left aside the efforts to fight for a "better society"<sup>109</sup>, lost their faith in Progress, and concentrated on enjoying and protecting the last wilderness.

Their pessimism about the social and environmental problems

TABLE	9		
ATTITUDE FOR SOLVING SOCIAL	AND	ENVIRONMENTAL	PROBLEMS
We will find permanent solution environmental problem (5.10) The next generation will grow up			EF!
in a more humane society (5.11)			76 N=50

(Table 9) explains why they moved to rural and small town areas, why they are not a political group<sup>110</sup>, and why they cannot be included under the "New Environmentalists" umbrella.

On the other hand, MEsts appear, if not optimistic, at least not pessimistic on both the state of nature and the social issues (see previous Table): Montreal Ecology is both a political and an

<sup>108</sup>. See Appendix I - interviews with EF!ers.

<sup>109</sup>. Even thought they had previously shown the same amount of sympathy for the social issues as the MEsts.

<sup>110</sup>. Lack of "expectation of success" means absence of motive for action (Pinard 1977).

ecological group - a socio-ecological one, faithful to Progress, working for a better society and a better natural environment.

Taking into account the value-preference findings, the evidence suggest that both groups share some key qualities that characterize New Environmentalists in the previous studies as well:

They rejected the authoritarian values located in the third,
 "socio-political" cluster of issues (Table 5).

2) They choose post-material values when they were asked to choose only three variables out of the twelve. Yet, they did not neglect the material values when they were asked to rate without restriction the same items (Table 4):

3) Their occupations belong to the tertiary (ie service) sector of the economy (Table 7).

4) They have both receive high levels of education (Table 7).

5) They report being brought up in a liberal social environment, but not an immediate family one (Table 7).

6) They both show sympathy for the major social movements of previous decades, which both groups have linked to current environmentalism as "a natural evolution of those movements" (Table 7).

The facts suggests that liberalism<sup>111</sup> could be described as the conceptual starting point for both trends - a point of departure after which the values and beliefs of these activists

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup>. In this case "liberalism" is indicated by the preference for "post-material" values, and the rejection of the authoritarian values (vr3.1-vr3.5).

develop in different directions.

EF!ers' animosity toward political power is more clearly shown by the fact that their majority (77%) consider themselves outside the left-right dimension of the political spectrum. In contrast, MEsts identify their political beliefs in the rightleft spectrum by 68% (Table 7).

A clear pattern is emerging: While MEsts reject the part of the western model, or paradigm, that deals primarily with powerconcentration, and the cruel domination of Nature deriving from this power structure (see items 5.6, 5.7, Table 2), EF!ers' rejection goes further. They reject the larger framework of western values and beliefs including human superiority and privilege over the rest of Nature.

How can we explain such difference in values and beliefs? Why do EF!ers show such a strong opposition to the dominant social values, while MEsts focus their objections more narrowly on hierarchy?

Moreover, why did EF!ers leave behind urban life and culture, while MEsts moved into the urban centres, following the current demographic trend?

To begin addressing this question, we must first understand the conceptual process through which beliefs and values are developed and articulated.

This is best followed through the interviews, conversations,

and observation of the activities of members of both groups<sup>112</sup>. The next chapter deals with the personal statements members of both groups contributed to the project.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup>. The qualitative data concerning members of "Montreal Ecology" were gathered in Montreal between April 1989 and January 1990. The analogous "Earth First!" data were collected 'n California during March 1991.

CHAPTER 7

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF THE DEBATE

The objective of the qualitative investigation was to grasp the social and psychological conditions that led these activists to the stage of beliefs and attitudes they have expressed in the questionnaire. It constitutes a life-long process, starting from the early stages of socialization and experience that gradually shapes the character of the people in question.

I will start the presentation of the findings from the view point of MEsts, since they represent the Green, main-stream of modern Environmentalism.

Each selection of interview material that follows is divided into two, or three paragraphs. The first one deals with the early socialization and the development of the political thoughts and values of the responder. The second (and third wherever it appears) refers to the contact of these people with environmental issues and movement.

The names of the people who were interviewed are withheld. Instead, pseudonyms replaced them. This does not include publicly known figures as M.Bookchin, D.Rousopoulos, M.Feinstein, Jan Ouimet G.Sessions, B.Devall, and C.Manes.

1st case (George Brown - the "Liberal")

"I grew up in a very comfortable family environment. My father is

a civil servant... We used to have long discussions about the political situation in Quebec back in the late 70s. He was telling me that the solution is not the independence of Quebec if the same people who rule today will continue to rule an independent Quebec... Soon I realized that the problem lies in how you run a State; not in where the borders of it end. I was spending a lot of my time reading books of Marx, and Gandhi. I realized that the solution lies somewhere in between them. During that time I was spending time in the peace-movement.

Then I discovered Murray Bookchin, and I said to myself: This is what is missing - the ecology. You see, it was making sense."

2nd case (Murray Bookchin - the "Communist")

"I was born in Russia in the beginning of the century. My family was of Jewish origin and they were committed anarchists. I became a member of the Communist Party of New York when I was 13 years old.

Yet, later on, after the (2nd World) War, as I was working with ukrainian workers, and polish workers, and black workers, I realized that they were hating each other more than their boss! And I came to realize more and more that the working class will not do it... The workers were not revolutionary - they were militant! So I came back to the conclusion that I had to get out of the factory and think things out again and again, and work out my ideas. Now, when I was a young man I was always interesting in biology. I loved to go out and climb trees, and collect rocks. So I was basically a naturalist. I loved science courses. So, this love for biology, and the love for Hegel which deals with development, and growth... they were diffused to one another.

3rd case (Jan Ouimet - the "Ecologist")

"I left my home in my late teens to experience the world. I had no problem with my family. I was travelling with my bike, spending time in the country side and reading a lot of books. Mathematics and Ecology were the fields I really enjoyed to read. I could see the destruction of Nature, and I thought that there must be a way out of this mess.

I went to University to study mathematics and ecology. I came out with an idea about an ecological model for sustainable development. I want to see Quebec independent as a bio-region among others in North America.

4th case (Peter Davis - the "Anarchist". Age: 45)

....

"I was born in Spain when Franco's regime was in power... My father had fought in the civil war. He was my first political teacher. I became involved in some underground activities nothing serious, but I was caught and I had to decide to suffer the consequences. So I left and came to Montreal.

When ecology turned political I rethought my experience as anarchist: Ecology and anarchism go hand in hand... if you are an ecologist you are an anarchist."

5th case (George Papin - the "Christian". Age: 29)

"From my early youth I had an interest in nature. I was also involved in the Catholic Youth Organization. And then these two things combined let me understand other issues that were happening around me. I became involved in the peace-movement, and the antinuclear movement when I was 18 years old.

Then, I think it was 1988, I heard about the Green Party of Quebec, and I perceived it as the natural evolution of the peace, disarmament, and anti-nuclear movement - and that's the way it is. Nature is the creation of God, as Mankind. To exploit Nature is like exploiting God through its work."

These passages lead us to one basic conclusion: The ideological roots of the members of Montreal Ecology are heterogeneous, and belong to the wider spectrum of liberalism. We can distinguish between two paths to Environmentalism: The soft and the hard.

The soft path is the one that was followed by the Liberal (1st case), the Ecologist (3rd case), the Anarchist (4th case), and the Christian (5th case). I name it soft because Environmentalism is perceived as the "natural evolution" of the social movements these people were following. Environmental ideology is seen as uniting the issues these activists want to promote. In fact seeing Environmentalism as allowing them to make connections between otherwise disparate themes in their lives was often part of the conversion experience. Their intellectual identity did not lose anything when they became adherents of Environmentalism; it was completed.

The second, hard path is the one that was followed by M.Bookchin (2nd case). It constitutes the hard (and rare) path to Environmentalism, since it was followed after a bitter realization of the inaccuracy of the ideology that had shaped that person since his very early youth. The search was also longer, and different in quality from the previous cases in the following respect:

Bookchin had to look for a new course of thinking by himself. We should keep in mind that his disillusionment came at a time when Communism, and even Stalinism, was still considered prestigious by the leftist western intelligentsia. This person was literally by himself.

7

÷

うちょう

Since he could not find a solution from outside, he looked inside himself and his past experience. He remembered his passion for biology, a situation that he had experienced (as Communism) in his early youth. The essence of biology is the development of an organism, that is the actualization of the dynamics and strength an organism hides inside him. Rethinking the ideology that "betrayed" him he realized that the message of Communism, was a message for human progress and development as Hegel (ancestor of Marxism) has stated.

the second second

The analogy was obvious, and the argument for "humanism via the rights of the workers" changed to the articulation of the new revolutionary object: "humanism via environmental ethics". The hard, painful path to Environmentalism, though rare, is associated with an original and productive career<sup>113</sup>.

Shifting to EF!ers, we read:

1st case (Mary Charles. Age: 33)

"My father was a worker, my mother a social worker. I was not really interested in politics or in political activism... I went to a business school... Reagan came to talk to us - it was my first demonstration. After that I left school.

Interest for nature evolved in myself. Going to the mountains - totally away from civilization. I travelled a lot, developing a wider sense of scope, experiencing the world... I came here (California), working with the Peace Movement. I had some extra free time. I found out about the EF! group in Phoenix. I was living in the mountains. I met people there. We were living consciously in Nature... I read the book Deep Ecology... It was describing a lot of the direction I was going".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup>. Murray Bookchin has produced more than seven books about Environmentalism, and he is considered as the "Father" of Social Ecology.

2nd case (Robert Lee. Age: 24)

"I used to read books about the Indian life when I was very young... I was going to the public library. I was fascinated by their way of living: calm, balanced, peaceful, until the white man came and destroyed them... I was spending time with my father going to the forests. It was feeling good. In my late teens I was considering myself an anarchist: Listening to punk music, and living the city life. It was a dead-end... I had no friends to share my thoughts and frustration.

I had to take trips back to nature, to the woods or on the hills in the Yosemite Park to find some relief... I was saying to myself: This is real, not the city life. I read Walden of Thoreau and it was making sense. It was describing the life I wanted to live. Then, it was Earth Days. I met people who were thinking the same way. We were frustrated by the compromises of the environmentalists. I heard about EF! and became a member".

## 3rd case (Christopher Manes)

"When I was young I spent time in the forests. Somebody has to learn how to behave in the forest. You have to leave your "civilized" self behind. You cannot be an individual and be in the wilderness the same time. You have to become a part of the Nature. Returning back to the city... I was thinking that civilization is an illusion. The real world is out there". 4th case (Mark Sherman)

"I was raised in Berkeley... living there during the turmoil of the 60s. My parents were involved in radical politics. I used to be a participant in electoral politics... till the point I became disillusioned with all that stuff after the assassinations of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King - I was shocked. Later on, the mid 70s, I became aware of the anti-nuclear movement by a ballot initiative - it was for the shut-down of the power industry... the company bought the elections: Buying time on TV to threaten people that they will not have electricity any more... and I think that this incident changed my thinking a lot.

It always seemed right to me to protect the environment... intuitively... in our family we all have empathy for the environment... a sense of non-human consciousness by having domestic animals. That helped a lot. I was an animal-rights activist. I lived an isolated life - spiritual... I became a screen writer, and in those writings I was including themes of wilderness. I was thinking that the inner damage of self is linked to an environmental damage... I heard about EF!... I had just read the Monkey Wrench Gang, Abbey's book, and I thought this was great! This is what we need!"

# 5th case (Greg Grand)

1

"I discovered Nature via my training as Biologist. You know, out there... its beautiful... balanced. Nature doesn't need us. It works fine for itself... and the best we can do is to leave it

alone. It works fine for itself... It doesn't "progress". And it doesn't care about "efficiency", "development"... Really man, we have messed it up. I was confused with our role in Nature playing the role of God.

I read Deep Ecology and the message was identical to my ideas... Talking to other people who shared my views made it easier. We have understood that the Greens have given up. It is a compromise with the System. It's not "how much" we take out of Nature, because <u>to take</u> is destruction. This is why I am an EF!er. No compromise!"

6th case (Bill Devall)

k

And 1.151.17

- net Estadiers. et

And the second second second

"The environmental issues have existed for a long time now. In the early 80s the attempts to solve them proved to have failed - the ideal which justified the rationalism of cutting the trees came into question itself, specially after Naess's Deep Ecology argument... The whole [environmental] movement was under criticism. And the animals-right movement, even though heuristic, was limited to the protection of some non-human forms of life...

I started looking for something else - something more meaningful; a new vocabulary. The writings of Naess... was a way to look at Nature with a new perspective. It was also the personal experience with Nature - living close to Nature and watching the capitalist exploitation of it". 7th case (George Sessions)

"I became interested in wilderness from my early youth. Books and friends were also important for the development of my thoughts but the crucial factor was rock climbing in the Yosemite area since my middle teens. To be out there was a new way to see the world, the real world.

I was involved in analytic philosophy and I was trying to put nature into a philosophical perspective. White and Ehrlich gave me some insights, but I arrived at Spinoza as the answer to my objective"<sup>114</sup>.

8th case (Barbara Stanwick)

"I was born in 1956, the period of optimism and pride to be an American... My family was belonged to the upper-middle class and everything was rosy.

During the 8th grade (1968) I was shaken, when I learned in the History course that the Americans, us, had dropped the Bomb on Japan... I left the room crying - I was ashamed... Later on the values I was brought up with came in conflict with the Watergate scandal... it was the assassinations of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King... I was disillusioned.

In 1982 I moved to the Tapaya Canyon area. This place was in a residential area but my front door was next to wilderness.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup>. Also W.Fox (1990, 63).

Someboly came to the door - gave me a pamphlet about a demo; somebody wanted to "develop" the place. In the beginning I didn't show any particular interest. But the more I watched the conflict between the environmentalists and the developers the more outrageous it was becoming. It was not happening out there, but here. I could see it happening to the place I love. I started seeing destruction. That woke me up. Not that I like groups... I read an article, in an LA magazine about EF! (1987). I liked what it was trying to do. I came in contact with the local EF! My whole life changed. I was manager in a communication company and I left to concentrate on the EF! efforts"<sup>40</sup>.

At first glance we observe that the conversion of these people to Deep Ecology and EF! was far more intense and dramatic than the "greening" of ME members. We can suggest that an early attachment to the natural environment (i.e., wilderness) or elements of nature (domestic animals) are of crucial importance. However, this is not the only factor. This attachment becomes "heuristic" when it is supplemented by a later political or cultural disappointment - "disillusionment" as EF!ers recall it. Thus, the general pattern is:

1st step: Early socialization in a middle-class, white, liberal environment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup>. Barbara's occupation to date is "Bio-diversity Coordinator".

- 2nd step: Exposure to the "Natural world" through hiking or camping in forests, and generally spending time in ilderness areas, or/and: Attachment to animals (dogs, cats,horses) leading to appreciation of non-human forms of life.
- 3rd step: Development of values and involvement in politics (sometimes encouraged by the parents) of a liberal/leftist character.
- 4th step: "Disillusionment" with politics (Kennedys, King assassinations) and with the whole political system.
- Independent Condition: Occupation in the tertiary sector of the economy, that offers a reasonable sense of autonomy and free time to be devoted to "self-developing" activities.
- 5th step: Frustration and search for a new system of thought (vocabulary) to denote the liberal/leftist feelings of these people (e.g., Mark's "compassion" and "empathy").
- 6th step: Exposure to the environmental issues of the early 70s and disappointment with the conservationist efforts to save wilderness areas.
- 7th step: Mental return to the early life in Nature, and readings of ecology and Deep Ecology books.
- 8th step: Articulation of the new philosophy and entrance into activism.

The whole process becomes more intense when that person lives in, or close to, rural, or wilderness areas for a long period of time.

Then, the early exposure to Nature becomes less important. The day-by-day, strong, visual exposure both to the beauty of Nature and its destruction, usually overwhelms the ideas that person had previously developed (e.g., Barbara's experience).

The significance of natural surroundings (urban or rural) in the formulation of the philosophy of an environmentalist can be seen in the way the EF!ers view the Greens and vice versa: Most of the L.A. EF!ers are members of the Green Party of California (GPC), are involved in the same tasks, and cooperate in their activities, even though they explicitly reject being "Green".

In contrast to city dwellers, the EF!ers who live close to wilderness areas hold a variety of negative opinions about the Greens. These start with the soft comment "indifferent", and range to strong statements "compromised" and "just anthropocentric". There is no doubt: EF!ers, as a whole, support the concept of "bio-diversity" - the intrinsic value of all natural forms of life to exist. However, urban EF!ers find ways to be moderate about the implications and meaning of "bio-diversity" for humans.

When we compare the intellectual development of EF!ers with that of MEsts we note the following:

"Greens<sup>116</sup>" (e.g., MEsts). This is based both on early physical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup>. MEsts recognize their party, and themselves as part of the wide, western, "Green Movement" (ie the political branch of New Environmentalism). Thus, while EF!ers refer to themselves as "Earth First!er", MEsts refer to their party as the "Green party of our city", and they call themselves "Green".

experiences and later political-experiences in their lives. I explain:

1) MEsts lack the early (or even late) attachment to Nature and wilderness areas which most EF!ers and independent DEsts have experienced.

2) EF!ers (most of them in their late teens) experienced a crisis of conscience - disillusion with conventional politics, or rejection of urban life; MEsts have not (the major social ecologist became disillusioned with Marxism).

a) Some EF!ers became disillusioned with politics. This has meant the loss of articulation of their values, though the general liberal direction remained firm.

b) The remainder of EF!ers rejected the urban, "civilized" life. This did not bring the sudden crisis of the first [i.e., (a)] case. Instead, it could be described as a gradual and constant development consisting of two phases: the negative (isolation and speculation) and the positive (articulation and commitment to a new cause).

In contrast to these two paths of conversion to a new lifestyle and intellectual commitment, MEsts follow environmentalism as a supplementary part of their political model. It is welcomed as a conceptual framework which includes the otherwise isolated themes of anarchism, feminism, anti-nuclear, and anti-war movements. Yet, environmentalism does not have the essential, life-organizing character which it has for EF!ers.

Ŧ

CHAPTER 8

ORGANIZATIONAL DIFFERENCES - STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

The differences between the MEsts and the EF!ers continue at the political-organizational-action level; these differences also give us a hint at the potential success or failure of the two groups.

Earth First! shows the following characteristics:

1) It does not depend on any kind of general political, electoral victory to keep its forces together or to bring its program to a successful end.

2) EF!ers do not follow any dogmatic structural scheme for organizational purposes, since their activities are based on independent, self-sufficient groups of people who decide by themselves the strategies and tactics they will follow to accomplish their tasks.

3) The activities of the local EF! groups address the needs of the immediate area. Their resources are the skills and abilities of activists who are usually inhabitants of this area.

4) EF!ers show a strong sense of solidarity emerging from their militant, direct, and painful, self-sacrificing activities they initiate.

5) EF!, even though a non-hierarchical "non-organization", does not fear leadership roles. The most devoted and experienced members lead the team to action - a specific action with specific and immediate results, a factor that leads to the next characteristic of EF!:

6) The members of the group that have been involved in direct action experience the satisfaction of participating in successful tasks. As for the unsuccessful ones, the frustration never last for a long time, since new tasks arise almost immediately (a week, or at most, a month later).

7) The post-modernism trend supplies a theoretical argument which, although never vital for the existence of the movement, nonetheless plays the role of a psychological catalyst. It strengthens the DE beliefs of the EF!ers, and allows the acceptance of their radical argument by the wider intellectual community<sup>117</sup>.

8) The science of biology (and potentially of socio-biology) provides strong, "unquestionable" evidence for the accuracy of their argument, and thus strengthens their commitment to protecting Nature.

9) Deep Ecology writers and EF! orators do not seek any kind of official political power inside or outside the movement. Actually, they despise any involvement in the political game.

10) No one appears to hold the Truth - not even the writers and/or activists who started the movement in the beginning of the 80s<sup>118</sup>. Instead, by sharing the same fundamental values, they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup>. Speech of Irine Diamond (2 March '91) at the "Radical Environmentalism Conference" in Santa Barbara, Ca.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup>. In this way a possible intellectual closure is avoided, since these prominent writers encourage EF!ers who have sophisticated ideas to answer them by their own (fruitful) thinking.

explore, and develop their ideas independently of each other".

11) The success of a task depends on mobilizing enough activists to spike tree trunks<sup>120</sup>, demobilize tractors, climb trees, and attract Media and public attention and the interest of Lobby-groups (eg Sierra Club, Aubodon Society).

In contrast to EF!, Montreal Ecology's history and organizational structure has the following characteristics:

1) It is primarily as a political, municipal party. Its success and maintenance is dependent on electoral victories.

2) The principles of the group have led to a strict and inflexible scheme; to operate a municipal electoral campaign under these conditions was painful, time-consuming, and frustrating.

3) Lack of funds became a crucial factor since only one campaign headquarters was established. The basic target of the party was to inform the public about its presence. This was finally accomplished by door-to-door campaigns. Furthermore, political posters appeared on the walls of the city only a few days before the elections. Other programs were finally abandoned.

4) The sense of camaraderie was absent since few common, direct activities took place. One of them was the support of the Mohawks at Oka - and this was not of relevant nature.

5) The belief in power-decentralization led to the refusal to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup>. "Why monolithic ideologies? We have had enough of those in both European and world history." [Arne Naess's view about the variety of opinions and beliefs among the DE camp (C.Manes 1990, p155)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup>. This activity has recently been abandoned.

present a mayoral candidate, something that was incomprehensible to the electoral body.

6) They attracted little media attention. The party was largely ignored.

7) Although the party advocates consensus decision-making and flat-organizational structure, it suffered internal personality conflicts.

8) The disappointment experienced by most MEsts following elections (no candidate was elected) resulted in the disintegration of the party to date.

Thus, Montreal Ecology was operating in a hostile environment (the political arena made by main-stream parties). Members of the group lacked resources, and had low morale.

EF!, on the other hand, is "in tune" with its environment and the needs of this environment. In this sense, it is literally an "ecological" organization. It has found a "niche"; a certain credibility with an outside audience, publishes a newspaper-format journal, "Earth First!", with a large circulation (around 10 to 20 thousand copies<sup>121</sup>), and contributes to the defence of forests from logging companies<sup>122</sup>.

The failure of ME, not only electorally but as a social movement organization, is not an isolated phenomenon. Actually,

<sup>122</sup>. C.Manes (1990, Part 1)

ų,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup>. Unconfirmed information by an EF!er journalist (12 March 1991).

the whole European Green movement seems to suffer the same kind of endemic problems<sup>123</sup>. This led the Greens to a late 80's stagnation which is equally as serious as the dazzling parliamentary victories of the early 80s.

Even if we accept ME's lack of resources and low morale as unusual, the "hostile land" syndrome is not, as the German situation illustrates. The German case shows that the structure of the Green parties (strictly participatory, anti-authoritarian, open decision-making process) contradicts the rules of the conventional political European and certainly the American game. This has been formulated to fit the representative, hierarchical, pro-industrial, pro-central-state parties.

ŝ

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup>. See Petra Kelly's interview (<u>Global Viewpoint</u> December
 1990 - republished by the newspaper <u>Ta Nea</u>, 7 January 1990).
 Also, Andje Folmer's (former parliament representative for
 the Greens) interview in the newspaper, <u>Die Zeit</u> (7 December 1990)
 - republished by the magazine, <u>Nea Ecologia</u> (January 1991, pp22 23).

### CHAPTER 9

á

14 13

#### CONCLUSIONS

"We want the world And we want it NOW" The Doors (1967) "I want to get back into my hole And memorize a childhood song" Minimal Compact (1981)

This study followed and examined, from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives, a would-be municipal party (Montreal Ecology), and a North-West American activist group (Earth First!) which, if we follow the previous studies, belong to the same "New Environmental" movement.

In general we have found:

1) EF!ers' and MEsts' values belong to the broader conceptual frame of "liberalism". Both oppose authority and political centralization and share affinity with the social reform movements of the 60's.

2) MEsts belong to the broad Green movement, participate in electoral politics, and strive for a decentralized, communal, pollution-free, and soft-technology oriented society.

3) EF!ers fight for the protection of wilderness areas, dislike politics, and criticize certain basic tenets of western civilization, while proposing a new societal Paradigm. MEsts do not reject any basic principles of modern western civilization, and they propose a rather political regulation within the Dominant Western Paradigm. 4) EF! is primarily a rural-wilderness movement, based on the teachings of Deep Ecology. ME, like the rest of the European Green parties, is an urban social movement and is based on a series of leftist, liberal teachings (Marxism, Anarchism, Feminism, Social Ecology).

5) The psychological course of their current ideology is dissimilar, leading EF!ers to radicalism, and MEsts to moderate stances.

6) ME's success depended highly on the mobilization of material, and reluctant human political resources. EF!'s success depends on the alertness and improvising tactics of activists - not on material or public mobilization.

Given that these differences exist can we describe Montreal Ecology and as parts of the same movement? The answer depends on how we recognize two groups as parts of "one movement". In the general sense of the public concept of "environmentalism", and in the same that both groups contribute to raising public awareness of environmental issues, both no doubt contribute to the environmental movement. But they do not share specific common ideological, psychological, or demographic characteristics and goals.

In which political traditions could we locate the two groups?

George Modinos has argued that the Green movement constitutes

the "natural evolution" of the European New Left<sup>124</sup>. He identifies three major factors responsible for the emergence of the New Left: 1) The decline of the traditional dichotomies of political economy (capital/labour, left/right) which were directing a large part of the intellectual community towards the marxist left posture.

2) The growth of the tertiary (service) sector of the economy, and the consequent emergence of the New Class, the social base of "post materialism"..

3) The decline of the ideology of the Nation-State.

In brief, Modinos argues that traditional political thought was unable to encompass the problems of civic life by its political agenda (impersonality, alienation, sexism, racism, exclusion of social and national minorities). These new issues helped to assemble a heterogeneous audience of leftist-anarchist groups of intellectuals who had lost their faith in marxism and in the future of class-struggle<sup>125</sup>.

We read:

1

a creation

"The major enemy was not capitalism, not even industrial society. It was the international society of growth... The ecological movement was built through these ideological conditions. To be articulated it needed resources, and I mean input coming from the science of Ecology. This input was connected with the ideological roots of the New Left for the creation of the hybrid known as the "ecologic movement".

<sup>124</sup>. "Alternative Social Movement and the New Political Paradigm", Nea Ecologia No.67 (pp54-58), May 1990, Athens.

<sup>125</sup>. See also: A.Gorz <u>Farewell to the Proletariat</u>, (Nea Epoche, Athens, 1986); H.Marcuse <u>The One-Dimension Man</u>, (Papazisi, Athens, 1984) and <u>Eros and Civilization</u>, (Kalvos, Athens, 1982).

Poulantzas For Which Politics and Classes?, (Papazisi, Athens, 1981). Also, compare this argument with Bookchin's case.

Thus, the movement is not a continuation of the labour movement, nor an outgrowth of the bourgeois system.

The new categories of the employed - specially in the tertiary sector of the economy - were not adding their numbers on this or the other party, but they were questioning development, profit, growth - capitalist or

socialist.

The "grand refutation" which had created the New Left, taking advantage of the failure of the marxist political movements was transformed to the ecological argument - first non-political, then political. It constituted the realization of the fact that <u>the crisis in the Man -</u> <u>Nature relation could be solved only by a societal change</u>." (writer's emphasis, "Nea Ecologia", No66 p56).

For the same subject Bramwell (1988) reasons:

"After the Second World War the ideal lay dormant for a period. It then revived, still in an alternative anticapitalist form, with similar ideas, programs and beliefs, but with a self-defined leftwards tinge. The political shift was partly because the 'soft centre' moved from right to left during that time. It was also because American anarchists and Marxists in the late 1960s took up ecological ideas as part of 'alienation'. (p15).

We could add that these frustrated intellectuals, who were leftist but no longer marxist, were looking for a new central theme to articulate their political inclinations on new issues. The anti-nuclear movement (late 50's) became the first focus of attention. Later on (mid-60s), a series of publications on chemical pollution and the "limits to growth" argument brought the Green ideology to a level of maturity<sup>126</sup>.

Keeping in mind that this intellectual search took place in the period between the 50's and the 60's, the findings of our study strongly support Modinos' argument. In particular

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup>. Rachel Carson: <u>Silent Spring</u> (1962).

Denis Midows et al: The Limits to Growth (1972).

For a complete presentation of this kind of publication known as the "prophets of doom" see McCormick (1989).

Bookchin's "transformation" (which took place in the early 50s) is identical to the general scheme in the quotation<sup>127</sup> (see Appendix I, p119).

The reason for this intellectual search is not yet fully understandable. MEsts, as we read from their interviews, focus on the altruistic character of their struggle: "we know what a better, rationally built society should look like; we have the time and energy to go for it." On the other hand, theorists who speculate on the role of intellectuals in modern society argue that intellectuals try to promote - as other groups do - their own interests<sup>128</sup>, and that the environmental movement is "the most recent strategy in the New Class guerilla warfare against the old class "<sup>129</sup>.

The truth is probably hidden somewhere in between these positions. MEsts do struggle for a cleaner and safer environment, but during this struggle they also try to better their own position via elections for access to political decision centres. They do try for the "rationalization" of an "abnormal" society<sup>130</sup>, yet, it is quite certain that the issues they try to promote do not interfere, at least directly, with their personal wealth or

<sup>127</sup>. For the relation between the Green and Left movements, see also: Mitchell (1980), Bookchin (1989, 1991), Feher and Heller (1984), Luke (1980-1981, 1988), Lake (1983).

<sup>128</sup>. Habermas (1970), Gouldner (1979), Cotgrove and Duff (1980), Castoriades and Cohn-Bedit (1981).

<sup>129</sup>. Gouldner (1979, 17).

<sup>130</sup>. See Appendix I: Interviews with MEsts.

status.

on the other hand, is a non-political Earth First! organization. Most of its members, especially the older ones, started their political life as New Leftists - as did the MEsts. Yet this was interrupted at one point in time by a psychological reversal. Belenky et.al<sup>131</sup>, would call it an experience of "failed authority"; in the present case a loss of trust in politics, and in human ability to find permanent solution to fundamental societal-ecological problems. This "disillusionment" was followed by an inner search for meaning, a new way of thought, and a new beginning of life. The lack of a solution in external, intellectual sources led to an internal search, the exploration of the "self", to early youth personal experiences, and to the exploration of the surrounding environment (see Appendix I).

~ u'' I

The outcome of this investigation should not be considered surprising. It is common to persons who try to escape the "chains" of a mechanistic, competitive, and utilitarian civilization. It has happened in other epochs (late 19th to mid 20th C.), other places (Northern Europe), and from other political postures (radical right)<sup>132</sup>. In these cases nature was chosen as a means of escape since it represents the antithesis of industrial values: stasis, sense of belonging, harmony, and submissiveness to a non-

<sup>132</sup>. Bramwell (1988, Ch3-8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup>. Belenky et al (1988): <u>Womenus Ways of Knowing</u>, Basic Books, New York.

force (i.e. Nature)<sup>133</sup>. human EF! recruits, under this interpretation, could not find answers or promises in the Green "access oriented" nor the Nature Conservation "interest oriented" movements. Instead, EF! stresses before anything else the sense of "communal experience". This does not exclude efforts to gain access to legislative bodies, nor the fact that they have a personal interest in their struggle, since many EF!ers literally defend their "home" by living in rural areas. But these factors do not identify EF!.

\*

\*\*\*\*\*\$\$\$\$\* \* \$

whether a start water and the start water and the start of the start o

مرت بن<sup>مر</sup> و <sup>م</sup>ر و م

and the states of

Communal experience is linked to an "exemplary prophecy" mode which penetrates the life style of EF!ers. Certainly, as the writer has experienced by visiting and living with some EF!ers, it is almost impossible for somebody to socialize with them if this person has not adopted "ecological" standards of living in food habits, occupation, leisure activities etc; a fact which refers to cult formations<sup>134</sup>, and is absent in the ME case<sup>135</sup>.

The "in between" position of EF!, though independent from the

<sup>134</sup>. Loflend and Stark presented a similar, step by step conversion to religious cults (in Glock, ed., 1973).

<sup>135</sup>. In contrast, MEsts, as the rest of the Green parties, are closer to the Weberian "ethical prophecy".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup>. Shils (1968), Lipset (1975) and Gouldner (1979), among others, have argued from different perspectives that autonomy and opposition to the moneyed, or the ruling class has led the alienated humanist and art-oriented intellectuals to adopt liberal-leftist positions. Yet, the case of EF! suggests a second alienation which led leftist intellectuals to reject key elements their own heritage (i.e. rationality).

Conservation and Green movements is indicated by Dave Forman<sup>136</sup>. He locates EF! in the wider conservationist movement, although he and the rest of the Deep Ecologists condemn the mild, and managerial nature of the major Conservationist Societies (such as Sierra Club)<sup>137</sup>. They would prefer the movement to have a more polemical and uncompromising character.

Using the clue provided by Forman, and taking into consideration the facts from previous and current studies, we could arrive at a new typology of modern environmental trends (see p.102).

This typology includes also the International Lobbying Groups such as Green Peace, or Friends of the Earth, (Cotgrove's "New Environmental Groups"), though they were not a part of the study. This inclusion aims at a full and accurate presentation of the Modern Environmental Movement.

The categorization presents the major, or the representative actions, and general characteristics of the groups. This does not mean that the groups do not share properties located elsewhere in the typology. For example, the Greens have never excluded lobbying, or direct action from their agenda, but they can be identified primarily as participating in elections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup>. Theoretician of Deep Ecology, founding member of EF! and editor of <u>Wild Life</u> magazine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup>. See <u>Wild Life</u> magazine (Spring 1991); articles by David Forman, Howie Wolke, Reed F.Noss.

# Trends of Modern Environmentalism'"

#### Int/nal Lobby Groups

Issue:	Pollution
Goal:	Protection
Rel/ship:	Stewardship
Character	: ?
Nature:	?
Structure	: Hierarchical
Values:	Liberal
Posture:	Left
Action:	Direct Action
Object:	Nuclear plants,
	pollution centres

<u>Green</u>

Issue:	Industrialism
Goal:	Decentr/ion
Rel/ship:	Stewardship
Character	: Additional
Nature:	Political
Structure	: Flat
Values:	Liberal
Posture:	Left
Action:	Election
Object:	Political/
S	ocial structures

Pollution, Waste Protection, Management Stewardship Supplementary Recreative Hierarchical Conservative Right Lobbying/Legal process Wilderness

Nature Conservation Groups

#### Deep Ecology

Human interference Restoration of Nat.Order Fraternity Essential Spiritual Communal Liberal Anti-modernism Direct Action Wilderness

Bringing these four trends into a historical, dynamic and interactive perspective we result in the following scheme:

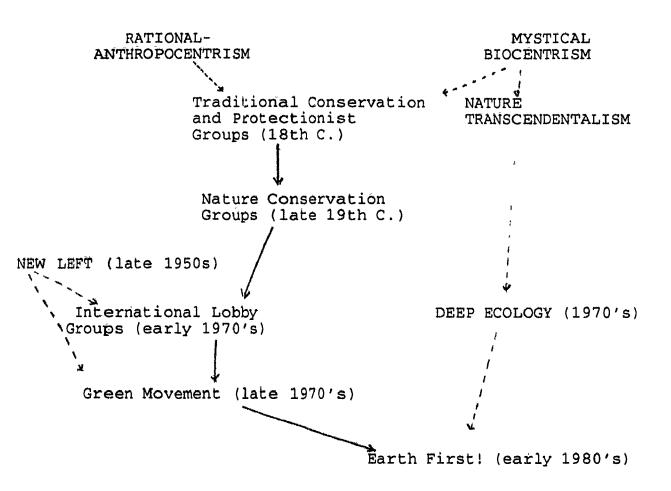
138

Issue: Issue that concerns the trend in consideration. Goal: Goal of the trend. Rel/ship: Relationship advocated between Man and Nature. Character: Character of the ideology promoted by these trends in

relation to the members'overall ideology. Nature: Nature as a source for "supplementary", "political", or

"essential" to the group activities. Structure: Organizational structure the groups follow. Values: Values of the members. Political: Political posture of the members of these groups. Action: Action the groups prefer to follow. Object: Focal object.

## ENVIRONMENTAL THOUGHT AND SOCIAL ACTION (18TH to 20th C.)



The scheme suggests a step-by-step intellectual advance from the specific to the general; from legal protection of specific Natural areas (18th C.), to a call for "rationalization" of human interference with Nature (late 19th C.)<sup>139</sup>, to the linkage of pollution and deterioration to political and societal modes (late 60's to early 80's), and finally to the rethinking of the Man/Nature relationship (DE and EF! - 80's). This course of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup>. Mödern Natural Conservationism is the direct descendant of the 18th and 19th century environmental movements: J.McCormick (1989, Ch.1).

thinking does not seem casual. Instead, we could identify intellectual and social vanguards that during all these periods grasped actual "threats", or future possibilities and made them known to the public advancing, in this way, the environmental issue.

۰ ۱

Yet, it should be noted that this "advance" in environmental thought is not linear. As the scheme suggests, the traditional and principally a-political natural conservation and protectionist groups are the ancestors of contemporary Natural Conservation as well as of international lobby groups and Deep Ecology. The latter two also chain on New Left influence to formulate their views<sup>140</sup>. Appreciation of nature, scientific argumentation, elitism, abstention and from electoral politics are characteristics common to all three types of groups. On the other hand, the Green movement has emerged out of the New Left tradition and no significant connection between this movement and the rest of the trends exist outside of the cooperation of Greens with Lobby Groups for direct action purposes (demonstrations, The Green thesis is political; Nature as a theme protests). depends on its political argument and ideology.

We consider Deep Ecology as a significant step, even though it is not as popular as the other three. But it is young and it has surmounted the more limited instrumental character of its ancestors to criticize the heritage of Enlightenment. For this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup>. Gifford Bill, et ed., "Inside the Environmental Groups". <u>Outside</u> (September 1990), 69-84.

reason it deserves to be considered not only as a major step in Environmentalism, but also as holding out an intellectual promise for the future.

This basic quatrotomy of the socio-intellectual form of modern environmentalism is connected to the central theme of Environmentalism: natural resources and human viability. Quality of air, water, and agricultural products, the problem of the ozone layer, and the usage of nuclear energy, are issues equally significant for everyone. Under this consideration, Nature as an <u>object</u> holds basically a neutral value, being equally useful to all individuals. And for this reason the environmental issues concentrate the interest of people who belong to different social and political groups.

But the connection between nature and man is not confined to its utilities (what we take away from Nature), and the movement is not one international trend struggling for one clear cause.

Nature as a <u>concept</u>, is unequally perceptible. There are two reasons for this: People approach "Nature" in dissimilar ways because of (1) differences in socialization and experience with it, and (2) in specific interest they have in protecting, preserving or managing aspects of Nature according to their occupation, habits and/or residential proximity. For these two reasons, the heterogeneous public recruited to Environmentalism cannot not be described under one scheme.

In general, the Green and Deep Ecology movements seem to hold the long term potential for environmentalism: They are the most dynamic (the other two trends would seem to have reached their limits) and critical of the contemporary industrial world. They have forced the nature conservation groups to become more demanding, but their future is unclear. Each holds assets that the other movement lacks. The Greens suggest an alternative to reorganize modern society, but without cutting the theoretical umbilical cord which links them to society. Yet, they lack inspiration - their message is "cold"<sup>141</sup>.

On the other hand, Deep Ecology holds a heuristic ideology which inspires and commits its advocates to admirable doricascetic ways of living, and determined, self-sacrificing actions<sup>142</sup>. Yet, quasi-misanthropist and exclusive life styles in the mode of exemplary prophecy isolate the movement from society. The trends seem to be "incommensurable" with society, to use a Kuhnian expression.

However, the importance of Radical Modern Environmentalism, i.e. both the Greens and the Deep Ecologists, does not hide in a "promise for future time", but in present time - what they have succeeded in doing today. Independently of what the future will

ani m the station of the second

the name of the same

יידיקין וביצאר מידי יידוקא מנש אונז באיני אייד אראיין איידין איידיין איידיין איידיין איידיין איידיין איידיין אי איידי אייד

> د ، ۴

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup>. The dreams of Greens about a future society where people exchange information via computer terminals - a political dream can hardly inspire determined collective action.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup>. "On May 21, 1979, Mark Dubois, a leader in the fight to prevent the damming of California's Stanislaus River, chained himself to a boulder on the riverbank just as the floodgates of the dam were about to be closed and the gorge flooded. He had left word of his protest with the agency in charge of the project... [I]n order to avoid drowning Dubois, the corps had to postpone stopping the river's flow until he could be located and taken out of the area" (Manes 1990, 168).

bring, these trends challenge the western world in two ways: The Greens challenge representative democracy by running their party by direct and full participation of the members. Deep Ecologists itself) (a end to bring attention with their actions to alternative ethics: Man is not the superior species on the planet - he is subservier to the same laws of nature as the other living creatures. Trying to impose his own laws (humanistic, mechanistic or technological) he brings destruction.

, , ,

، بر بر بر بر بر بر

Ŷ

۰.4

\* ر

а́-

1

J

It is certain that at least in the near future environmentalism will be on the front line of issues that will concern us. The radical environmental movement is a part of environmentalism and it could remain an important aspect of it, transforming attitudes and thoughts, showing us ways to live without doing too much damage to our surroundings. I believe that the survival of the avant-garde of the movement depends on the diffusion of the Social and Deep Ecology.

Cold reason, and instinctive mysticism are not only antithetical to one another, but they are also incomplete without the other. Neither of them will survive as a significant part of environmentalism if it continues to ignore the other. The future will show.

#### APPENDIX I

#### Interviews

The interviews are divided into two parts; the ones with MEsts, and those with EF!ers. In addition, the ME part contains a few interviews with California-Greens. Differences and similarities between them will provide us with a preliminary idea of how close the American "green" environmentalism could be to the Canadian.

MONTREAL ECOLOGY

# Dimitri Rousopoulos (Montreal, April 1990)

First of all, for many years I was interested in the whole proplematic of social and political change, and I was always interested in the social change from the bottom-up. Therefor, from an early age I was preoccupied with the questions of War and Peace - the main contradiction the Humanity is faced with.

My intellectual development regarding this crisis pushed my into the left tradition.

Now, in the left tradition there are essentially three Schools of Thought:

-There is the Socio-Democratic tradition, and my interpretation of that tradition was that up until 1st WW the Socio-Democratic tradition was a radical tradition, in which there was a very important anti-militarist component, but which compromised and done away with it with the contradictions that aroused before and during the 1st WW. So I put this School of Thought aside.

-Then, there was the marxist tradition which was militantly antiimperialist, which was militantly internationalist, but which was also very pro-"statist", and emerged that of the 19th ce, with a very troublesome, authoritarian screen. And therefor, I had great problems with the whole marxist-leninist tradition.

As an authoritarian, or as a marxist-leninist school of thought? Well, I show a contradiction between its vowed radicalism, and its proclivity to a vandguardism which led to a very pacified form of statism.

#### And what is the problem with "statism"?

Well, because in my preoccupation with War and Peace I came to the conclusion that War is the health of the State... it's perceivable, that war is the engine of the State... whether it's a supra-state or a national state. It's inimical part of the dynamics of a State. And the history of the Soviet Union is the history of a polis-state in power that led from one contradiction to another.

C-

However, there was within the printing of Marx a hundred currents which was... which I thought at the time was something that made... which make a coexistence with the best of Marx's thinking, and Lenin and leninism made that coexistence very difficult - problematic. I later discovered that the roots of Leninism are to be found in Marx himself. So, I gradually put Marx and marxism and all that on the second School of Thought.

Then I discovered that in the 19th ce there was another, and very important left tradition which was very neglected, very unknown, that was very influential in the 19th ce, ..., called anarchism; and in anarchism, I discovered a very principal antimilitarist, anti-war position with no contradictions, virtually no contradiction, and I also discovered an ecological sensibility... a stress that was to be found in the writing of many anarchist thinkers, that were unknown or very much neglected by marxist thinkers. Anarchist thinkers as Prudon, Backunin, Kropotkin... Kropotkin for example could easily be considered as proto-ecologist. Indeed one of his classics - "Mutual aid" - was very influential, and many contemporary thinkers as Luise Munford, Murray Bookchin, influenced them into looking at the ecological paradigm, in a very radical way.

So, I begin very much interested in the history of anarchism, and all the theoretical contributions the anarchists made. And the more I got interested, the more I became sympathetic to it.

# So, what is the essence of Anarchism, which you didn't find in Marxism?

Well, I was looking to find an understanding of how human beings and society evolve without a dominant authority from above. What is there in human nature, what is there in the natural evolution of human society, anthropological, ecological speaking, that stresses and allow the development of organic holistic natural relationships between human beings and societies, that precludes the need for centralization, precludes the need for bureaucracy, precludes the need for the State - which is after all the center of an organized, military, or police force, a judicially based upon force of violence, and a cynical concept of Law... and Kropotkin specially, uncovered a wealth of anthropological and sociological element - because he was a geographer; he was a scientist. He was a revolutionary, but also a scientist - in his writings, his historical and anthropological writings, he interpreted that I learned in School, in University, interpreted all of these phenomena in a different way. For instance, in "Mutual Aid" his book that he wrote in response to T.H.Huxlay's interpretation of Darwin, (that is socio-darwinism) which became the justification for late 19th ce capitalism.

Thus, Kropotkin found that in human history cooperation is as important as competition. Human bonds, natural bonds are even more important than competition. And if this organic society is allowed to develope - politically, socially, economically, culturally - there is no need for this artificial creation named "State" which after all is justified on the basis that human beings are competitive and greedy, and therefor you need a mutual arbitrate called "the State" to regulate relationships between human beings and organizations. I mean this is the historical justification of the role of the State. The human beings on the horizontal basis cannot work out thinks for themselves and they need an outside authority.

Now, Kropotkin realized (as an ecologist) that when human beings looked at Nature, they looked at her in the same way in which our society is build. For example, they look at Nature in a competitive way. "What is in Nature for me?" So the relationship is a relationship based on "what is our needs as human beings?" It is not based on a relationship which is a balanced, or cooperative relationship with Nature. Indeed, the aboristic relationship with Nature is based on a misreading of Nature. Now we have a whole ecological School of Thought which shows to us that Nature is a network of eco-systems complementary to each other, deeply related to each other... And this understanding of Nature is quite new. Forty years ago our understanding of Nature was that it is "out there", and we just go and take them, and we use them for our own ends.

The other thing that we discovered when we analyzed Nature in a radical way is that in human societies - like our ownthere are hierarchies; the hierarchy of money, of culture, and so on. So we assumed that there is a hierarchy of Nature. That some orders of animals are superior to others. And so we create a number of myths - for example we inferred to the Lion as the King of the Jungle - the whole notion of "Jungle" of course was an extension of socio-darwinism into Nature. And the notion of "King" is our projection of hierarchy into Nature.

Well of course, as we examine Nature we clearly show that the Lion is no longer the "King" of Nature. And Nature does not recognize the lion being superior to leopard, tiger, or the anything else.

#### Don't we have hierarchies in social mammals?

This is not Truth. We have different animals that play different roles, but there is no leaders that constantly play a dominant role in that particular association of animals. As a matter of fact when you look very carefully, at lions for instance, you see that the female plays a far more important role than the male. And often the male, they are just fertilizers for purposes of pro-creation. Other wise they just lay out, and they may or may not be called upon their strength... but when there is a kill to be made, we see that the role of the female lion is as important as the male lion.

And this is why you say that the hazards of a society are based on the patriarchical structure of that society?

Yea, exactly. This is another projection we have made. We assumed that there is a patriarchical order in Nature, and modern zoologists, and biologists no longer see that in Nature. I mean they look at Nature coldly and objectively and they cannot see it. It's not there.

That means that Nature is not aggressive - when human society is? Well, it's not aggressive in the same way. Wherever there is violence in Nature, it is always for a very common sense reason. It is not, for example, for accumulation of wealth. It is based on immediate need. It never kills for more than he needs. All these eco-systems are self-regulating, and they are all based on immediate need - there is no capital accumulation.

What does inspire you? What is the image you have for the future? First of all, I should say that once all these evolved in my thinking over the years, and I was continually preoccupied with the international situation, which I had a very ... generally at a level of official political circles and state authorities whereas all of them where planing for a nuclear war, their public rhetoric was always one of optimism, that the deterrent works, that even though we have to prepare war 24 hours a day it is not likely to occur. The position of the peace movement... the nonaligned peace movement, or the communist influenced peace movement was always one of optimism also. It was a melange between an Apocalyptic view and high optimism. My view was quite different from all these views... My view was that there is an international war system, it's a system that has in place for a quite a long time, this is the latest expression of it - what they are going through now - it is a system that has two dimensions: one of thrust, and one of drift.

The other main crisis, is the ecological crisis. But a threat of a nuclear war always subsumed this second important, ecological crisis. The ecological crisis has been developing for some time, but it was never recognized as the primary crisis facing humanity. Now that the cold war has receded a bit, people have began to look at the ecological crisis in a much more dramatic and much more honest way.

#### How do these issues complement each other?

Well, they complement each other, because the source of the crisis is still the same. The source of the crisis is the way human beings look at each other, the way human beings look at the society, and the way human beings relate to their environment. Whether it is a political environment, or whether it is a Natural environment.

If human relations, and human organizations are all based upon centralized political and economic power, if they celebrate patriarchy, and hierarchy, and domination, whether they try to dominate each other, whether one society tries to dominate another society, or nature, the source of the problem is still the same. And the problem is "what we do with the concentration of power".

So when I talk about the ecological crisis, for example on Earth Day where I and three more speakers where invited to talk about the ecological crisis on Radio McGill, I was the only one that talked about... in order to respond to the ecological crisis we have to restructure our society. There has to be a redistribution of power in our society.

Again, I repeat, that to me and the radical ecologists, the ecological crisis is a mere image of the crisis of our society.

<u>And how do you imagine a future society friendly to the environment?</u>

Well, obviously it has to be a society that looks quite different from our own. It has to be a society which has different institutions from what we have now. It has to be a society based upon natural bio-regions. It has to be a society based upon the most radical form of decentralization of power. It has to be a society that has a quite different notion of technology, and different kinds of technology, because today in the evolution of technology there are two currents: the potential and the actual.

The actual trend of technology is to invent and put into place technologies that again centralize knowledge, data, and centralize the most sophisticated technological systems in the hands of major corporations, and of course the State.

The potential, however, goes in the opposite direction. Of decentralization of data through sophisticated networking systems, a level of technological instruments like the computers for instance, so that all the individuals and organizations - small organizations - can have a computer technology. But this is very frustrated, and inhibited, very much kept down. And it is not because of the stuff, because this technology becomes more and more accessible for ordinary people; it is for political reasons that is not allowed to develope. For example, there was a very interesting series of TV programs of Democracy - and the concluding section of the programm... on TV it was very superficial... but on the last Chapter of the book he talks about how a really democratic society would look like - and this is for me an ecological society too: It had somebody in Greece - in a computertalking to somebody in England, or Japan - in a computer \_ and what they were discussing on the computer was the pros and cons of a particular question that they were about to be called to decide as part of the world wide referendum on a particular

question. They were exchanging information on the computer, and what the book said was: "this in fact is the modern equivalent to the Athenian democracy". Because what the Athenian Democracy in the 5th ce allowed was the face-to-face contact, and it allowed people to debate, and dialogue, to share information on a small scale; and to decide together on important issues that affected their life.

That small scale radical kind of democracy disappeared from history. But now, with the new technological revolution, we have the concept called "computer democracy" that allows (this is a potential of course) the cross-fertilization of opinion and debate in a very active and individual way.

So, that is a potential technology has, which anarchists have written about, like Goodman, Kropotkin, and Bookchin has written a great deal about the libertory potential of technology - small scale decentralized technology.

So, a radical different kind of society now has the <u>material</u> possibilities to be ..., it's no longer an ideal like the 19th ce libertarian socialists and anarchist thinkers. For them it was a political ideal that the 19th ce did not have the material base to realize that idea. The 20th ce. society definitely has the material base, the technological base to realize this ideal.

Very broadly speaking, this is how an ecological society, which has to be a radically democratic, decentralized society would look like. Small-scale, a concept of smaller political and economic units, confederately networked.

#### How do you get there?

Well, the way in which any society evolves, or revolutionizes itself is in two ways: consciously and unconsciously. We face now a world wide crisis. With in a very short period of time people have become aware of the Iannos face of this crisis. On one hand, since the 80s, the awareness that people have, on all levels of society, of the danger of nuclear war are just extra-ordinary. Because I remember in the late 50s where the destructiveness of a nuclear war were burly understood.

So, I think now the popular consciousness is generally aware that if there is a thermo-nuclear war, as Ainstain said, the 4th WW would be fought with bones and arrows.

What has also happened in the last 15 or 20 years, again on the level of popular consciousness, is that now there is a tremendous understanding of the ecological crisis. The level of awareness is just extra-ordinary. So people for the first time in the century, are aware. They are not aware as they should be, they certainly are not aware of the depth of changes that they are needed. But they are aware of the crisis. So that is at the level of the unconscious forces; I mean it is conscious but the implications of that knowledge functions on an unconscious level. And the reason for this is because out of this awareness there is no political agenda. There is not programs for the fundamental changes that are needed.

The crisis will nor gonna go away. The ecological disasters will not stop. And this is a very interesting difference with the nuclear crisis. Because after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and after the stop of the atmospheric nuclear test for the ordinary person it was very difficult to get mobilized because the issue was abstract. The ecological crisis is substantially less abstract because they have been these short of equivalence of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. So, there gonna be more of this kind of disasters.

Unfortunately, the ecological movement till now lacks a political agenda - this could be combined with the capital and State efforts to neutralized the movement. Which movement by itself is a reformist one, shifting from one issue to another.

However, the rise of the Green Parties in Europe is highly significant. Not so much how political progress they have made, but that they have put forward a program of change relating the ecological problems to societal-political problems. The second significance of the Green Parties is that they are the logical, ideological development of the whole generation of the 60s - the N.Left movement that has developed from many fragmental movements to the synthesis of the Green Movement.

Returning to your question, "how we get there" has two components: first is how to envision getting there, and the second is the process of going there.

<u>Could you say when you think this transformation will take place?</u> I have no idea. I am not a prophet. It is very difficult, and the greatest of all is the limitations as human beings. Whenever you bring together a group of human beings to undertake a common political project, there are different levels of consciousness, different skills, people come from different backgrounds. To create consensus, to move political projects forward is the most difficult part of the process to change the society.

When you have a large amount of people, 100 let's say, it takes a lot of time, a lot of energy and luck to get people to agree to do certain thinks together and effectively.

The other problem is that when something become larger and larger, to involve all these people in the same consensus is more difficult. And because it is so difficult, that is when the elites start arise. The most experienced, the founders, the originates start arise on the top. And unfortunately, this happens. We are victims of our background, and we are victimized the conditioning that the society ... upon us, and being human and frailed we also get tired and exhausted; it is very exhausting to be a democrat, and some times you want to make short-cuts. You try to avoid it but you don't always succeed.

So, in terms of a human project it is a very, very complicated project. But we have no choice - I mean if you believe in the principals that we advocate, and as long as there is tolerance, and as long as there is debate, and as long as there is dialogue, we... you know, the blind will lead the blind out of the cage.

## So, what is your strategy and vision for Montreal Ecology?

My strategy, of course is a very particular one, and I am not source that all of my colleagues will agree with me. I am a social ecologist - a movement that advocates a thesis called "libertarian municipalism". This thesis argues that if our society change, this will happen from the bottom-up, from the neighborhood to the cities, and it has to create a radical movement, a radical organization at the urban level in order to both implement certain radical changes on that level - so that people will see the practicality of that changes, and also challenge the other concentrations of the political and economic powers - on the corporate level, or the state level.

In a way this is new, and in a way this is old, since it goes back to the Paris Commune.

This process, talking about Montreal Ecology, will take place step-by-step; ME will advanced gradually. And this because people who join, and become part of the party have not participated in important political debates, have not read the important literature, do not have the same kind of <u>intellectual</u> experience, or political experience for the project to move much more rapidly in a radical direction. That means, at a general level the cannot be any serious radical movement that does not put an excellence on the education process. People must constantly read, consult, study, constantly discuss if not to stagnate.

Political organizations stagnate after a wile, and it is the interest of the leadership to encourage that stagnation, because when a political movement stagnates, the concentration of power is justified. So, I think that political education, education in general is extremely important for these reasons.

### The Greens generally accept consensus as a model for decisionprocess; what is your opinion?

Consensus has allot of problems. It is only effective when there is a basic homogeneity of groups. It brakes down when the group get large, and there for, I am not an advocat of consensus. I believe that for this organization (Montreal Ecology) will be large in the future. Then, do you advocate the centralization of power in the group? Not centralization - this is not the alternative of consensus. What we agreed during this conference was that - and this is a compromise - is that when we have meetings we will strive for consensus... and if we fail we will have a vote on the basis of 2/3 majority - not 51%. If not, then the meeting cannot decide. Being an anarchist, I believe in majority decisions, and this "majority"should vary according to the issue in discussion. It could be 50%, 75%; there is a different kind of majority when you discuss about action, about programs, and so on. But what is important on this process, is the absolute rights of the minority... the absolute rights of the minority or the individual to their opinion. And the fundamental difference between the anarchist philosophy and the liberal philosophy is that the majority cannot impose its decision on the minority.

The majority cannot bound the minority - the decision applies to majority. The minority is free to do something else, to continue opposing the majority in any way with one exception. That is, if there is a general strike, then on matters of military significance the minority does not have the right to openly oppose the majority. This, for me, is the most profoundly democratic decision making; because consensus has a tyrannical element in it: It forces the minority to agree - it intimates minority.

The most important thing is to protect minority. Because history teaches that it was the minority that was right - not the majority.

You fight against pollution, but sometimes this fight threatens the interest of a large part of the labour class who work in industries which pollute the environment.

When the society wants to shut down an industry that pollutes the environment, an education process should take place, so that the workers who work in that industry should know well what they are doing. Once they know what they are doing, there are three options:

1) To leave.

To take over the industry by buying it out, and deal with the environmental damage they are doing (if technically possible).
 The industry to shut down by the society with or without the agreement of the workers.

The moral responsibility of a worker in a concentration camp in Nazi Germany was to quit even if it mend to starve to death. Society should help the person to find another job. The important thing is the moral responsibility to recognize what you are doing.

We entering in the political game and we know to embark and be part of the political system that has its rules and its ways of succeeding. There is a great danger in the Country with this political system, theirs system - not ours. They have invented it and it allows them to keep the power, and not to share it. And there are sharp rules about how you can succeed in collecting money... you have to smile, kiss babies, and all the rest. So, the problem with us is... if we are going to enter this political game, how should we do it?

We will not present a candidate for major, because this seat represents a concentration of power, of authority.

We will not going to have a party leader. The Law requires to have a party-leader... this is what I mean saying "it is their political system - not ours". We have a team-leadership... four spoke people... a public face consisted by two men and two women.

We have to educate the media, to educate the public for why we don't have a leader.

And we have <u>four</u> spoke people - not one... and this all has to do with the Green political perspective... responsibility. Leadership has to be shared... to us the electoral campaign is an electoral campaign... but firstly is an educational campaign. So we gonna talk about pollution, the domination of the private automobile... too many cars... to many pollution, not only for us, but for the whole planet. We need more public transportation... we need more electric tramps.

What are the chances for Montreal Ecology on the coming elections? I don't believe that anybody is gonna be elected. Because we are going too fast, too soon.

If any person gets elected, then that person will become the critical opposition in City Council. During that time Montreal Ecology, as a movement, it will help politicizing the environmental movement, and it will politicize all the other environmentally or ecologically conscious citizens in Montreal, to show what has to be shown, that one has to have a political agenda. The radical decentralization of power among other things, in order for Montreal to play a constructive role vis a vi the environmental crisis.

The other thing we have to do is to strengthen our international ties as a movement. We have to keep in contact with other urban ecologists (N.Y., Vancouver) and we also have to be in contact with the Green movements in other countries.

We bring prominent Greens from European parliaments to show to Montrealers that what we are doing here is not an isolated cookie, but a part of an international movement, of an international phenomenon. That many people all over the world are trying to do the same thing.

## George Brown (Montreal, May 1990)

"I grew up in a very comfortable family environment. My father is civil servant, and my mother stays at home... a housewife. My father and I used to have long discussions about the political situation in Quebec buck in the late 70s. He was talking, and I was listening (he laughs). I was enjoying it. He was telling me that the solution is not the independence of Quebec if the same people who rule today will continue to rule an independent Quebec. He was bringing the newspaper and he was suggesting me articles to read. Soon I realized that the problem lies in how you run a State; not in where the boarders of it end.

In home we had a large library. I was spending a lot of my time reading books of Marx, and Gandhi. I realized that the solution lies somewhere in between them: Exploitation is a crime, but if you try to change it by killing and burning you fall into an other crime. We have to get out of this pain peacefully. I did not bother my self with questions as how do achieve this goal. During that time I was spending time in the Peace-movement. But I could feel that something was missing; you know, so what? What is the alternative?

Then I discovered Murray Bookchin, and I said to myself: This is what is missing - the ecology. During that time I heard about the Greens in Germany. I understood that the colour of our course should be green. You see, it was making sense."

## <u>Jean Ouimet</u> (Chairman of "Green Party of Quebec - Montreal, May 1990)

"I left my home in my teens to experience the world. I had no problem with the family. They are open-mind people who let me do what I was thinking it was right for me. I was traveling with my bike, spending time in the country side and reading a lot of books. Mathematics and Ecology were the fields I really enjoyed to read. I could see the destruction of Nature, and I thought that there must be a way out of this mesh. I went to University to study Mathematics and Ecology. I came out with an idea about an ecological model for sustainable development. I want to see Quebec independent as a bio-region among others in North America.

#### Independent?

By independent, I mean self-sustained, and clean, providing its people with a good life". (He exhibits the model on a Mackintosh Computer). You know, we are responsible for the happiness of people wherever they are. Education is the major priority. People who understand the consequences of their activities become responsible citizens. And education can operate both on the basis and the head of a State. An ecological<sup>143</sup> State of to day is the Bio-region of tomorrow."

#### <u>Murray Bookchin</u> (writer - Burlington, October 1990)

ADDIVER AND A SAME

ward the former of the war w

"My family was of Jewish origin and they were committed anarchists. I learned a lot from my grand mother who was a very literate person. After the 1906 revolution my family had to leave Russia. We came in New York - we were poor, and I had to work for the family - and I immediately became a member of the Communist Party of N.Y. I was learning the message of communism starting from the basic books as the "Communist Manifesto". I was ten years old. Capitalism and the exploitation of the workers were the enemies. I became responsible for the education of my neighborhood when I was fifteen years old; I was looking older. Yet, later on, after the (2nd World) War, as I was working with ukrainian workers, and polish workers, and black workers, I realized that they were hating each other more than their boss!

I came to realize more and more that the working class will not do it - from the personal experience of life. Then I moved to the automobile industry, with a very strong Union, and after we return from a strike they were behaving as winners - you see the bourgeois did not realize that they can get along very well with the Trade Unions. The workers were not revolutionary - they were militant! So I came back to the conclusion that I had to get out of the factory and think things out again and again, and work out my ideas.

I became associated with a magazine in England - an international magazine - and wrote the first article about the State Capitalism in USSR. I started to change to a libertarian socialist. I gave up the idea of Bolshevism and the centralized party, I opposed the centralized State... I believed that we need new issues - I did not know what these new issues are but I knew that we had to found new ways in which the people would oppose the System but not simply around the economic issues along which is the basis of the Marxist theory.

The question I put to myself at the late 40s and after I left the automobile industry was, what would change capitalism? What would be the issues? Marxism was correct in its argument-that capitalism is <u>irrational</u>, that it does not lead to the fulfillment of human potential. The history of human kind is to

<sup>143</sup>. By "ecological" he refers to the scientific discipline of Ecology.

turn the potential to actual - as Hegel stated. This potential could be fulfilled in a communitarian society of care and mutual support - not a society based on human competition and exploitation.

Now, when I was a young man I was always interesting in Biology. I loved to go out and climb trees, and collect rocks. I had a microscope... I loved science courses. So, this love for biology, and the love for Hegel which deals with development, and growth... they were defused to one another.

#### Peter Davis (Montreal, July 1990)

"I was born in Spain during the Franco regime. I am coming from Catalania, famous and proud for its anarchist heritage. Anarchism is the father of ecology - I am talking about the teachings of Kropotkin; too advanced for his time. Ecology and anarchism go hand to hand. Small, decentralized communities where all the members of the community decide their future - not just a money-elite.

My father had fought in the civil war. He was my first political teacher. I became involved in some underground activities - nothing serious, but I was caught and I had to decide to suffer the consequences. So I left and came to Montreal. I consider myself both as an anarchist and an ecologist. There is no real difference between them. It is a tautology - if you are an anarchist you are an ecologist; if you are an ecologist you are an anarchist."

## Jean Francoise Bourdeau (Montreal, November 1990)

"From my early youth I had an interest in Nature. Going with my parents to the countryside... I liked reading books about Nature. I was also involved in the Catholic Youth Organization-I was very young... 12 years old. And then these two things combined let me understood other issues that were happening around me. I started reading Gandhi - I was 14 years old... his philosophy of pacifism is very close to the Christian teaching of non-violence.

Then I became involved in the Peace-Movement, and the Anti-Nuclear Movement. I remember in 1982 I participated in demonstrations for the disarmament in New York... in Quebec no such movement existed. The decade of the 80s was dedicated to efforts to stop the development of Nuclear Stations. Then, I thing it was 1988, I heard about the "Green Party of Quebec", and I perceived it as the natural evolution of the Peace, Disarmament, and Anti-nuclear movement - and that's the way it is. Nature is the creation of God, as Mankind. To exploit Nature is like exploiting God through its work."

#### John Lincoln (Los Angeles, March 1991)

I am involved in the Green Movement for along time now. Do you remember the first Earth Day? Well, I was there. I had not yet articulated the message of ecology. But it was OK... I mean it could not be wrong. I knew what it was going on. Nuclear waste, pesticides, everything a big enterprise could do to make money - not giving a damn about our future. They don't care about our future, and we had to fight for it. We still do.

I had red Carson's book (Silent Spring) and... God... I could not believe it! I mean... this was the end of life, no future what so ever.

## <u>Q: Before the 1st Earth Day... do you recall any other political</u> stand you had taken?

Sure. I was supporting the anti-nuclear movement. It was my first serious political involvement, and I was so "hot" with the issues, you know? I was living in San Francisco with my family, and my father helped me allot with his suggestions and his library! Man, what a library. I am sure he has not red all those books yet - he says he has but I don't believe him. Then I moved to L.A., to U.C.L.A. to study photography - just for a semester - I am still here!

## <u>Q: What has changed (if anything) in your thoughts and political</u> ideas since then?

I grew up a little bit. I have red more books, I have met more people and I have rallied a few more times. The ideas remain the same because the problem remains the same. God man, America is screwed up (sorry for my language) and somebody has to do something. We cannot just stay still and enjoy the mess. Mindy does the right thing - running for Congress. We cannot allow them to ruin our life.

<u>Q: Do you believe there is any chance for the Green Party?</u> No, not for the next elections. We don't have the money we need, and people have been used to see the third, the "alternative" party as a looser. But as things will go worse, then I hope the situation will change... more people will vote for us.

#### <u>O: What about the E.F!ers?</u>

Well, they are OK... some times. I appreciate what they do to save the Red Wood forests up there, but... they take it to far away. Spiking trees, and not giving a damn about the people who work there. I know some EF!ers, few of them are my friends. Some times I cannot understand them. Well, anyway, as far as we do the right thing, we can work out all the rest.

### <u>Jerry Forester</u> (Organizer of the Green Network of N.California -Arkata/N.California, March 1990 - translated from Greek)

The pollution problems we face in N.California are very serious. We have not yet realized the consequences. But the most serious ones come from the exploitation of the Redwood forests. These people have no idea of what they are doing by clearing the forest areas. The soil is washed out, an enormous amount of life form is disappearing, the whole ecosystem is ruined. We have to stop it - and we have to let people know of what they are doing.

#### What about the EF!ers?

They are crazy. The forest has turn them to lunies. In the south you cannot really see the difference between Greens and EF!ers. They go to the same demonstrations, they cooperate in common tusks. In the N.California things become quite different. You can really see the division. And it is because the wilderness. Things are more tens where wild areas exist.

#### Have you ever taken action with the EF!ers?

Yes, but it didn't work. Our way is different from theirs. They are more militant. People could get herd. Not that they would like to see it happened. But it's more like to happen with the tactics they follow.

## Why aren't you an EF!er?

Ha! I don't know. I have never asked my self such a question. Why not? I guess it never occurred to me. I love wilderness you know. I am a biologist and I know what a forest means. But... I never felt for society and nature as these people have. I believe that problems can find a solution through a political process. Education is important. We are humans after all.

## Joan Fosset (Los Angeles, March 1991)

Politics is the essence of life. To get up in the morning is a political act. You wake up and say: "I exist". I have twenty years in political action. First it was the Peace Movement, and the Anti-nuclear Movement. These things evolve. Facts change; you have to follow them - you have to evolve your self and your argument. Or else you leave your self behind - you dissociate yourself from history. First it was Nixon, then Reagan, and now Bush - do you think that anything has change? No, not really, but the issues have. Blacks are not the same, the war is not the same, the Democrats are not the same; the Kennedys are dead.

We have to deal with that, and find our way to the timesthe new times. The argument was red. Then it changed to black. Now is the time for the green colour. You know what I mean?

#### What about your ideals? Has anything changed?

Yes, some things have changed. I remember in the 60s I was thrusting the Democrats. Not today. Today they are just the same with the Republicans. You see, they have nothing to say - nothing different from what the Republicans stand for. The only difference is that the Republicans do it better.

# Do you remember the period you changed your mind about the Democrats?

Hm, yes... I was fed up with their rhetoric. I remember Carteran as..le. For a while I relaxed. Try to put my life in order, to rethink my life and see the future. I moved with my family. We were looking at the facts once more. I was spending time reading, writing to friends, looking around. I was already sympathetic to the environmental movement. In the beginning I thought: "what as..les", but then I saw that they knew what they were doing - I gave it a second thought. I found friends of mine already in the movement, the pollution was real, and the good old boys - I mean the bad guys - were there. I have told you, we have to evolve.

## Mike Feinstain (Los Angeles, March 1991)

The efforts to build up the Green Party started in 1984 in Minnesota - we named it the "Green Committee of Correspondents"; the similarity with the other Committee of Correspondents is not accidental (the Revolutionary one). We approached Ron Daniels, the black activist, to bring forward a political platform. You see, pollution and bad management of the natural resources is not the main problem. And we cannot see it separately from poverty, health, and education problems. This is why the Green Party (if we will ever have such a thing - a "party") adresses social problems as well as environmental ones.

The issues of international affairs are also included: The role of the U.S. in Central America, in Middle East; issues that have been addressed by black and hispanic liberal politicians for some years now.

#### What is their idea about a Green Party?

Well, in the beginning they didn't take it seriously - "what the hell has the environment to do with racism?". Then, they realized that environmental and social problems do not confront each other; that they can work together in a single political platform. But, we still work on this.

#### What do you think about the EF!ers?

Well, they have missed the point. They see the tree, but not the forest. They luck the ability to view the whole picture. They cannot understand that pollution is a political problem.

#### What about your involvement?

15 1

i.

۲. '

ì

My involvement in the Greens is a result of my decision that in an age where the planet is in such a trouble, spiritual practice for me means involving myself with society through education and political change, rather than simply turning inward and living a monastic, enunciate, wandering type of existence.

#### Supplementary notations by MEsts

- I was led to environmentalism realizing that a solution to our social problems passes from finding solution for the environmental problems. Action on personal, organizational, educational, and political issues cannot be separated - they are tight together.

- Social conditions cannot be separated from ecology: The poor, violence, justice, oppression, style of life, all are connected.

- In the last couple of years I have not been very active, but rather an occasional participant. Loss of faith? Loss of energy? Age? Who knows. My ideas have not changed, but perhaps become submerged in the lull of every day life.

- With all the damage we inflict on ourselves, other species, and the planet, humanity is perhaps Nature's worst mistake. But Nature erases its own mistakes.

- We have a Market Economy under the monopoly of Capitalistic interest. The rates of interest are not under the law of supply and demand as all other goods and prices. The Capitalistic system does not allow rates of interest under 10% for credits. The financial system of the world is wrong. It i good only for the capitalists. A real Free Market Economy would solve better all Environmental concerns.

- I received an elitist education but have come to appreciate the wisdom of consensus and democracy. However I value the role of leadership very highly. I believe in action first and foremost. Most environmental issues are shrouded in study and research rather than addressed with solutions. I do a lot of \*volunteer work for the group. I understand the fact that everything starts from the politics. Aristotle was saying that Man is a political animal. We cannot ignore it. Then, all the great changes in the course of the History were done by people who were looking forward. People who were political animals.

- I have been of the opinion for some years now that those of us who are interested in ecological initiative MUST become political. Politicians no longer care about letters, petitions, demonstrations. Thus it is only by becoming a political threat, a threat to their power, that they will listen to, adopt, co-opt, more reasonable notions regarding our present treatment on the environment.

- Environmental degradation and social degradation have the same source. Concentration of power in the hands of a few, greed, desire for power, uncontrolled access to decision making centers, brings the decline of morality in our relationship among people and between Man and Nature. - I have worked on four levels: Alternative problem solving, whole system design and management, socio-politico-economic transition, and personal recovery improvement. The latter is the roof of our problems and until dealt with, change will only be temporary and superficial.

- I think the key to a better solution of our problems lies in more "holistic thinking". That's why is difficult to pick out one issue or symptom and say "this is more important than the rest. There is, of course, a great deal of fuzzy thinking on this matter, punctured by a great number critics whose motivations are mainly to preserve the status quo. Native American Indian thinking offers perhaps the clearest vision of all in combining practicality with spirituality.

- Since reading Sonia Johnson's book "Wildfire: Igniting the She/volution", and after much dissatisfaction with the environmental movement, I have left activism in the traditional sense of participating, lobbing, politicking (I have been a Green Party candidate in the Quebec Province elections). I now see the futility of this defensive strategy; it disempowers rather than empowers. I no longer label in terms of "them" having the power. I know it dwells within each and every one of us. It is my challenge for the coming year to find out how to manifest it and convince others to work from within.

- Hands-on experience and involvement issues have been more influential than books and studies. I do not view protecting Nature and a stable economy as separate goals to be attached individually - I found it difficult to choose between one or the other as priorities. I also don't view people's relationship to Nature as "us and it". We are all part of the same world and have to be able to live decently as part of within our environment.

- The question of the role of "religion" in humanities relationship to nature is one which fascinates me and is the focus of much of my academic research. Virtually all religions have played a part in the destruction of nature, and most could also provide model for positive change.

- The role of women in society and their relationship with men is a fundamental aspect of our socio-political structure. This needs to be included in the analysis. Cooperation vs competition needs to be looked as a major component in the deterioration of the environment.

- One accomplishes the most, politically, when he has security of person and security of place. A sense of "home" and "belonging" somewhere contribute immensely to one's capacity to work towards a(ny) given political end: justice, environmental preservation. Seems to me as I sit here now, that I've spent a lot of time "experiencing" - "walking around and looking at things", as they were. Right now I seem to be - gathering up the past, pulling threads out where they appear loose and darning/mending what seems too worn to wear. Well, takes a lot of energy to process the past while preparing for the future.

9°2 ,-

- How much we pollute that we feel we as individuals can't do much about. Do you feel you are doing enough? Who's responsible? Individuals/government probably. Links between government structure/ environmental improvement.

- I am concerned enough that I have been combing a file of environmental and political issues for the past several years. They cannot be separated. Corruption and degradation go hand to hand.

- In spite of my education and experiences I live half way up to the lowest four poverty lines. I am a single mother living in a housing cooperative where 60% of my revenue goes toward rent. My job prospects remain virtually the same as in 1967 - worse actually, because I am not willing to do the same work as when I was a teenager. EARTH FIRST!

1

ć

0 7 L.

s , <u>Jim Bradley</u> (Los Angeles, March 1991)

Being an activist for me is all consuming - maybe even too much so. Yet I see, for me, no other choice. Live wild or die!

I am sick and tired of the city life. Too much consumption, too much destruction, too much waste. Nothing is wasted in a forest, nothing could be wasted. Can you see the difference? In the forest nothing could be a polluter - it's self-contradicting.

On the other side, everything could be waste, a source of pollution. Why do we have to be careful with our life? Why that? Because our life has been disconnected from the natural way of being. We do not longer belong to the family of all beings. We have exclude ourselves and now we pay the price. But unfortunately is not only us. It is the common home that pays the price. It's not fare. We should pay everything - all the bill, even if this means the destruction of our "civilization".

The source of life is nothing but a forest. We started as a species as forest habitants, and then we forgot about it. Then we came back to cut it down, we came back to destroy our cradle. It's insane. I am fed up with politicians that have one thing on their mind: How to destroy our home.

Indigenous people on the other hand, have much more to say. They are the teachers of sustainable pathways, and I have been greatly influenced by their examples. They are the leaders, and they do not want anything in return. I hope you can see the difference.

Liz Teylor (Red Forest/N.California, March 1991)

The environment continues to suffer at Man's hands. I feel our environment should be protected first and at all costs. Who are we to cause extinctions and massive changes in the global harmony? This earth is not healing from our blights placed upon it. Giving a polluter or polluting situation a certain amount of time (usually many years) to correct the pollution, to allow that same party to maintain a profit is ludicrous. Developers should build ONLY eco-friendly structures using recyclable materials. Axing the environment to "help" the economy (ie old-growth trees to save seasonal lumber jacks) "phasing in" or "phasing out" of pollution controls, and giving money top priority is the primary enemy of a clean and healthy environment.

What a burden we are creating for our children and our children's children, and on and on and on! Humans have grown softer and accustomed to living extravagantly and at the expense of the other live denizens of this planet. It's time to change our living and thinking.

Environmental activism and thought are my life. All other aspects of my life revolve around these concern, and involvement stem from actual contact with the natural world: The only place that makes me understand the meaning of my life. Politicians are sold to big corporations and to big money. They don't care, they just obey. They have never gone to see what wild life is all about. To be free, to smell the air, to hound, and swim, and playing the coyote, the owl, the butterfly. Nature makes more sense, and makes fewer - if no - incomprehensible demands.

#### <u>Paul McArthur</u> (Santa Fe/California, March 1991)

No one gets involved in the radical environmental movement, to put their life, liberty, and personal wealth on the line for "rational" reasons, on the basis of an intellectual argument. I have done so because of encounters I have had with both the wild and the wasteland, that is the lands wasted by the industrial civilization.

Because in my encounters with the wild earth I have developed a sense of identity, based upon an intuition of such power that "loaded" words such as epiphany and revelation come to mind to describe it. This identity is expressed by the sense that <u>I am</u> <u>not an environmentalist</u>, <u>I am part of the environment acting in</u> <u>self-defence</u> (emphasis added).

#### <u>Ted Montgomery</u> (Los Angeles March 1991)

What propelled me to activism was the realization that the consumerism, materialist lifestyle society had encouraged me to seek and value, left me empty; I felt meaningless. On the other hand, the natural, miraculous, wild world was where life felt real and rewarding. I could see that, I could feel it when I was taking long trips in the forest - me and my girlfriend. We were eating mushrooms and start talking to the trees. It sounds stupid, but it was beautiful. The trees, the animals were not our enemies any more, nor foreigners. They were our friends, brothers and sisters. I was returning buck to L.A. and I was feeling depressed. There is no way out - living in a city.

This led me to realize that there should be no compromise in the defence of Mother Earth - and there is no time to waste. But it cannot be done without a deep transformation of ourselves. This includes working with ourselves to deepen our consciousness and to see ourselves in other beings.

#### Brian Adams (Arkata/N.California, March 1991)

It turns out after millennia of experience that domestication is not an unmitigated blessing. Domestication insures quantity, but quality suffers. On this planet are many cows, pigs, and chickens who are drugged, caged, injured - and they themselves ruin miles of prairie through grazing etc. We find many mistreated pets, many wild animals confined in zoos, and marine amusement parks, and of course many humans whose lives a miserable both economically and spiritually.

Wilderness is big, diverse, and dangerous. Humans in their fear of wilderness have almost annihilated it. But not only has wilderness a right to exist in and on itself, humans need it to give limits and a foundation to experience. Wilderness is a process to be respected and left alone. I estimate at least 75% of the planet should be devoid of human influence.

The anthropocentrism - biocentrism dichotomy has little meaning for me. Being human, I can only experience life as a human. When the secretary of the interior say we don't need every subspecies of squirrel so it's okay to let the Mt. Graham red squirrel be made extinct, that doesn't prove he's anthropocentric. That proves he's feeble-minded and irresponsible.

If the human species wants to be careless and hurt itself, I don't care. We supposedly have free will. But if the human species wants to be careless with the well-being of others (including trees, squirrels, phytoplancton, whales, paddlefish, and all life) then it's a matter of conscience for me to try to stop them. It is not my taste to see homo sapiens sapiens conduct itself like a bully in a schoolyard, being thoughtless and exploitive toward others simply because there is no bigger around to punish it.

## Judy Garland (Los Angeles, March 1991)

I am an ex-urban, mental health practitioner. I moved from New York to Colorado in 1978. But I spend some time in Montreal each and every year. And I tell you the same s..t I find in America, I find here too.

The politics had shifted from "left", issues as laissez-faire government, self-reliance life-style, to something new. Me, as many other people that I know were disappointed for the politics and the politicians. It was the end of an era I think. My parents did not follow me; they remained good Democrats. I guess they belong to other era.

I was led to environmentalism by the compassion for Nature and other forms of life. You know, I took a trip buck to my roots... you know the song: "...I want to get buck into a hole, and memorize a childhood song." This is what happened. I stood back and took a good look of my days and ways. Rethinking my life, what I have done and what I have not. I was reading Buddhist philosophy... I always did, but this time was different. I realized things that I ignored before. It was like reading them for the first time. The role the other life-forms play in the World struck me. The role of Nature, and how we are related to her gave me some new perspective.

I guess the Earth Days made the rest. I had long talks with my friends, started going in demos, finding other people with the same fears and anxieties, reading the same books, feeling for Nature. The empathy was uniting us; empathy for Nature. Not for the sake of Man, but as an entity by itself. It's the place we belong you know... and domesticity has destroyed the link. We have stopped the evolution of our Kind. I don't know... going in a forest I find my lost self.

#### Barbara Stanwick (Los Angeles, March 1991)

"I was born in 1956, the period of optimism and pride to be an American. Growth was good, communism was bad - living in the post-Mccarthy period. My family was belonging to the upper-middle class and everything was rosy.

During the 8th grate (1968) I was shaken, when I learned in the History course that the americans, us, had dropped the Bomb to Japan - not once but twice. I left the room crying - I was ashamed.

In 1970 it was the first Earth Day celebration; you know, the issues of air and water pollution. But... all of these were very far away from me. I could not made any direct connection.

But then, later on the values I was brought up with came in conflict with the Watergate scandal... it was also the assassinations of the Kennedys and M.L.King... I was disillusioned.

In the period 1978-1984 I really tried to live the American Dream. I was employed in a computer company and I was going for a career in electronics. But I was empty; something was not there any more.

In 1982 I moved to Tapaya Canyon area. This place was in a residential area but my front door was next to wilderness. Somebody came at the door - gave me a pamphlet about a demosomebody waned to "develope" the place. In the beginning I didn't show any particular interest. But the more I watched the conflict between the environmentalists and the developers the more outrageous it was becoming. It was not happening out there, but here. I could see it happening to the place I love. I started seeing destruction. For a while I thought I was mentally ill (laughing). I was seeing more destruction than beauty. That woke me up. Not that I like groups. - I didn't. I was registered Democrat, but I was not active member of the party. Then I read an article, in a LA magazine about EF!... in 1987. I came in contact with the local EF! group. My whole life changed. I was a manager in the company, and I left the job to concentrate to the defence of Nature.

I never trusted the political system. But when the Greens emerged in Europe... I really liked the idea. Pretty cool to me. Pretty optimistic. I thought that the Greens had an idea of how to get "there" from "here". But what "there" is? I was looking at the Greens as the movement able to bring together all the rest movements. The decision the Greens to become a party left behind as bankrupted. And I am afraid that they will be a part of the main-stream. It will just be another third party. Looking back in history I can see that it will fail. And I say that, even I am a member of the american green movement.

Why are you also a Green? EF! intention is to protect wilderness. The Greens are more methodic, philosophic; they cover a wide spectrum of issues. EF!ers don't care about the whys and hows.

What do you think about bio-centrist and the "rights of Nature"? I would say that bio-diversity is the religion of EF! Biodiversity is OK. You know, "rights" is based on human perception. The idea is the value the people put on. To "use" the "resources" fore example. It is all anthropocentric. Nature has its own ways, we have to learn from her.

I herd allot of EF!ers saying that Greens are dead wrong in what they are doing and believing. Do you agree? I do not see any conflict between them. It's more a complement to each other. The Greens are more diverse than we are - a wider variance in the philosophical matters. And this leads to various conversations to solve the problems this variety brings on. But this takes the attention of the participants. But politics is a fact of life. And the Greens are interested in it. For the EF!ers it is a painful reality they have to face.

Do you consider yourself as a political person - being an EF!er? I consider myself politically aware. I do not enjoy it, but I participate. I am a political person in this context. There must be a balance between action and education.

THE SAME PERSON TALKING IN AN EF! MEETING

(

and - Alt

We have to protect wildlife wherever we live. But I cannot see that happening. We are splinter. We have to be activists. And to be activist you have to know some things: Do you know where you live? Do you know what is the ecosystem of the area you live? Open your eyes - you will see what we are loosing. Development kills us. I cannot turn my eyes to my own land. Nobody else do it if you don't do it. We have to go to Sierra meetings, to Aubodon meetings - to infiltrate them. Don't say that you are an EF!er. Just ask questions - they will have to answer them.

We cannot depend on others. You know that bureaucracy and corruption will not help us. We have to act by ourself.

I don't say I have all the answers. But it is important to protect our homes... this is why I came here today.

#### Mark Sherman (Los Angeles, March 1991)

I was raised up in Berkeley... living there during the turmoil of the 60s. I was a child and I was aware of what it was going on. My parents were liberal Democrats. There was a strong underground liberal newspaper network, and my father was bringing these newspapers at home - they influenced me quite a bit.

I used to be a participant in electoral politics, even though I was pretty young... till the point I became disillusioned with all this stuff after the assassinations of the Kennedys and M.L.King - I was shocked. Actually I started being "aware" of what was going on by the electoral victory of Reagan as a Governor of California in 1966. I continued working for the Democrats during the 1972 campaign of McGovern.

Later on, the mid 70s, I became aware about the anti-nuclear movement by a ballot initiative - it was for the shut-down of power industry... the company won the elections. It bought the votes. Buying time on TV to threaten people that they will not have electricity any more... saying :"there will be no energy"they were scaring the people that their material status will be affected. Companies always buy the elections in the american politics. And I think that this incident changed my thinking allot. I think that this incident changed my thinking a lot.

The more I grew up the more I realized that the electoral politics... I started having increasing doubts about them... for their validity... which increased in my years in college.

As I said I continued to participate in campaigns and elections on the municipal level, some times supporting candidates who were appearing as moderate or conservative, because all these people were calling them so.

And then... I was always perceptive to environmental issues... I took part in the campaign "Save the Bay" when allot of groups came together to save the San Francisco Bay... the campaign was very successful.

It was always seem right to me to protect the environment... intuitively, even that me and my family didn't live close to the wilderness or have any outdoor experience. My mother was raised in a city... in Chicago - my father was raised in smaller towns in Oklahoma and then he moved to S.California working as a teacher. So as kids we never camped, you know, to get out. We were going out for a day, but just to the country - not in the wilderness. But I always had this great empathy for wilderness... David Forman first talked about a Neatherdal gene which responses to wilderness and wildness... maybe this is the case... an intuitive empathy.

So I moved to L.A., finished the college - the time Reagan won the 1980 elections - being very cynical about things, and I still am... Reagan was a disaster and we will have to pay in the future for his policy.

I was and still am sympathetic to Liberal politics, but not an active any more. I indented to be a writer, and became a screen-writer, and in these writings I was including themes of wilderness. Friends were calling me an "environmental writer".

I was thinking that the inner damage of self is linked to an environmental damage; the damage we caused to our world that it was also a spiritual damage to ourself. and so my characters, what ever kind of damage they have, usually reflected and connected to exterior damage of the world. The damage out there is the damage in ourself.

So I kept out this interest and empathy in my writing but I was not beginning to get that active for a long time. And then... I got involved in some "homeless" issues in 1983 and 1984. It was around this time that I heard about EF!. My father was a newspaperman sending me articles every week. So one day I found this article about a group called EF!. It was inferring to one of the first EF! actions - the plastic crack in Grand Canyon dam. And I had just read the "Monkey Wrench Gang"... a Abbey book. And I thought that was great! This is what we need! My frustration was so high... compromising amelioration doesn't work, and we don't work it out with politicians... it just doesn't work.

### But it worked out in San Francisco - "Save the Bay" campaignwhen Sierra Club carried out the major initial.

It worked temporarily. I mean... they stopped the development, that's right. It stopped certain plans... but pollution is still there; so the damage of the industrial society. And that's because the compromises of the political solutions. You can succeed some amelioration but it never go to reverse in the long term damage. What you can do via political channels is to slow the pollution down. You don't reverse it.

And, do you want to reverse it. Aha...

## The Democrats never went against development.

This is why I am not a Democrat any more. I am registered a Green. The Republicans and the Democrats are not very different... industrialism, the economic paradigm and consumerism... this is what we have to reverse.

When did you start questioning industrialism? After I got into EF!

## So, in 1982 you were not questioning industrialism?

Well, I had not articulated it... I mean I did question it... environmental issues.... not consciously. The Reagan and Bush presidencies brought allot of clarity about the structure of society. But being in EF!, talking to other people who were sharing their views, sharpened my dialectics, to understand better... I had I clear focus in myself... and I discovered new writers. The feelings were there before going into EF!. I guess it was a part of the process I was experiencing in the 80s... I guess defining that for myself... questioning the economic Paradigm... realizing that I was opposed... even though I was participating in the Paradigm. When I got to work, teach, pay my bills, drive my car, burn gas... things some purists EF!ers do not do. This shows how much I have advocated. I visualize a soft agrarian society based on farms - almost a Jeffersonian society with small agricultural helmets making the society, supporting small cities, while other EF!ers say that any agricultural or town structures are unacceptable - following the ideal returning back to a tribal society.

Anyway, I read the Abbey's book "Monkey Wrenching Gang" and that was for me the way to go. I said: "there you go" no try to work it out with politicians or elected officials, developers, but in risk to save whatever was left out there.

Returning to your liberal background... you were interesting to social justice... and then, suddenly you are in EF!, and your interest is shifting to wilderness issues. How come?

The first issue led to the other. I will answer to you with an anecdote (as Reagan was used to do). We are protesting against the Canadian Government allowing the hunters to shoot wolves in Br.Columbia. And one guy said that we were more interested about animals than with humans. To me this is bull sheet. You start with compromises and the one leads to the next... you start with empathy for the human life and grows to empathy for animals.

... in our family we all have empathy for the environment... a sense of non-human consciousness by having domestic animals. That helped allot. I was an animal-rights activist. I lived an isolated life - spiritual... I became a screen writer, and in those writings I was including themes of wilderness. I was thinking that the inner damage of self is linked to an environmental damage... I don't know if Homo Sapiens is a successful experiment - maybe we are a failure if we don't have the wisdom to change or adopt we will become extinct. So, we might vanish. The problem is that we will take with us a hell of allot of animals and parts of the biosphere.

So, you say that the issues are connected? That you will succeed social justice by protecting the trees against the loggers? Well, we are just in a crisis mode right now. If you stop loggers, is not necessarily connected to a just social solution. But is not a coincidence that the culture that extinct forests and wild life is the culture that promotes violence against women and children. It's all connected to my mind. This is why I have allot

What kind of activities did you involve yourself in after you became a member of L.A. EF!?

of empathy for ecofeminism too.

It happened that my writings was always in advance of my political culture. And I was writing a play about a struggle to save the last grizzly bears in the world. And I sent a copy to the EF!. After that I received a post-card from David Forman. He said: "Why don't you come to the annual randevous? I was surprised since I was not an EF!er yet - not an active member. But I said: "Why not?" <u>During that time, did you have any connections with any other political group?</u>

No. I lived an isolated life... a spiritual life... isolated. EF! helped me to get out of this mood. I decided to go to the randevous... and I was thinking that I was the only person reading EF! journal in L.A. I found out that there were other people that did so. So, we came together to the randevous in Idaho. There I discovered about the rain forest issue in L.America. And it's a credit for EF! that brought this issue on the political agenda in U.S.A. And I had the first EF! action about the rain forest in front of Bank of America. There was no Media attention. The best coverage we had came a few years later on another demonstration about the same issue. In general, some times there is a good Media attention, and some times no Media at all! Non the less EF! has this kind of reputation as radical, so we have phone calls from newspapers, radio-programs... the best was last summer when I debated with a developer on CNN.

## Why did you change? Why this radicalism? Why this passion?

You see, this is the mystical question. There is a pragmatic answer. That you have to save it for the oxygen, the ozone... there are practical reasons... but this is not the better line for me. Because even if the rain forest had no useful value to human beings, it still has the right to exist for its own sake. That's the difference with EF! and that delineation... and the EF!ers have articulated that. They have an intrinsic right to exist (ie the wild life) for their own sake.

#### How did you come to the point to believe that?

I think I always did. I just articulated this on a later point in my life. This empathy, this strong empathy for non-human life in our family... my sisters... we all have empathy for the environment. But like in the case of my mother and sisters there was a strong feeling for the animal rights issues. I guess because we always had a sense of non-human consciousness in our home by having cats, dogs... domestic animals. They helped allot. I was an animal-rights activist.

## What about the rest of the EF!ers? I guess you have discussed the issue...

Yes, I know most of them pretty good. It's the same thing. Working under everybody's skin, and then you hear somebody saying: "... a forest has the right to exist for its own sake" and something click, you say: "...that's right, and I always believed that, and I cannot believe that somebody else believe that too."

#### What about the Greens?

I am a Green too. Politically speaking I am a Green... as a manifesto for human society. Feminism issues, sustained economy...

What about the conflict between the Green Philosophy and the

Deep-Ecology? About anthropocentrism and biocentrism?

Well, as Gary Snider says, we are the most musical of the animals... we are the poets of the planet. Perhaps our role is to celebrate Nature. Not to dominate the Earth. We are different but not superior. We are different since we have the tools and the capacity to dominate and destroy the Earth. The dolphins cannot destroy us - unfortunately. Some times I am a misanthrope in my dark moods. But I am more optimistic than some other EF!ers. And this argument against the misanthropy od EF! is correct. You cannot sit here as a comfortable, white, middle-class, well-eat American and say that Ethiopians should die to save the rain forests of Africa.

without the state of the day of the same is the second it.

## <u>Bill Devall</u> (writer - Arcata/N.California, March 1991)

The environmental issues exist a long time. In the early 70s the attempts to solve them proved to have failed - the ideal which justified the rationalism of cutting the trees came into question itself. It was the time that I started looking for something else, for something more meaningful.

The whole movement was under criticism. And the animalsright movement even though heuristic, was limited to the protection of some non-human forms of life; it was not dealing with the entity of Nature per se. It was time to look for a new vocabulary. the writings of Naess about the ultimate norms was a new way to look at Nature with a new perspective.

It was also the personal experience with Nature - living close to Nature and watching the capitalist exploitation of it.

The exploitation of the ecosystems will turn against us, and people will pay for it. As for the timber workers, they are responsible for working with capitalists.

The new approach to life should be the "sustainable culture". Each region-ecosystem should be able to support a population who will not depend on any kind of imported resources. If the population numbers and economic activities overextend the capacities of the region, then the population will have to shrink into levels of sustainability. And this system will work both for the sake of the ecosystem and human culture. For example, it worked better in terms of generation of life to support the Indians - the life circle was supported. It will be better for the generation of life if you prefer.

In a sense it becomes a self-identification and identification

with Nature and Cosmos. It's time to identify ourself as a part of Nature, not something out of it.

Why do we have to put such an intrinsic value to Nature? Why not to use it wisely for the benefit of the next generations? In other words, how do we know that Nature is more than "matter", something exploitable?

We can know Nature only through our senses. And an ecosystem is like an organism like ours. And our organism feels pain and pleasure. If I cut your hand you will feel pain. The same happens with a forest, or any kind of Natural system.

How can we judge which kind of ecosystem is the most desirable, or the best to exist? For example, if I turn a forest to a desert, like the Mauritians did with a good portion of N.African coasts, a new balance, a new ecosystem will be created - with new forms of life. Now, how can I argue that the ecosystem-forest, is "better" than the "ecosystem-desert"?

We don't judge. We just leave it as it is. We have to become organic parts of the ecosystems - wherever we live.

And what about populated areas that cannot support themselveslike L.A. metropolitan area? They will suffer the consequences of their activities.

<u>Chris Manes</u> (Santa Barbara/California, March 1991)

The EF! didn't come out of nowhere. It was the first earth Day that brought people together to discuss their worries, frustration and desires. All happened from the grass-roots up. It was the inevitable confrontation between Conservation and Radical environmentalism. And the biologists came in aid of radical environmentalism. The disaster was incredible and they made it known.

When I was young I spend time in the forests. Somebody has to learn how to behave in the forest. You have to leave your "civilized" self behind. You cannot be an individual and be in the wilderness the same time. You have to become a part of Nature. Returning buck to the city... I was thinking that civilization is an illusion. The real world is out there.

Tell me how many of the so called "socio-ecologists" have spend any time in the forest - deep in the forest, thirty miles away from any glimpse of civilization? I have been in the forest... along. I know what a forest is all about. I have lived in a forest and I have learned how to appreciate it, and how to be a friend with it. I know how many forms of life it can support...

and we are just one of them... able to destroy millions, and to destroy ourself too, at the end. I don't care about the last, but I care about the amount of life we will take with us in extinction.

And what about the "superiority" of the human race? What kind of superiority is this? Do we worth more than the fungus? Well, let me tell you, a post-fungus world is a dead world. No life form could stay alive in a rain-forest without the support of them. Soon the planet would tern into a desert. And just think about the post-human world. Just think about it! Everything comes back in balance. Nature doesn't need us. It works perfect without us.

Our civilization is an illusion. It cannot exist without us. We made this, and we have given an non-existed value to it. The real world is out there. There is our home.

Do you know something? I don't care about statements. I don't care about epistemology. Epistemology cannot solve any problem. I just state what I feel and see out there. I care about those tree-people, and bear-people, and wolf-people who don't have a voice to talk to us. I don't care about this incredible argument that we have "mind", and that we "think", and about this "2nd Nature".

There is no evidence that we are superior. They play, eat, make love, they are just like us. In evolution theory there is no direction. You cannot find a "goal" in evolution. Sharks are not less advanced than we are. But we like drawing an evolution tree with the reptiles, and then draw a line for the birds, and one for the mammals, and "finally" Man, WOW, as the last step of evolution, the last and the best. Completely false. "Yes, but we have brain" somebody could argue; sure, I'll pick up a quality that serves me, and that's it - I have proven that I am superior.

I study Law, and I could say that it has influenced me, in the sense that there is no absolute Truth. You know, I present the case from my side, and you present it from yours. The judgment is for who will present his case better - in Law there is no objectivity.

The thoughts of Heracletous have affected me too. "Everything flows" he was saying - nothing is absolute. And when he was saying "If donkeys had a religion, Gods would have donkey-ears"that everything has its own reality, he was absolutely right. This is Deep Ecology: your truth is just your truth.

#### Mary Charles (Los Angeles, March 1991)

at to be that there is a start of the set of the set of the set of the

I was born in Detroit, in a newly developed suburbia area. My father was a worker; my mother a social worker. I was not

## really interested in politics or in political activism.

The place I grew up belonged to the Democrat spectrum, and there was a bend for the Democrats from my side. I went to a business school - I was taught Reaganomics. Reagan came to talk to us - it was my first demonstration. After that I left the school.

How did you become interested with the environmental concern? Strange. It evolved in myself. Going to the mountains - totally away from civilization. I guess I don't like civilization - its cruelty. I travelled allot; developing a wider sense of scope; experiencing the world. I always had the feeling that I was born late loosing the 60s. Looking around, the world, I came to the conclusion that we, the world, need revolution.

It was in 1985 - my intellectual infancy - when I first involved in some political - liberal groups realizing that Democrats and Republicans are not so different.

Then I came to California and became interested in "energy efficiency" issues and alternative energy. I became vegetarian and member of the anti-war movement. I remember the Earth Day; how much i learned in a few days.

I came here working with the Peace-Movement. I had some extra free time. I found about the EF! group in Phoenix. I was living in the mountains. I met people there. We were living consciously in Nature, understanding Nature. Being out there, relaxing, opening ourself to Nature, finding spiritual consciousness. I was talking to the trees eating mushrooms and doing acid. Mushrooms come out of the ground. Their character is dark, related with Nature and the Femine essence of the world. As I was saying, I used to talk to the trees, specially the sequoias. They were telling me "stop, stop, stop destroying, stop killing".

Trees out here are really impressing. Last summer I went to the Redwood Forest meeting. We camped out, in the forest. I had some really impressing experiences. I met so many people, old and young, loving and caring so much for these woods.

I read the book "Deep Ecology". I really liked it. It was describing allot of what direction i was going. How I fit into the world, about communalism, how people could live together.

And it's also biodiversity. I have just started to understand it. I dislike anthropocentrism; even though it is hard to get out of it. We must learn how to live with each other, in communities, and in Nature. You know, L.A. reminds me in a sense, the fights between cowboys and indians; you know, the outsiders, us - the newcomers - coming to exploit the land of the residents. I think, I understand Nature more than myself.

#### How do you feel with the radicalism of EF!?

Fine! I know why people are doing that - the monkey-wrenching. These are creative demonstrations, they save the woods and bring Media attention. I was active for two years before going to my first EF! meeting (14th Ma 91).

#### <u>Robert lee</u> (Redwood Forest/N.California, March 1991)

When I was very young, I used to read books about the Indian life. Not that I was finding them at our library at home - I was going to the public library. And I was fascinated by their way of living: Calm, balanced, peaceful, until the white man came to destroy them. I remember that I was arguing and fighting with my father about it. He was with the cowboys. I was with the Indians.

In my late teens I was considering myself as an anarchist. listening to punk music, and living the city life - it was a dead-end. I did not have many friends in school, and my frustration about the dead-end urban life, I was locked into myself, since my views about life were not shared by somebody else. I had to take trips buck to nature, to the Woods, or on the mountains in the Yosemite Park to find some relief. Being there by myself, 4,000 feet on the top, I could find peace of mind. I could think. I was saying to myself: "This is real, not the city-life".

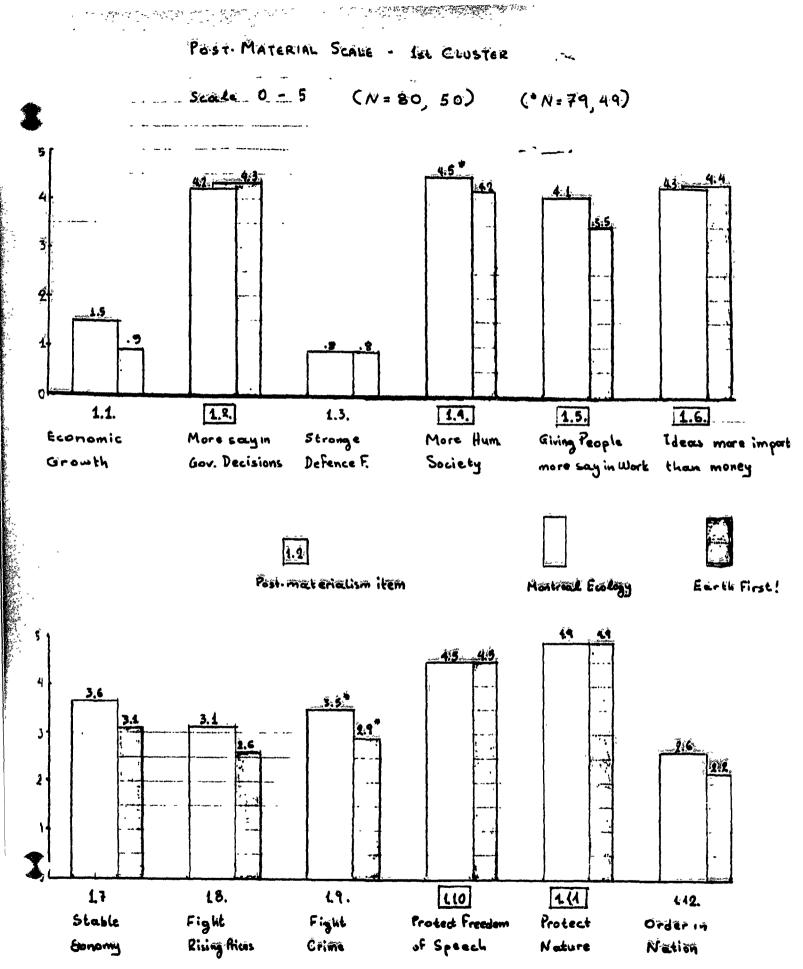
It was also the time I was spending with my father going to the forest - buck in my early youth - it was feeling good. This memory was leading me buck to the same forests when my political explorations became fruitless.

Then I met some people who were also taking trips to the forests. I read the "Walden" of Thoreau and it was making sense. This is real (ie Nature), not the city life. It was describing Life the way I wanted to live. Then it was the Earth Day. I met people thinking the same way. We were frustrated by the compromise of the environmentalists. I heard about EF! - I became an EF!er. And if there is one thing that bring EF!ers together, it is the acceptance of "bio-diversity". That all species have an intrinsic value to exist - that humans are not superior in any way. The rest is just intellectual thinking - it is useful but not everything.

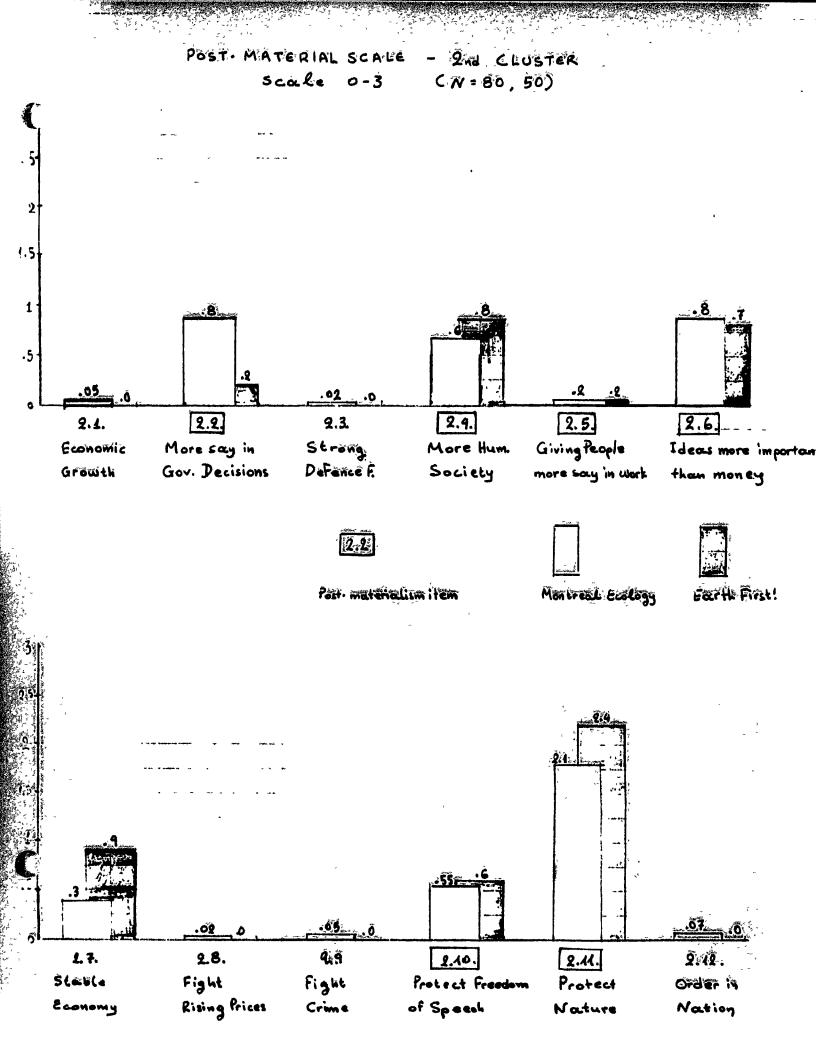
What about the loggers who make their living cuting down trees? Have you thought about their position? Tough shit - and don't cite me.

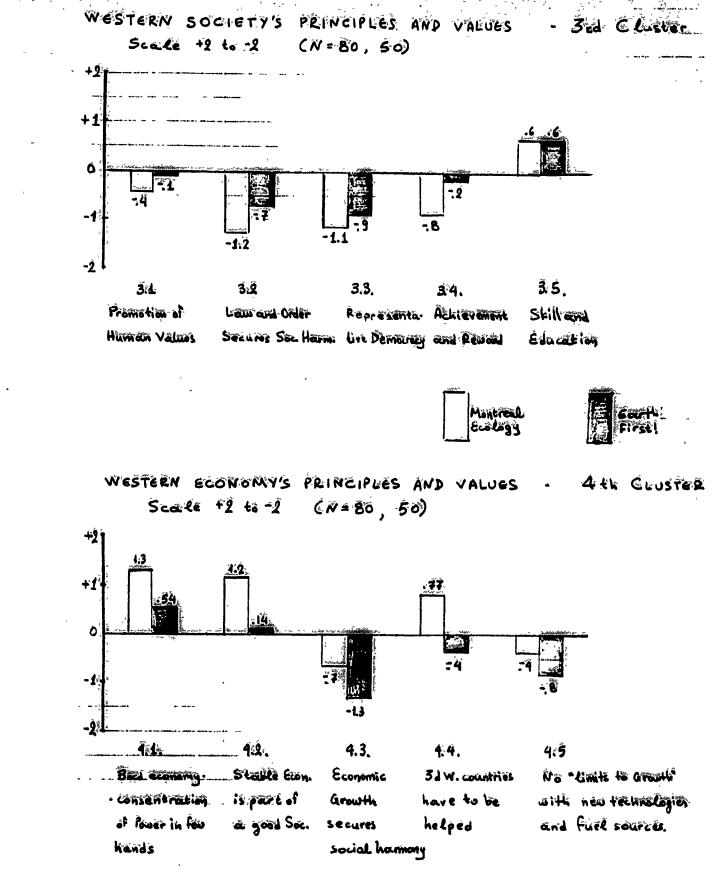
## APPENDIX 11

## Gráphics

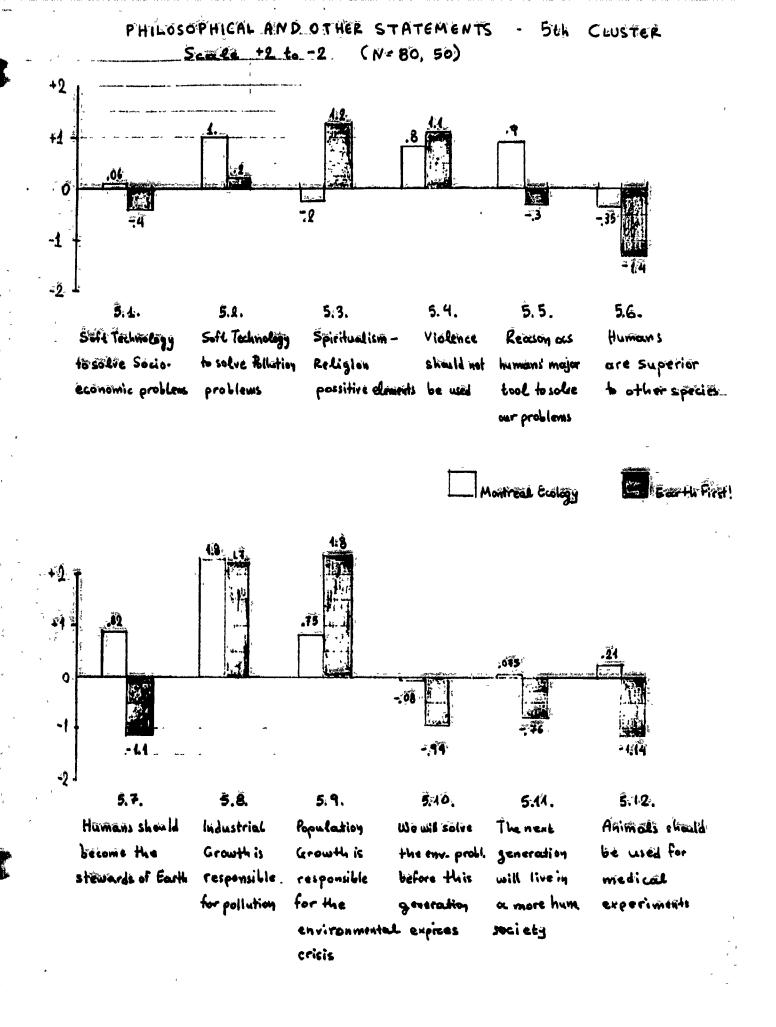


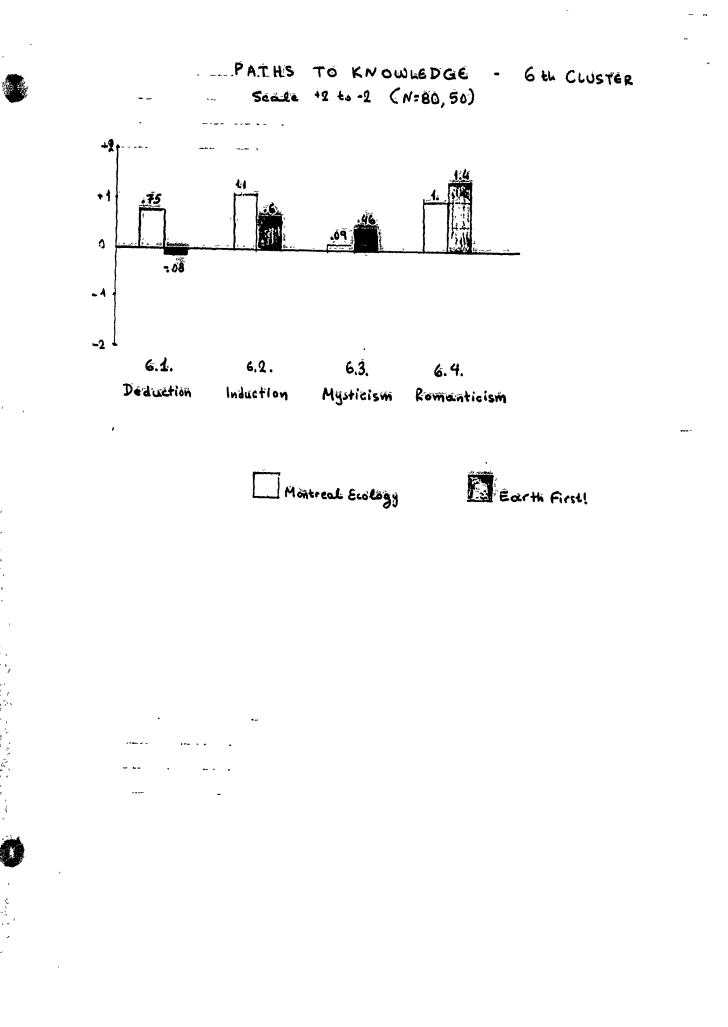
\$





æ





うちの いいち いたいない いいい くちょうち

「ないというない」ない、ないないないないでは、ないというないで、

When the state of the state of

# APPENDIX III

# Principles and Political Program of ME

, . , . , .

PROGRAMME PRINCIPLES OF ECOLOGY MONTREAL

¢ ...

3

MONTRÉAL ÉCOLOGIQUE/ECOLOGY MONTREAL P.O. Box 606, Succ. E. Montréal, Québec H2T 3C2

ECOLOGY MONTREAL is a political organisation that believes that the citizens of this city and its local government have a responsibility to contribute to the resolution of the ecological crisis. Our motto is "think globally, act locally", which means that there are many actions that we can undertake to deal with world problems.

ECOLOGY MONTREAL is a movement of citizens who believe that there is too much centralisation of political, economic and social power in our society in general and in our city in particular. We therefore believe that there must be widespread decentralisation of power to revitalize our neighbourhoods so that people can deal effectively with the problems affecting their daily lives.

ECOLOGY MONTREAL is an educational organisation that brings people together to discuss a new concept of citizenship with the objective of establishing a city that is far more democratic than the one we have now. Thus, it is a movement which not only studies but also works towards basic structural changes in our city so that we can effectively deal with poverty and unemployment, insufficient housing, pollution and traffic congestion, green spaces, recycling of waste, energy conservation, in a word, with the entire range of issues that we need to resolve in order to have an ecological city.

ECOLOGY MONTREAL is the Green Party of Montreal which will present a broad programme for change during the next municipal elections in November 1990. The Party will field many local candidates in order to achieve critical greenrepresentation in City Hall. Our absolute priority is the establishment of an ecologically safe and socially just environment so that people and all other forms of life may dwell in peace and mutual respect.

We are facing a crisis of global proportions, and environmentalists from around the world tell us that immediate action is necessary if we are to survive in the next century on this planet. Chilling news, yes, but there is still the hope that it is not too late to act to change into an ecologically healthy society, but we must act now!

**ECOLOGY MONTREAL** is the response on the part of Montrealers from all socioeconomic and ethnic sectors to the global environmental crisis, and to the refusal or inability of traditional governments to pass from well-meaning words to meaningful action.

Using the Green principle, "Think globally, act locally!", we choose the municipal level of government as our area of action, because it is right outside our door. The signs of ecological damage and disruption are painfully evident in our city around us. We are not the first to say this, and various valient attempts have been made to bring about changes here and there. Many people claim to be Green — it is altogether fashionable — yet until today no party or programme in Montreal has taken sustainability and self-reliance as guiding principles or genuine priorities.

We believe firmly that a sense of humility is appropriate as we face the daunting and urgent task of bringing our city into harmony with the environment. Certainly we have no monopoly upon wisdom, and we do not expect or wish to achieve unlimited power to put our ideas into practice. On the contrary, we believe so strongly in the benefits

3--

## LCOLOGY MONTREAL

and effectiveness of participatory democracy that our political structure is specially designed to promote it, and to exclude career politicians. Indeed, we are committed to such things as rotation of candidates, with special emphasis upon proper representation of all the different segments of our society, and a system of recall in the case of representatives who cannot or will not act in our best interest, either in regard to the environment, or in terms of social justice. We also insist upon the need to introduce a referendum procedure and proportional representation in Montreal.

We commit ourselves to the project of building a sense of community in the various neighbourhoods of the city, and to the practices of listening and consulting. We do not strive to act for the people, or in the name of the people, but rather to act with the people. True leadership does not consist of telling people what must be done, and then using sophisticated means of publicity to persuade them to do it. The kind of changes in attitude and lifestyle which we have in mind require patience, understanding, democratic discussion and co-operation. Nothing less will work; we cannot afford political shortcuts.

The goal towards which we must strive is the establishment of urban communities which are, as far as is possible or practical, self-governing and self-relient. We are convinced that it is possible to ensure a rich quality of life for all, with a high level of employment and a full measure of social justice, on this basis. As we move towards providing for our own needs we will surely come to reconsider the true nature of those needs; no doubt we shall learn and gladly support each other in resisting the insistent, senseless urge to consume more and enjoy it less. We shall also have to pay as much attention to outputs, especially waste materials, as to inputs.

Whenever we encounter jurisdictional obstacles we must be imaginative in overcoming them or getting the rules changed. Finally, we must stop trying to conquer or change nature, and simply concentrate on changing our own behaviour. We issue the challenge to all Montrealers to join with us in building a city which not only works, but will go on and on working.

As we embark upon this great undertaking, trying to turn around a blind policy of unlimited economic growth, regardless of ecological and social damage, we shall be guided by certain principles which are shared by Green parties and movements around the world:

- Decentralisation and Participatory Democracy
- Eco-feminism
- Social and Environmental Ecology
- Social and Economic Justice
- Non-violence

ECOLOGY MONTREAL

# DECENTRALISATION AND PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

4+

The principle of decentralisation is best expressed in the words; "think globally, act locally". A primary goal of Green politics is the empowerment of local neighbourhoods, and of each member within that community. Decentralisation enables even the most oppressed people to challenge and overturn unjust and exploitative power relationships.

Decentralisation calls into question our dependence upon a single, centralised source of sustenance and control. Insofar, as we move towards local self-sufficiency in land use, food, energy, industrial production, and generally in economic and political control, we promote diversity, sharing of information, truly democratic decision-making, and mutual dependence and respect.

Decentralisation requires each individual to act responsibly, in a way that respects nature and the socioeconomic environment. In return, it gives direct control to the community. Full, direct and participatory democracy is an essential feature of decentralisation. In order to dismantle the monopoly of the political agenda by the few, decentralisation encourages face-to-face meetings and active control by community members. Thus power passes into the hands of the many, including people from groups which are presently marginalised. Only by these means can we ensure that those who are now all too often ignored, and who are likely to be most adversely affected by social and economic decisions will be able to make their needs known and heard. The present political system of vested interests represents a form of paternalism; politicians feel that they can speak for us and interpret our experience without consulting us or allowing us to participate in the determination of our own needs. Naturally, we are then alienated from the political process.

Provided that access to information is properly maintained, and we regard it as our duty to ensure that this happens, the population of any community is in the best position to reflect the needs and aspirations of that community.

# **ECO-FEMINISM**

It is evident that women in general, and feminists in particular, have a special understanding and important contributions to make in regard to the fundamental principles of ECOLOGY MONTREAL. Through the centuries women have experienced all the ill effects of domination and exploitation at the hands of men. The feminist movement has performed a truly great service not only for women, but for all of humanity, in exposing, analysing, and seeking to change this deeply rooted and unjust order of society.

The analysis which has been provided by feminists has made plain that there is a connection between the long-standing oppression of women by men, sometimes in the most overtly brutal manner, and the domination and exploitation by humanity of all the rest of the natural world. There is no doubt that the basic principles of ECOLOGY MONTREAL, which lie at the very heart of a Green, ecological philosophy, and most particularly social justice, genuine

ECOLOGY MONTREAL

democracy, and non-violence cannot be realised unless our society duly respects and acts upon the substantial claims which are put forward by feminists.

Those who embrace a Green worldview may gratefully draw upon the insights of feminism as they strive to reduce or eliminate competitiveness, hierarchy, greed and domineering, and to establish an egalitarian society based upon the values of co-operation, nurturing, and genuinely democratic decision-making.

# SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ECOLOGY

Clearly any movement that claims to be Green must be deeply concerned about the quality of the urban environment. Various principles which have been established by green parties and coalitions elsewhere in Canada, and in other countries, must be re-affirmed and respected.

Above all, we dedicate ourselves to providing equal access for all to clean air, clean water and clean soil. In pursuing this policy we shall all have to commit ourselves to re-use, recycle and reduce, and surely those who are most seriously addicted to consumerism will have to lead the way. Those who are most disadvantaged in our society have usually had plenty of practice at reducing consumption.

Recycling programmes and facilities must be established throughout the city, and careful attention must be paid to ensure the most ecologically sound incineration practices. We must take the lead in eliminating the use of toxic products, substituting non-polluting ones wherever possible; toxic waste sites must be clearly identified and regulations must be clearly set forth and enforced.

The preservation and extension of green spaces is, of course, a matter of fundamental importance to us. We do not doubt that most people in the different neighbourhoods of the city will be prepared to forego the alleged benefits, financial or social, which may be derived from the construction of overbearing and architecturally misbegotten buildings if they are convinced that green spaces are being treated as a matter of priority. Such considerations will naturally be of primary importance in all future decisions about planning and zoning.

The acquisition, preservation or restoration of whatever large tracts of land which do remain available must surely be encouraged, but we do not wish to underestimate or conceal the considerable financial obstacles which would stand in our path if we do not receive prompt co-operation from other levels of government. On the other hand, we believe that emphasis should be placed upon projects which could be undertaken by people in their own neighbourhoods without the necessity for any substantial outlay. Just as in the case of housing, we must be quite forthright in declaring our intention of gradually disassociating land from the practices of speculation and profiteering. Nobody is making any more of it, so land must be treated as a precious public resource.

In conjunction with our programme to improve and ensure the quality of air in our city, we should vigorously encourage and support the planting and subsequent care of trees whenever and wherever possible. As air quality improves, it will make more sense than ever

7

### **\$**:4

a

#### ECOLOGY MONTREAL

to pursue a policy food production, with accompanying greenery; onsmall plots of land in every neighbourhood. As our transportation policy wins back space for pedestrians, as opposed to motorised traffic, the gains could be consolidated by the planting of trees and shrubbery. Parking lots might even turn into parks and gardens.

### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Our dedication to toleration and truly fair treatment for all people, no matter what their race, sex, creed, language, sexual/lifestyle preference, age, or physical condition must be more than a mere indication of good will or good intentions. As the various communities which make up the city become more and more autonomous in all the different ways which are described in other parts of our programme, so surely must members of each community become involved in the services, functions and management of their own neighbourhood. This implies, amongst other things, real equity in hiring and promotion practices, and in working conditions, and respect for the care of children. We cannot allow health and safety to be sacrificed for the sake of profit. These same principles must be steadfastly upheld in all services, operations or facilities which function throughout the city.

As the various parts of our programme are implemented we must ensure that every person in the city is housed and fed in a decent manner. Beyond that, as the principles of environmental responsibility and sustainability gain wider acceptance, so will most forms of conspicuous and wasteful consumption dwindle and become socially unacceptable. We believe that this process could naturally and painlessly promote a greater measure of equality in our society. In this regard, as in some many others, persuasion, encouragement and example will achieve much more than will harassment and coercion.

As we all set about the essential task of community economic development, we shall have to tackle certain specific and important problems. Each community will need to take stock of the linguistic and ethnic differences within itself: We believe firmly that it is both desirable and possible, especially at the community level, for all the different groups to respect each other, make allowances for special needs, enrich each other, and live in harmony.

Clearly our underlying aim must be stable, ecologically benign employment for all, but this policy will have to be purused with intelligence, imagination and flexibility. In conjunction with the introduction of a guaranteed minimum income we shall no doubt have to redefine the concept of a job, including such things as domestic work and many forms of volunteer activity, and surely allowing for much greater flexibility in hours of work. This will be all the more necessary in light of the fact that we must put a stop to the cancer of everlasting economic growth.

Each community will have to consider more carefully than ever before the environmental impact of economic activity and projects within its area. In the interest of social justice and responsibility support and encouragement must be given to the creation and maintenance of cooperative enterprises.

Finally one item will have to be dealt with as a matter of urgent priority — the establishment and support of women's centres in each community.

# **NON-VIOLENCE**

We are working to build a non-violent society, one from which oppression and violence in all their various forms have been eliminated. Non-violence applies to the whole society regardless of class, ethnic group or gender.

The principle of non-violence does not limit the fundamental right of self-defence, nor does it exclude any of the various forms of social non-cooperation or resistance. We are simply opposed to the use of force between nations, groups or individuals.

Peace is linked to the independence of social units which are voluntarily established and maintained, and to the universal observance of democratic rights. We look to Montrealers to do their part in promoting world disarmament, and in seeking to bring about the elimination of all nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. We must also advocate firmly the swift return home of all occupying troops wherever they may be around the world.

The promotion of a nuclear-free, and indeed, a weapons-free zone has its place in this plan, and we must pursue this policy diligently, ever mindful of the great and far-reaching economic adjustments which will be necessary if we are to be thorough and honest.

#### ECOLOGY MONTREAL

We cannot speak meaningfully about violence in our society without referring to the vital role which is played by the media. Apart from the use of persuasion to reduce the presentation of all sorts of violence in the popular media, any degree of influence which may be wielded at the municipal level should be used to promote a widespread understanding of the awful nature and consequences of domestic violence, particularly as it affects the most frequent victims, women, children and the elderly.

Educational programmes must be undertaken to explain the connection between drugs, alcohol and violence, and to render degrading forms of pornography socially unacceptable. Nor can we rest so long as violence beyond that which is required for self-defence is perpetuated against or by our police force.

A policy of non-violence is no excuse for passivity: on the contrary, it implies dedication to social activism and resistance to many forms of oppression and social injustice. The connection with other aspects of the programme of ECOLOGY MONTREAL is plain. Injuries and violent deaths which are the result of traffic accidents, and the slower suffering and deaths which are brought about by pollution and discrimination will all have to be taken into account.

2. F.

APPENDIX IV

and the second

Profile of a Good EF!er



Good Human

## Fucking With Mother Nature: a critique of humor, art and eco-pornography

BY SIMON "DE BEAULIVAE" ZAPOTES

Those feminists have no sense of humor. Those environmentalists are so goddamn grim. Those anarchists just can't take a joke.

It's easy to laugh off criticism. But the world is in deep shit, no joke, and if the planet is going to get through it we will need to question everything seriously, even if it tickies. With a good sense of humor and a ruthless critique we might survive.

We often ridicule those who challenge the way of the world in order to avoid serious consideration of the issues they raise. Then we vilify them for that worst of locial failings: not laughing, at themselves, which is indeed dangerous, to the extent that it is dangerous not to be able to see one's own faults. Yet this involves taking humor seriously, and in this culture jokes are more often used to brush people oft.

Humor is sacred, a language of peace. We use it to discuss taboo subjects and to resolve delicate situations. It is one of the few languages, besides car talk, in which men in this culture can comfortably express their emotions. Because of this, we use it to express aviot of unreasonable anxieties that would otherwise be difficult to articulate. A lot of hatred is revealed in racis, sexist, and sectarian jokes. Humor also reveals fantasies of power joking about something being a way of having control over it ---which can be disclaimed by saying, "Just kidding." Because humor is one of the few free modes of expression in this repressed society, it is filled with examples of fear, harred, and avarice, all genially expressed,, and it has thus come to be used as a means of attack, durisien, and ingratiation. If humor is secred, themsurely these are forms of sections.

So we should not take humon too lightly We don't need to get grim or somber, but we can respond to it seriously without diminishing our enjoyment. This is the usual response in healthy cultures, whitch have sacred clowns, fools, tricksters, mudhead kachinas. The clown does not dispel social tensions by making light of them, but rather articulates the tensions in a safe way, so that people can see and resolve them. Even when our humor raises issues unintentionally, we should respond to them seriously. To fail to do so only adds to the problems by ignoring them. On the whole we do fail, and the ills that are destroying the world fester and grow. We are generally unskilled in facing challenges and criticism, and we have lost track of the distinction between being serious and being grim, and we reject all but the most superficiel response to humor. Aw, c'man now, honey, it's only a joke.

Address of the addres

THE COMPLEET RAD WOMAN ENVIRONMEN

SLOW BLK HIDS

Maybe 1 overreacted to the cover of the Yule EPI journal, right? I don't think so. The cover, which showed "The Complet Woman Radical- Environmentalist," expressed lightly and well the sexism which is prevalent in our movement and the world. I want to criticize it and other pieces of art not for their appearance but for what they reveal. We need to address the sexism itself, not to find ways of expressing it yet more subtiy. While sexist humor and art do not consciously raise issues for critique, they nevertheless show us the problems we have. They are in this way useful if we respond seriously and self-critically to them; otherwise; unchallenged expressions of sexism only serve to reinforce it.

Some people have said that they do not even think the drawing of "The Complett Woman Radical-Environmentalist" is settle. In the 90s we call this "danial." Compare its with Canyon Prog's earlier drawing of "The Complete Radical Environmentalist." The titles alone are a clue. The ronmentali sumed and say "The C Environme kind of stu; "The Com Environm "Woman" the truly cc mentalist h show in the

homely and are given body in the clearly visit similar hely complete v stanot to which the pains to exview? Nor messureme hers doesn't Hab. The arts

Our co

man'y phys that it doe remarking not to adem main differ drawings is he's a schub drawings w otherwise. Radical En dumpy, in witi Complet mentalist" bunk smills how that me turing "The tonmentals and homely BOVEDENT what's impo amphernal But idealizis Complete 14 misling dards of or makes it as a in ti



Bang 19 Barth Blandt Man 5 1991

....

see themsiver as the subject of "The Consist Radical Environmentalit" drawing, but women generally cannot do the same with "The Complexi Woman Radical Environmentalitt," which is thus an objectification of women, an objectification, nextless to say, primarily for men, like the glasmour or advertisting photos it resembles.

**Objectification** turns things into resources. By objectifying things, presenting them as whole but without their autonomy or inherent worth, those with power (to abjectify) deny self-expectsion and self-definition. We can see examples of this in the management of wildlife and wilderness "resources", Objectification of the natural world leads to its exploitation. Objectification of women's, or men's, bodies is pornography. When the earth is

When the earth is pictured as a woman, then the object@cnicon of it as hapshody is likewise@dsagmphic. This is apparent in many of the images of "Nother Earth" that male artists give us. The graphics saying "Don't Fuch with Mother Nation" are clearly inviting the viewe to imagine doing otherwise. Many of Lone Wolf Circle's images of "the Goddes" are equally pomographic, offering at once the availability of young women equally to the viewe.

To some extent objectification is inherent in art, certainly in the Western tradition of art that underlies most of our images. Wealthy collectors commission paintings of their possessions, "their" land, "their" women, etc. and amass other objects in absentia through art. Some other traditions offer a

in the

a to bar a to to

difference perspective. Islam forbids representational art because it detracts from Alleh's glory. There is a similar passage in an obscure jewish text called 'the ten commandments,": Thou shalt worship up gaven images before me. before. Of course, these people were mercantile Europeans, and their new understanding was very useful to them. The geographic image we have of the earth was developed specifically to aid in the exploitation of its resources. The earth

World on a Platter

Because they were forbidden from making images of the sacred, Judeo-Christians had to separate the natural world from the sacred in order to depict it. By desecrating nature they have been able to objectify and consequently st eighoit it, visibily and otherwise.

Some will argue that art, like the media, has its uses too. It lets us see the world in new ways. Art is extremely useful for this. Look at the way we picture the earth. By imagining it as a globe, some people were able to get a much different understanding of it than they had had that way except by aliens and astronauts. The view of earth from space g is an alien view, a view from outestide, and it allows the viewer to see the earth as an object of which s/he

actually been seen

has never

is not a part. This view is useful for exploiting the planet, whether or not the viewer imagines running off to others once this one is finally laid waste. Seen thus, as an objectification created to aid exploitation, the image of the little blue-green ball hanging in space is essentially pornographic. All the earth's secrets are laid bare to the satellite camera eye; tum as she might, she cannot turn away, and these images taken without her consent (but she didn't say no) and to her great harm (the environmental cost of the space program, and of the culture that achieved it) are duplicated by the millions and sold in the streets, accessible to all, obscene.

We reinforce this objectification of the earth when we imagine it as something outside of ourselves that we have to rescue, as if we were good pariarchal kinghts come to save the princess from the dragon, without understanding that we are both the dragom and the princess. The earth day logo is more of this kind of image, more a damsel in distress than the lewd centerfold developers see, but it is just as disempowering and obscene. An even clears case is the earth police badge.

badge. The earth police badge shows our little planet crossed with median lines — like the crosshairs of a gun, or the bars of a cell — and is inscribed with the motio "one planet, one precinct." In other words the entire planet is under the jurisdiction of one police force. Rather what the fascists have always dreamt of, no? In this fantary, the knights are prosecting the princese by keeping her shut up in a tower so they will be able to defind her. The earth police will presumably enforce a set of laws thas protect the planet: But law protects the planet in exactly the same way that a pimpprotects a woman he considers "his" whore. Even the bestenvironmental law protects the wild as an object, for the most beneficial use for humans, as a resource for future generations. The whole thing is about possession and control The Earth Police would make the earth safe by making it theirs. Daddy's little blue-green sweetheart.

I am surely taking this too seriously. It's only a joke, right? But precisely because of this, I think we have to realize how serious it is. The Earth Police badge is a pornographic joke, and if we laugh it off without questioning what lies under it then we only reinforce the obscenity of our culture and of our relationship to the planet. If we use this dirty joke to find out something of our personal involvement in planetary exploitation, then we may find some direction toward alternatives and it may have been worthwhile for someone to make up all those ugly little nylon badges.

I love looking at maps, at images of the earth. I pin them up ons my walls. I imagine travelling: I know that from this technological culture I can get to anywhere on the globe; I fantasize about what different places might be like. I suspect



that this is not all that different from what users of pornography do. So, knowing the poverty of pomography in relation to what it alludes, knowing the deception. If the image and the confines of the ideal, why do I not give up my maps and my airplanes for the richer relationship with the earth I know is possible? It is possible to know the land deeply, on foot, within the compass of the horizon. It is possible to picture the earth as we in fact see it, as part of it. It is possible to live together without objectification, and to laugh without reason. It is analogous to love, but it is more than love for the earth is more than our lover, more than our mother: it is simply everything we really **Lnow** 



Page 33 Sarth Plant Mitty 1, 1991

#### THE COMPLEET RADICAL ENVIRONMENTALIST



MAL STATE TO MONTAIN COMMIN LOT HILIN' PERCE STALLIM,

APPENDIX V

The Questionnaire

Ĩ.,

### NORTH AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT SURVEY

3

WE ARE ASKING YOUR ASSISTANCE IN A STUDY WHICH CONCERNS THE ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE SYMPATHETIC OR BELONG TO PRO-ENVIRONMENT GROUPS. THE INFORMATION YOU PROVIDE WILL BE USED FOR SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES ONLY, UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF PR. ROGER KROHN, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, MCGILL UNIVERSITY - MONTREAL (514-398-6837).

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FORM AND MAIL IT IN WITHIN THE NEXT WEEK IN THE ENCLOSED ENVELOPE. SINCE YOU ARE PART OF A SMALL SAMPLE, THE RESPONSES WE OFTAIN FROM YOU ARE IMPORTANT.

ALL INFORMATION PROVIDED WILL BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE AND ONLY STATISTICAL TOTALS WILL BE PUBLISHED.

> DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY MCGILL UNIVERSITY 855 SHERBROOKE ST. WEST MONTREAL, P.Q. H3A 2T7

### HOW TO FILL THIS OUESTIONNAIRE

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE PRIMARILY SEEKS YOUR OPINIONS; THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. THE QUESTIONS WE ASK YOU TO ANSWER DEAL WITH COMPLICATED PROBLEMS AND CONFLICTING VALUES. PLEASE TELL US WHAT YOU REALLY THINK.

the second se

AS YOU KNOW, THE SAME WORD CAN MEAN DIFFERENT THINGS TO DIFFERENT FEOPLE; HENCE, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FIND A GENERAL WORDING TO EXACTLY SUIT EVERY FERSON. FLEASE BEAR WITH US IF THE WORDING OF AN ITEM DOESN'T SEEM QUITE RIGHT TO YOU FROM TIME TO TIME AND DO YOUR BEST TO ANSWER THE QUESTION.

FLEASE PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE DIRECTIONS FOR EACH PART OF THE QUEST-IONNAIRE. GENERALLY, YOU WILL INDICATE YOUR RESPONSE BY CIRCLING A NUMBER ON A SCALE.

FOR EXAMPLE, SOME QUESTIONS WILL ASK FOR YOUR OPINION TOWARDS A STATEM-

•	agree			4	disagree	
	strongly			1	strongly	
"To alter is a waste of time"	+2	+1	Ó	<b>-1</b>	-2	

IF YOU STRONGLY AGREE WITH THE PREVIOUS STATEMENT YOU WOULD CIRCLE A \*\*?. IF YOU STRONGLY DISAGREE, YOU WOULD CIRCLE A \*.?. IF YOU HAVE NO PREFERE-NGE, CAN'T DECIDE, OR DON'T KNOW YOU WOULD CIRCLE A 'T. A MODERATE OPINION WOULD LEAD YOU TO A \*+1\*, IF YOU AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT, OR A \*-1\* IF YOU DIS-AGREE WITH IT.

OTHER ITEMS WILL USE OTHER KINDS OF SCALE WHICH ARE SELF-EVIDENT: IN EACH CASE <u>CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE</u>.

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR HELP

1,,

1. Here is a list of possible sizes for countries of the world. Whit do you think the priorities should be for the sent ton years or so for your country?

(0) Re	iact -	Not a	agaificant	ain.	at all
--------	--------	-------	------------	------	--------

(+1) Very Low Priority

(+2) Low Priority

(+3) Undecided/Intermediate

(+4) Moderate Priority

(+5) High Priority

ł,

1.1. Maintaining a high rate of economic growthatthe manufacture and a second s	+5	+4	+3	+2	<b>#1</b>	Ó
12. Giving people more say in important government decisions	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0
13. Making sure that the country has strong defence forces	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0
1.4. Progressing toward a less impersonal, more humane society	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	Ô
1:5. Seeing that people have more say in how things get decided at work	,+Ŝ	<b>+</b> 4	+3	+Ź	+1	Č
Lif: Progressing toward a society where ideas are more important than money	<b>+</b> \$	+4	+3	+2	+1	Őĩ
1.7. Maintaining a stable economy	<b>¥5</b>	<b>+</b> '4	+3	+2	+1	Ô
1.8. Fighting rising prices	+°Ŝ	+4-	+3	÷2	+1	Ô
19. Fighting crime	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0
110. Protecting freedom of speech	. +5	+4 '	+3	+2	<b>+1</b>	Ŏ,

2. If you were asked to state what should be the priorities of the same country for the next ten years how would

you rate the following potential sime? Please put a "1" against the sim which you think is most desirable. Then put a "2" against the next most desirable sim, and a "3" to the third most important sim. Please leave the remaining spaces blank.

2.1. Maintaining a high rate of economic growth
2.2. Giving people more say in important government decisions
2.3. Making sure that the country has strong defence forces
2.4. Progressing toward a less impersonal, more humane society
2.5. Seeing that people have more say in how things get decided at work
2.6. Progressing toward a society where ideas are more important than money
2.7. Maintaining a stable economy
2.8. Fighting rising prices
2.9. Fighting crime
2.10. Protecting freedom of speech
2.11. Protect nature from being polluted
2.12. Maintaining order in the nation

:

3. Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about society in general.

		ee bagly			disagree strongly
312 The Western societies have proven able to promote basic human values (eg public politics)	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
3.2. Law and order secure social harmony	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
3.3. Political decisions should be left to the judgment of the elected government and the representatives of the public	+2	+1	Ō	-1	-2 <sup>′</sup>
3.4. A society should emphasize achievement and reward	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
3.5. A society should recognize differences related to skill and education	, <b>+</b> 2	÷1	0,	-1	-Ż

A Figure rate the estant to which you agree or disagree with the following views about the economy is general

-

t utertier

J U to Marine

----- V

\* \*\*

\*\*\*\*

ういまた

- Ut Ausons

PRI-Lawlord

A Clevenia

A THE STATE

ł

574 L

the same

		łv			diangres
All: A society in a bad economic situation tends to concentrate political power in the hands of a few politicians and technocrats	~		Ô	-Ĩ	-2
A stable economy which provides work for everyone, is an essential part of a "good" society	+2	<b>≁ĭ</b>	Õ	<b>-1</b>	÷2
43. Economic growth insures low rates of unemployment and secures social harmony	+2	+1	Ô	Ĩ.	-2
4.4. Third-World countries have to be helped by all the technical and financial means by the richer countries for a better, decent future	+2	+1	Ô	<b>*Ĭ</b> :	-2
4.5. Because of technology and our capacity to find new fuel sources (is solar energy), the "limits to growth" are not as close as some studies have led us to believe	.∓2	71	Ô	* <b>1</b> *	-2

5. Here are some statements about our world and its potential future. What are your opidions?

- 7 - 110					disagree
511. Technology, specially the 'soft' one (eg computers), could help us to solve our socioeconomic problems					
52. Technology, specially the 'soft" one, and its applications (eg solar energy accumulators), is able to help us to solve the pollution problems we face	+2	<b>#1</b>	Ô	<b>=Ĩ</b> !	- <b>2</b>
S3. Spiritualism and Religion do not contribute to human beings poten face and solve their real problems	tial tö +2	i +*1	Ō	÷1	-2
5.4. Nature must be protected from human activities by all means, violence and included		Č 4	1	Ô: -	ĩ -2
55. Reason could be human kind's major tool to solve its problems and to understand Nature	+Ž	• •1	Ô	3 <b>1</b>	<b>:2</b> :
5.6. There are such differences between humans and animals or the rest of natural habitants which could place humans on any kind of higher position	+2	÷1	Ô	-1	<b>-2</b> `
5.7. A permanent solution of the environmental problem includes that humans will become the stewards of Nature	, +2	÷1	Ô	<b>:1</b> :	-2
5.8. One of the primary reasons why we face such an environmental crisis is the blind and uncontrollable growth of industry	. +2	ŦĨ	Ō		-2

5.9. One of the primary reasons why we face an environmental critic today is the uncontrolled growth of population all over the world +2	+1	Ŏ	-1	-2
5:10. Today's youth will live to see the world finding permanent solutions of the environmental problem	<b>+1</b>	Ô	-1	-2
Sall. The next generation will grow up in a more humane society	+1	Ő	-1	÷2
5.12 Aritmals should be used for medical experiments if no other alternative option is available	<b>+1</b>	Õ	- <b>1</b> -	-2
6. Understanding the World means to				
6:1	+1	Õ	-1	<b>-Ž</b> -
6.2	÷1	Ő	-1	-2
63escape the constrains of materialism and discover the inner world of mind using mysticism and sensation	+1	Õ	÷Ĩ	-2
64: "fromote personal immediate experience using intuition and integration of thought and feeling	<b>#1</b>	Ô	-1	-Ź

۲

**.2** 

6

÷

Here are some questions about yourself. Please mark the appropriate sumber or fill in the answer where required.

7. While is your stat

7/1 (please write in)

& What is your age?

811 (please write in)

9. Country of origin

9.1. Canada

92-USA

93 Matto

9X other write is

10. How many years of education have you completed?

10.1. 1 - 5 years

10.2. 6 - 8 years

103.9 - 11 years

10.4. 12 years

105.13 - 15 years

10.6. 16 years

10.7. 17 years or more

11. In political matters, people talk of the Ten and the right . How would you place your views on this scale?

III Let

23

112 Mildy Left

114. Contre

114. Mildy Right

113. Right

116. I do not agree with this categorization

11.7. I am not interested in politics

11.8. Some of my political preferences he on the flat posture and others on the right one

12. What is your current occupation? (If a guidest, please indicate your orientation).

12/1. (piese wild ii)

13. While is the main occupation of your parents (even if retired)?

1311 Faller's occupation:

132 Nother's occupidon:

14: Before or during the time you became involved in the Environmental Movement were you annuallistic to any other political movement?

141. Anti-nuclear movement

14.2. Peminist movement

143. Civil rights movement

14.4. Peace movement

14.6. I was not interested in any other political movement.

IS Before or during this time you became involved in the Environmental Movement, were you an active men ber of groups attached to any other political movement? 15:1. Anti - suciesr movement 15.2. Feminist movement 15.3. Civil rights movement 15.4. Peace movement 15.5. Other: .. (please write in) 15.6. I was not interested in any other political movement 16. Are you currently sympathetic to any political movement other than the environmental one? 16.1. Anti - ancient movement 16.2. Feminist movement 16.3. Civil rights movement 16.4. Peace movement (dene wite in) 16.5. Other: .... 16.6. I am not sympathetic in any other political movement 17. Are you currently a member of an organization(s) that is not alined with the curvironmental movement? (If you are, please circle the name of the movement - not the name of the organization). 17.1. Anti - nuclear movement 17.2. Feminist movement 17.3. Civil rights movement 17.4. Peace movement 17.5. Other: ..... (nlease write in) 17.6. I am not a member of any other political organization.

18 Please list up to three cavironmental (if not, political groups) in which you are a current member (full tille):

ye 18:1. Title of 1st group:	<b>ár</b> )
18.2. Title of 2nd group:	)
18.3. Title of 3rd group:	····;-)

- 19. For the group you have listed 12, which of the following statements would best describe your current level of participation?
  - 19.1. I make many suggestions for the direction of the group
  - 19.2. I make occasional suggestions for the direction of the group
  - 19.3. I attend the meetings regularly but I usually prefer not to make any sugrestions
  - 19.4. I attend meetings occasionally
- 20. For the group you have listed 2nd, which of the following statements would best describe your current level of participation?
  - 20.1. I make many suggestions for the direction of the group
  - 20.2. I make occasional suggestions for the direction of the group
  - 20.3. I attend the meetings regularly but I usually prefer not to make any suggestions
  - 20.4. I attend meetings occasionally
- 21. For the group you have listed 3rd, which of the following statements would best describe your current level of participation?
  - 21.1. I make many suggestions for the direction of the group
  - 2112. I make occasional suggestions for the direction of the group
  - 21.3. I attend the mostings regularly but I usually prefer not to make any suggestions
  - 21:4. I attend meetings occasionally

22. White of the following describes bar the place you grew up?

21. 046

22.2 Sebertien

223. Small town

224 Rural

, ' . '

1

2. 34

terr

دم د . ب

3<sup>8</sup>0 "v "7 •

*,*,,

79 79 79 23. Which of the following describes best the place you live now? (Permanent address).

21 Uibin

212-Suburban

213. Smill com

23.4. Renal

24. The social environment in which I grow up allowed me:

24.1. Absolute freedom to express myself and state my opinion

242. Rolative	••••••••	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	•• • • •
24.3. Little	••••••••	÷	•••
ž4.4. No	••••••••	۰	•••••

25. In the family covironment I grow up, there was a minimal respect of optimions and contribute was the way to find solutions in family matters.

25.1. (+5) Absolutely true

(#4)

(\* 73)

(42)

(+1) ABUMANY SUL

20. How could you rate your staffaborhood in terms of pollution?

26.1.	political				. 1	
	÷Ŝ	+4	÷3	+2	+1	Ő

27. Generally, during our lifetime, some books - or articles which we read become very important to our political during. Please list, as well as you can recall, the titles, authors, or/and the themes of these books.

<i>7</i> .1.	(Jear)
	(Second
27.2.	(Jear)
273.	(year)
Ž1A	
<i>7</i> 7.5	(year)

28. Could you please contribute any further points regarding your self or your participation in Environmental conducts that we have overlooked?

<b>30.1</b> .	
<del>گگاه. آن</del> ه با ا	
-1994	
- 1949 21 4 74 - 64 - 77	
the first sector of the sector	

ŝ

### **Bibliography**

-)

- Baldwin, Roger (ed.) (1970), <u>Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets</u>, Dover Bublications, Inc. New york.
- Belenky, Mary Field <u>et al.</u> (1986), <u>Women's Ways of Knowing</u>, Basic Books, New York.
- Bell, Daniell (1976), <u>The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism</u>, Heinemann, London.
- Bookchin, Murray (1990), <u>The Philosophy of Social Ecology</u>, Black Rose Books, Montreal.
- Bookchin, Murray (1989), <u>Remaking Society</u>, Black Rose Books, Montreal.
- Bookchin, Murray (1974), <u>Post-Scarcity Anarchism</u>, Wildwood House, London.
- Bramwell, Anna (1989), <u>Ecology in the 20th Century</u>, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
- Bruce-Briggs, B. (ed.) (1979), <u>The New Class?</u> Transaction Books, New Jersey.
- Capra, Fritjof (1975), <u>The Tao and the Physics</u>, Wildwood House, London.
- Capra, Fritjof (1982), <u>The Turning Point</u>, Simon & Schuster, New York.
- Capra, Fritjof (1988), <u>Unkommon Wisdom</u>, Pantam Books, New York.
- Carson, Rachel (1965), Silent Spring, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Castoriades C. and D.Cohn-Bedit (1981), <u>From Ecology to Autonomy</u> Editions Du Seuil, Paris - for the Greek edition: Ecdoseis Kedros, Athens.
- Clark, John (ed.) (1990), <u>Renewing the Earth</u>, Green Print, London.
- Cotgrove, Stephen (1982), <u>Catastrophe or Cornucopia: The</u> <u>Environment, Politics and the Future</u>, John Wiley & Sons, New York.

- Club of Rome Reports to,
  - Meadows, Dennis <u>et al.</u> (1972), <u>The Limits to Growth</u>, Potomac Associates Press, New York.
  - Mesarovic M. <u>et al.</u> (1974), <u>Mankind at the Turning Point</u>, Outton, New York.
  - Timbergen J. <u>et al.</u> (1978), <u>Reshaping the International</u> <u>Order</u>, Duton & Co. Inc., New York.
  - Lazlo V. <u>et al.</u> (1978), <u>Goals for Global Societies</u>, Duton & Co. Inc., New York.
  - Hawrylyshyn B. <u>et al.</u> (1980), <u>Road Maps to Future</u>, Pergamon Press, New York.
  - Vuukoo Jarva (1984), <u>Managing Global Isues</u>, University of Helsinki Press, Helsinki.
- Chase, A. (1986), <u>Playing God in Yellowstone: The Destruction of</u> <u>America's First National Park</u>, The Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston.
- Dasmann, R. (1972), <u>Planet in Peril: Man and the Biosphere Today</u>, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
- Devall, Bill (1988), <u>Simple in Means, Rich in Ends</u>, Peregrin Smith Books, Salt Lake City.
- Devall, Bill and George Sessions (1985), <u>Deep Ecology</u>, Peregrin Smith, Salt Lake City.
- Ealsea, B. (1981), <u>Science and Sexual Opression: Patriarchy's</u> <u>Confrontation with Woman and Nature</u>, London.
- Ecologist (The) (1972), <u>A Blueprint for Survival</u>, Penguin, Harmonsdworth.
- Fox, Stephen (1981), John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement, Little Brown & Co., Boston.
- Fox, Warwick (1990), <u>Toward a Transpersonal Ecology</u>, Shambhala, Boston & London.
- Gorz, A. (1986), Farewell to the Proletariat, Nea Epoche, Athens.
- Gouldner, A.W. (1979), <u>The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise</u> of the New Class, Macmillan, London.
- Henderson, Hazel (1978), <u>Creating Alternative Futures</u>, Patnam books, New York.
- Henderson, Hazel (1981), <u>The Politics of the Solar Age</u>, Anchor/Doubleday, New York.
- Hirsch, F. (1977), Social Limits to Growth, Routledge London.

Inglehart R. (1977), <u>The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and</u> <u>Political Styles among Western Publics</u>, Princeton University Press.

ſ

ž

1

i

- Kondilis, Panagiotis (1983), <u>The Critique of Metaphysics in the</u> <u>Newer Thought</u>, Gnosi, Athens.
- Krutilla, J.V. (1973), <u>Natural Environments: Theoretical and</u> <u>Applied Analyses</u>, J.Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. (1962), <u>The Structure of Scientific Revolutions</u>, The University of Chicago Press.
- Lowe Philip & Goyder Jane (1983), <u>Environmental Groups in</u> <u>Politics</u>, Allen and Unwin Inc., Mass.
- Manes, Ch. (1990), <u>Green Rage Radical Environmentalism and the</u> <u>Unmaking of Civilization</u>, Little, Brown, and Co., Boston.
- Marcuse, H. (1982), Eros and Civilization, Kalvos, Athens.
- Marcuse, H. (1984), The One-dimension Man, Papazisi, Athens.
- McCormick, John (1989), <u>Reclaiming Paradise</u>, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis.
- Milbrath, Lester W. (1984), <u>Environmentalists Vanguard for a</u> <u>New Society</u>, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Naess, Arne (1984), "Deep Ecology and Lifestyle". In <u>The Paradox</u> <u>of Environmentalism</u>, edited by Neil Evernden, York University.
- Odum, H.E. (1973), <u>Environment, Power, and Society</u>, J.Wiley, New York.
- O'Riordan, T. (1976), Environmentalism, Pion Ltd, London.
- Parkin, Sara (1989), <u>Green Parties an International Guide</u>, Heretic Books Ltd, London.
- Poulanzas, N. (1981), For Which Politics and Classes?, Papazisi, Athens.
- Roszak, Theodore (1978), <u>Where the Wasteland Ends: Politics and</u> <u>Transcendence in Postindustrial Society</u>, Anchor Press/Doubleday, New York.
- Sandy I. and Ponton A. (1988), <u>A Green Manifesto: Politics for a</u> <u>Green Future</u>, Optima, London.
- Schumacher, E.F. (1973), Small is Beautifull, Harper & Row

#### Publishers, New York.

- Spretnak, Charlene (1986), <u>The Spiritual Dimension of Green</u> <u>Politics</u>, Bear and Company, Santa Fe.
- Spretnak, Charlene and Fritjof Capra (1984), <u>Green Politics: The</u> <u>Global Promise</u>, Bear and Company, Santa Fe.
- Weber, M. (1968), <u>Economy and Society</u>, Bedminster Press, New York.

#### ARTICLES

- Bookchin, M., "Social Ecology vs Deep Ecology Movement". <u>Green</u> <u>Perspectives: Newsletter of the Green Program Project</u>, (1987), 3, (3).
- Bookchin, M., "The Left That Was: A Personal Reflection." <u>Green Perspectives</u>, May 1991, No 22.
- Cotgrove, St. and An.Duff, "Environmentalism, Middle Class Radicalism and Politics". <u>Sociological Review</u> (1980), 28 (2), 333-351.
- Cotgrove, St. and An.Duff, "Environmental Values and Social Change". <u>British Journal of Sociology</u> (1981), 32 (1), 92-110.

Hodges, H.M., "The Humanist Intelligentsia". In <u>The</u> <u>Intelligentsia</u> <u>and the intellectual</u> (ed. by A.Gella), SAGE 5, (1976), 153- 171.

- Grey, W., "A Critique of Deep Ecology". Journal of Applied Philosophy, (1986), 3, 211-216.
- Inglehart R. (vs Sc.Flanagan), "Value Change in Industrial Societies". <u>American Political Science Review</u> (1987), 81 (12), 1289-1310.
- Keller, J., "Types of Motives for Ecological Concern", Zygon, 6, 197-209.
- Louloudis, L., "Man and Nature: The Crusial Factor of the Relationship and the Conjuctional Analysis of its Crisis". <u>Nea Ecologia</u>, (1990), 65 (3), 47-52, Athens.

Modinos, G., "Alternative Social Movement and the New Political Paradigm". <u>Nea Ecologia</u>, (1990), 67 (5), 54-58.

- Muller-Rommel F., "Ecology Parties in Western Europe". <u>Western</u> <u>Europian Politics</u> (1982), 5 (1), 68-74.
- Naess, A., "The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement - A Summary". <u>Inquiry</u>, (1973), 16, 128-131.

a for the second

2

3.5

÷,

\* \*

~

じゃれる いとしひ

- Noodings, N., "Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education". <u>Berkeley</u> (1984), Introd.
- Rothatcher, Al., "The Green Party in German Politics". <u>Western</u> <u>Europian Politics</u> (1985), 6 (3), 109-116.
- Sandmire, H.P., "Historical Dimensions of the American Crisis". In <u>Western Man and Environmental Ethics</u>, (ed. by I.G.Barbour), Addison-Wesley, Reading Mass. (1973), 66-92.
- Watson, R., "A Critique of Anti-anthropocentric Biocentrism". <u>Environmental Ethics</u>, (1983), 5, 245-256.