

INTERCULTURE

Interculture intends to contribute to the discovery and emergence of viable alternative approaches to the fundamental problems of contemporary Man, in both theory and practice. Its approach is meant to be integral, which means:

- ◆ **Intercultural:** undertaken in light of the diverse cultural traditions of contemporary Man, and not solely in the terms of modern culture;
- ◆ **Inter and trans-disciplinary:** calling on many 'scientific' disciplines, but also on other traditions of knowledge and wisdom (ethno-sciences) as well as on vernacular and popular knowledge;
- ◆ **Dia-logical:** based on the non-duality between *mythos* and *logos*, *theoria* and *praxis*, science and wisdom, wisdom and love. "Wisdom emerges when the love of knowledge and the knowledge of love coalesce" (Raimon Panikkar.)

INTERCULTURAL INSTITUTE OF MONTREAL

The Intercultural Institute of Montreal (formerly Monchanin Cross-Cultural Centre) is an institute for intercultural education, training, and research, dedicated to the promotion of cultural pluralism and to a new social harmony. Its fundamental research focuses on social critique and exploration of viable alternative approaches to the contemporary crisis. Its activities, which draw inspiration and sustenance from this research, aim at a cultural and social mutation – radical change – through gradual education and training. Its research and action have, from the very start, been undertaken in light of diverse contemporary cultures. It attempts to meet the challenges of our times by promoting cultural identities, their interaction in creative tension and thus their eventual emancipation from the final and most subtle colonialism: hegemony by the mind. The Institute's cross-cultural research and action is carried out through its programs in the four following sectors: public education, training of professionals, services and research.

FOUNDERS-DIRECTORS

Jacques Langlais (1963-70), Robert Vachon (1970-79)
Kalpana Das (currently President and Executive Director)

Interculture appears twice a year in April and October.
Intercultural Institute of Montreal, 4917 St. Urbain, Montreal PQ H2T 2W1

INTER culture

Volume XXX, No. 1

Winter-Spring 1997 / Issue No. 132

ECOSOPHY AND SILVILIZATION

R. VACHON	PREFACE
E. GOLDSMITH	THE WAY: AN ECOLOGICAL WORLD-VIEW
G. SNYDER	BECOMING NATIVES OF TURTLE ISLAND
G. MEHTA	A CULTURE OF TREES
E. V. MONCKHOVEN	THE CALL OF THE FOREST

INTERCULTURAL INSTITUTE OF MONTREAL

INTERCULTURE

International Journal of Intercultural and
Transdisciplinary Research. Established in 1968.

EDITOR Robert VACHON
ASSOCIATE EDITOR Scott EASTHAM

CONSULTING EDITORS

Lomomba EMONGO (Zairian writer)
Gustavo ESTEVA (Journalist, Mexico)
Merrill JACKSON (Wayne State University, Detroit)
Ashis NANDY (Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi)
Raimon PANIKKAR (Professor Emeritus, University of California)
Majid RAHNEMA (Educator and Former Diplomat, Iran)
John SPELLMAN (Institute for Asian Studies, University of Windsor)
Mary STARK (Medical Anthropologist, Montreal)

LAYOUT & CIRCULATION André GIGUÈRE

PRINTER IMPRIMERIE BOURDON INC., 10488, Bd. St-Michel, Montréal-Nord,
PQ, H1H 5H4, CANADA. Tel. & Fax (514) 385-9748

INTERCULTURE's goals are:

- ❖ to inform on contemporary cultures from their own standpoints as living realities
- ❖ to explore the issues that are raised at the frontiers of knowledge by the plurality of cultures and their interaction, both at the world level and that of specific societies
- ❖ to identify and facilitate communication among institutionally-affiliated and independent scholars, from all disciplines and cultures, who explore alternatives to the contemporary social crisis.

Published by the INTERCULTURAL INSTITUTE OF MONTREAL (*formerly Monchanin Cross-Cultural Centre*). Since issue No.85, it is published in French (ISSN 0172-1571) and in English (ISSN 0828-797X). Beginning with issue No. 130 *Interculture* appears twice a year in April and October.

Member of the Canadian Magazine Publishers Association (CMPA).

Volumes 1 to 16 are available on 35mm microfilm from Microfilms Publications,
62 Queen's Grove, London NW8 6ER, UK. Indexed with abstracts by *Religion Index One: Periodicals*, American Theological Library Association, 5600 South Woodlawn Ave.,
Chicago, IL 60637 USA

Legal deposit 1997: National Library of Canada — National Library of Quebec

© 1997 INTERCULTURAL INSTITUTE OF MONTREAL. All rights reserved.
No part may be reproduced in any form or by any means
without the permission of the publisher.

INTERCULTURAL INSTITUTE OF MONTREAL, 4917 St.Urbain,
Montreal, QC, CANADA, H2T 2W1. Tel. No. (514) 288-7229
Fax No. (514) 844-6800

ECOSOPHY AND SILVILIZATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Robert VACHON	Preface 2
Edward GOLDSMITH	The Way: an Ecological World-View 3
Gary SNYDER	Becoming Natives of Turtle Island39
Gita MEHTA	A Culture of Trees47
Eric. v. MONCKHOVEN	The Call of the Forest53



PREFACE

ECOSOPHY AND SILVILIZATION

These two connected and complementary shock-words, key ideas, emerging myths might summarize this whole issue.

Ecosophy: it means the wisdom of the biosphere, of the ecosphere, of nature, of the universe, rather than that of human thought concerning nature. Nature has a tendency to maintain its fundamental structure, to which Man must learn to adjust (Goldsmith). Nature is the great educator, the great economy. It could be said that it is the way of ontonomy, the one to which our primordial ancestors have tried to gear into and that we unfortunately try to replace with the alienating way of autonomy and heteronomy.

Silvilization: (from the Latin *silva*, forest) by thus contrasting "civilization" and "silvilization," one does not mean to make a direct critique of civilization nor to replace it with silvilization, but to shatter the myths of civilization, of citizenship and of civil society, as having to be the unique point of reference or horizon of intelligibility of the social order. So one makes room for "silvilization," natural and primordial living, thus refusing to equate the beautiful word "savage" (from *silva*, the savage being the forest-dweller, the man of nature) with primitive, fierce, brutal, ferocious backward.

From Quebec, Canada, USA, one moves to Turtle Island (Snyder), from the culture of Man to the culture of the tree (Mehta), from dominion of nature to gearing into the Wholeness of Life and Reality (Monckhoven).

If one reads through the following lines, one may find that they are also trying to tell us that the Reality (of Man, of the Cosmos, of the Divine) cannot be reduced to thinking, human or divine.

Robert VACHON

THE WAY: AN ECOLOGICAL WORLD-VIEW

by

Edward GOLDSMITH¹

IT MUST BE CLEAR to all thinking people that the policies adopted by governments just about everywhere to solve the problems that confront us today, such as poverty, unemployment, homelessness, disease, malnutrition, crime, drug-addiction and environmental degradation, do not work. If they did, then these problems would not be increasing as they all are, and at an unprecedented rate.

This being so, the only responsible—indeed the only honest—course of action, must be to step back to reconsider the basic assumptions on which these policies are based.

Such assumptions, we would find, are closely interrelated—so much so that together they constitute a very coherent world-view, one that in my book *The Way* I refer to as the world-view of modernism.

A world-view is the "conceptual framework" to use Michael Polanyi's expression, into which society's knowledge is organized, and in the light of which its individual members and the groupings into which they are organized—(families and communities in the case of a traditional society and corporations and state institutions in the case of an atomised industrial society)—and the society itself—seek to understand their relationship to the environment (in particular, the man-made environment in the latter case), i.e. to the world of which they are part and to the all-encompassing cosmos or the world of the gods and spirits.

It is on the basis of such a purely subjective world-view and that of its "constituent paradigms" that a society's behaviour pattern, and—in modern

1. Edward Goldsmith is the founder of the Journal *The Ecologist* and author of the book *The Way: an Ecological World-View* of which this is his synthesized statement. A revised and enlarged edition has just been published by Green Books, Foxhole, Dartington, Totnes, Devon TQ96EB (Tel.: 01803 863843) at £16.50 p.b., £28.50 cloth.

society—its political and economic policies are mediated. It is on the basis of them too that such policies are rationalized and hence legitimized. Thus Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* showed that it is by behaving in the most egoistic way possible that we maximize not only our own material interests but also those of society at large—a cheerful philosophy which rationalized the individualism and egoism that marked the breakdown of society during the industrial revolution. Darwinism was rightly described by Oswald Spengler as "the application of economics to biology," Darwin's "natural selection"; being but a biological version of Smith's "invisible hand" and serving, above all, to legitimize the Promethean enterprise of our modern society by making it appear to be a natural process.

To modify a world-view is very difficult, since it constitutes a highly coherent and self-consistent whole, and thereby enjoys great credibility regardless of whether or not it reflects a society's relationship with its environment with any sort of accuracy.

Its coherence is largely due to the fact that, like all organizations of information in the natural world (such as a genome or a mind), it exerts a determinant influence on the nature of its constituent parts. Thus each of the disciplines into which modern knowledge is divided depicts its subject matter in terms of a specific paradigm, one which slavishly reflects the world-view of modernism. Thus the living world, at every level of organization, is seen as made up of discreet particles that are individualistic, competitive, and geared only to maximizing their individual interests and their survival, without any regard for the interests and survival of the larger natural systems of which they are, in effect, but the differentiated parts, and whose very existence is often denied.

What also makes a world-view difficult to modify is that individuals and societies themselves have a psychological stake in maintaining the integrity of their world-view in the face of any new knowledge that might serve to discredit it. The American anthropologist A.F.C. Wallace refers to this as "the principle of the preservation of cognitive structure."

It can be shown that the same is true of professionals who seek to preserve that paradigm in terms of which they see their particular discipline, long after it appears, in the eyes of most sensible people, to have been totally discredited.

What is more, theories that do not conform with an established paradigm, and hence with the world-view as a whole, tend sooner or later to be moulded into that shape that enables them to do so. Thus, in the last sixty years, the behaviourists made psychology conform to the paradigm of science. The neo-Darwinians and, even more so, the sociobiologists did the same for theoretical biology. Modern sociology has also become mechanistic and reductionistic, and the development of the New Ecology in the 1940s and 1950s has given rise to what is in effect a Newtonian ecology, that, rather than provide the theoretical foundations for the environmental movement of today, as most environmentalists tend to believe, serves instead to rationalize and hence validate the very process of economic development or

progress that is the principal, if not the only, cause of the environmental degradation that it strives so ardently to combat.²

In this way our academic knowledge has been made, Procrustean-like, to conform to the paradigm of science, and hence to the world-view of modernism, stretched or shrunk to fit an atomized and mechanistic vision of the world in which people are no more than machines and their needs purely material and technological—precisely those that the state and the industrial system are capable of satisfying.

What is more, knowledge that cannot be moulded into the desired shape, however true and important it might be, is by the same token ruthlessly rejected. This disposes of all theories based on the assumption that the world is orderly and purposive rather than random, organized rather than atomized, co-operative rather than purely competitive, dynamic, creative and intelligent rather than passive and robot-like, self-regulating rather than managed by some external agent such as the State or the corporation, and tending to maintain its stability or homeostasis rather than geared to perpetual change in an undefined direction. It disposes, in fact, of any knowledge that might enable us to understand the true nature of the world we live in.

It follows that in terms of this aberrant world-view we can never correctly interpret the problems that threaten our survival, nor determine what must be the policies needed to bring to an end the destruction of the planet nor develop a non-destructive and fulfilling way of life. An ecological world-view in the light of which all this becomes possible must thereby be a most urgent requirement.

I have tried in my book *The Way an Ecological World-View* to state what must be the basic principles underlying it. These principles are all closely interrelated, forming an all-embracing and self-consistent model of our relationship with the world in which we live as well as an associated—explicit or implicit—set of instructions designed to lead those imbued with it to adopt the associated pattern of behaviour.

It was always clear to me that the inspiration for this world-view must come from the world-view of the earliest period when people everywhere really knew how to live in harmony with the natural world. I have often been criticized on this score. However, it seems to me highly presumptuous to postulate an ideal world-view, as it is to postulate an ideal society for which there is no precedent in the human experience on this planet, and whose biological, social and ecological viability has never been demonstrated. If Karl Marx made that mistake, so too do today's adepts of economic development or progress, who seek to create a man-made technological world without asking themselves whether we are capable of adapting to it or whether the ecosphere is capable of sustaining it for more than a few decades.

2. For an account of the way ecology has been perverted to make it conform to the paradigm of science see my book *The Way*, in particular chapter 4, 38, 39, 40, 51, 52 and 53. See also Donald Worster's excellent book *Nature's Economy*, Sierra Club, San Francisco, 1977.

What has struck me more recently is that the basic principles underlying the world-view of early vernacular societies were everywhere the same, as is emphasized by Mircea Eliade in his many books, and by the proponents of the Perennial Philosophy, such as Ananda Coomaraswamy, René Guénon, Titus Burckhardt, and others, and that these principles must also necessarily underlie a truly ecological world-view. The first of these principles is that the living world or ecosphere is the basic source of all benefits, hence of all wealth. The second is that the ecosphere³ will only dispense these benefits if we religiously preserve its critical order. From these two fundamental principles follows the third, which is that the overriding goal of an ecological society must be to preserve the critical order of the natural world or of the cosmos. I will not say very much about the first of these principles as it is implicit to the other two. I will deal briefly with the second principle though this is also implicit in the third, the only one I shall deal with in any great detail.

Order is a basic feature of the Gaian hierarchy, as traditional man fully understood. His own body, his home, his temple, his society, the natural world and the cosmos itself he saw as organized according to the same plan, governed by the same law, and hence as constituting a single organized whole.⁴

The word "cosmos" itself originally meant order. In many cosmologies, as Mircea Eliade notes, the cosmos came into being once God had succeeded in vanquishing a vast primordial monster or dragon that symbolized the original chaos. Often, the monster's body served as raw material out of which the cosmos was fashioned. Thus Marduk fashioned the cosmos out of the body of the marine monster Tiamat, and Yahveh built the cosmos out of the body of the primordial monster Rahab. However, so as to prevent the cosmos from reverting to the original chaos, that victory had to be re-enacted every year.⁵

3. The term "ecosphere" was coined by the American ecologist Lamont Cole. I shall take the "biosphere" to be the organization of living things, and the "ecosphere" to be the biosphere together with its geological substrate and its atmospheric environment. This is how James Lovelock uses the term biosphere, as opposed to Vernadsky and others. The word ecosphere corresponds to Lovelock's Gaia and the two will be used interchangeably.
4. Gaia, or the ecosphere, is seen to constitute a hierarchy of natural systems. Each natural system is part of a series of larger systems and is itself made up of smaller systems. Thus, a human being is part of a family, a community, an ecosystem and Gaia herself, and is in turn made up of tissues and organs, cells, molecules, etc. The hierarchical nature of the living world is stressed by the ecologist Eugene Odum, especially in his latest textbook *Basic Ecology*. For him ecology is largely concerned with the study of the upper end of the hierarchy, i.e. from the ecosystems upwards. He also defines it as "the study of the structure and function of nature" or of "Gaia." If the latter is hierarchically organized, then the subject matter of ecology can only be the Gaian hierarchy as a whole. Ecology then becomes a super-science—as it was seen in the early decades of this century by the leading ecologists of the time.
5. Eliade, Mircea, 1971, *The Myth of the Eternal Return, or Cosmos and History*, Oxford University Press, pp. 55–56.

Order is usually defined as the influence of the whole over the parts. Rupert Riedl sees it as "an expression of conformity to law."⁶ I prefer to define it "as an expression of the constraints that are imposed on the whole by the parts, which the latter must observe if they are to fulfil their homeotelic⁷ functions within the larger systems of which they are part, and thereby maintain their integrity and stability. That the world is orderly is evident. If it were not, we could not understand it. There could be no science of any kind, however we wished to define the term". To quote Rupert Riedl once more "A world without order would have no meaning. It would be neither recognizable nor conceivable."⁸

Evolution and its constituent life processes build up order. Individualistic systems become organized, differentiated, and hence specialized in the fulfilment of various functions. As this occurs, so competition yields to co-operation, so the incidence and severity of discontinuities is reduced, and so the systems become more stable. Indeed, order implies organization, differentiation, specialization, co-operation, and stability. *They are but different ways of looking at the same fundamental feature of the living world.* But order cannot increase indefinitely. There is an optimum degree of order at each level of organization of the Gaian hierarchy, for the natural systems that make up the Gaian hierarchy must, in different conditions, display a specific degree of order. Organisms must display a higher degree of order than do families, which in turn must be more orderly than the communities of which they are part, and which must in turn be more orderly than societies which in normal conditions tend to be loose organizations of families and communities. The ecosystems of which they are all part must also be more loosely organized and hence display a still lower degree of order. These differences must be respected, or those key natural systems would become incapable of fulfilling their respective homeotelic functions that they alone, at their particular level of organization, are capable of fulfilling.

The ecosphere, of course, exists in time as well as space. It is best seen as a spatio-temporal entity. The spatial aspect is but an abstraction, as is its temporal aspect. Ludwig von Bertalanffy sees structures as slow processes of long duration" and functions as quick processes of short duration.⁹ If we

6. Rupert Riedl's book *Order in Living Organisms*, John Wiley, New York, 1978, p. 1.
7. Homeotelic behaviour. From the Greek *homeo*, same and *telos* goal. A term coined by the author. The behaviour of natural systems is seen to be homeotelic if its goal is to maintain the critical order and hence the stability of the larger system, and indeed of the Gaian hierarchy. It is the basic thesis of *The Way* that such behaviour has prevailed at all levels of organization until recently. Homeotelic behaviour is also that which best serves the real interests of all natural systems, which can only be secured by maintaining the critical order of the whole of which they are but the differentiated parts, and which provide them with the environment to which they have been adapted by their evolution. This view is the very opposite of that entertained by Neo-Darwinians and sociobiologists. For them, there is no "selective advantage" in displaying any concern for the stability or integrity of the larger whole.
8. Riedl, Rupert, 1978 *Order in Living Organisms*, John Wiley, New York, p. 1.
9. von Bertalanffy, Ludwig, was co-founder of the General Systems theory, which is unfortunately no longer very much in fashion, though its main journal *The General*

accentuate the temporal aspect of a natural system and see it more as a process than as a structure, then a disordered or random process is one that can move in any direction. Its behaviour is unpredictable. As order builds up, however, the process becomes subject to the influence of the whole of which it is a part. Its range of choices becomes limited as it becomes a differentiated part of the larger ecospheric process committed to the achievement of a single overriding goal. Hence purposiveness is just another word for order or organization as applied to life processes. The two are inseparable.

Indeed, animals will eat and drink and reproduce because these processes are as much part of them as are the organs that assure these purposive functions. The same is true for families, communities, ecosystems and the ecosphere itself. As the biologist Colin Pittendrigh notes "organization without purpose is an absurdity."¹⁰

In terms of an ecological world-view the hierarchy of the ecosphere must be seen as displaying a single spatio-temporal order, and its structure and function must be governed by a single set of laws, whose generalities apply equally well to biological organisms, vernacular communities, societies, ecosystems and the Gaia herself. Vernacular man knew this. Thus Radcliffe Brown tells us that while for us the order of nature is one thing, and the social order is another, to the Australian (aborigine) they are part of a single order—as indeed they were, for all traditional peoples who were imbued with the chthonic world-view.

If the order of the living world, whether seen spatially or temporally, is not apparent to reductionist science, it is that unless one sees a natural system holistically within its correct field—as part of the hierarchy of larger systems in which it evolved, to which it is homeotelic and to whose influence it is subjected, one cannot see that it is orderly and hence purposive.

Critical Order

Equally important is the critical nature of the order displayed by the natural systems that make up the ecosphere. Thus, clearly the structure of an organism, like that of any other natural system, is critical: its various body fluids, for instance, must have the "normal" chemical and biological composition, or what would be the point of pharmacological tests? The basic features of a human community are also critical. However much it may differ in its details, it must be composed of extended families, and intermediary social groupings which link people together to form a cohesive unit of social behaviour capable of maintaining its homeostasis in the face of change.

Systems Yearbook is still published today. It seems to me that it is only in the light of this theory that one can develop a coherent organization of knowledge in terms of which one can understand the workings of the ecosphere as a whole—in other words, a true ecology.

10. Pittendrigh, Colin, 1958, "Adaptation, Natural Selection and Behaviour," in Roe, Anne, and Simpson, George Gaylord, Eds, *Evolution and Behaviour*, Yale University Press, New Haven, p. 394.

A cultural pattern must also display a critical order and cultural traits can only be understood in accordance with their functions within it. The suppression of vernacular customs and institutions because they appear undesirable, when judged by our particular standard of morality, can have fatal results on the culture involved, very much as the extraction of a key organ can result in the demise of an organism.

If societies have a critical order, so too must ecosystems. They must be made up of green plants that are capable, via photosynthesis, of mobilizing the energy of the sun, herbivores that can feed off the plants, predators that can feed off the herbivores, applying quantitative and qualitative controls on their populations, and decomposers that can break down biological material into its constituent parts to serve as the raw materials for the perpetuation of the whole cycle.

The ecosphere itself, the overall ecosystem, must for the same reason display a critical order. That the earth's atmosphere must do so at a chemical level is clearly noted by James Lovelock. Among other things, its carbon dioxide content is critical; if it were too low, the earth would be too cold, and if too high, its temperature would exceed that which most forms of life could support. Its oxygen content is also critical; if it were too low, then some species would not be able to breathe, while if it were too high, the earth's atmosphere would become so inflammable that a single spark could set off uncontrollable fires.

It must follow that adaptive changes occurring to any natural system are those that serve to maintain its critical order and hence its stability within the context of the critical order or stability of the whole Gaian hierarchy.

Vernacular man when imbued with a chthonic world-view fully realized this, so much so that his main preoccupation was to maintain the critical order of the cosmos, for he knew that it was by doing so that his welfare would be maximized. The corollary of this was that to violate the critical order of the cosmos could only lead to the most terrible calamities. Hence, the elaborate system of "taboos" or prohibitions that prevailed in all vernacular societies.

This all-pervading fear of disrupting the critical order of the cosmos is reflected in the taboos set up in all tribal societies against mixing things that are seen as belonging to different classes or provinces into which the cosmos is seen to be divided. This goes a long way towards explaining food taboos. Thus it is taboo to eat pork among the Hebrews, this is because the pig, as Mary Douglas notes, "is put into the class of abominable, unclean creatures."¹¹ along with water creatures that do not have fins and scales. They do not fall into natural cosmic categories either. Nor do air creatures that do not fly or hop on the earth, and do not have wings and two legs. To eat such creatures can only reduce a person's vital force and simultaneously threaten the critical order of the cosmos. Mixed marriages between people from naturally exogamous social groups are seen in the same light; they

-
11. Douglas, Mary, 1966, "Purity and Danger," Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Quoted by Hildyard, Nicholas, 1978, "There is more to Food than Eating," *The New Ecologist*, No. 5, September/October, pp. 166-168.

threaten the critical order of society and thereby that of the cosmos of which it is part.

Among the Igbo of Nigeria, according to Emefie Ikenga Metuh "deviations which disrupt the natural order are called *Aru*; literally, abominations." The word *Aru*, however, also means "crime against nature." Such crimes include a number of unnatural acts that defy normal behavioural categories, such as a man having sexual intercourse with his father's wife or with an animal. The birth of twins and a hen hatching but one chick also fall into this category. These taboo events are *Aru* because the Igbo believe "that they transgress the laws guiding the ontological order and will therefore bring disaster to the community."¹²

Unfortunately, economic progress cannot occur without disrupting the critical order of the natural world, so, not surprisingly, as the world-view of modernism and the associated paradigm of science slowly developed to rationalize and hence validate this anti-evolutionary enterprise, the idea that the world was orderly and that this order was critical was slowly abandoned. Instead the ecosphere was increasingly seen as random, in particular its temporal aspect—and also as highly malleable. Thus for Descartes, living things in general—and for John Locke, the human mind itself—are but pieces of wax: "flexible, malleable, ours to shape as we please" as Passmore¹³ puts it. Most modern historians and sociologists also see society in this way. H.A.L. Fisher, for instance, tells us that man does not have a nature, only a history, rationalizing in this way his contention that history is but a series of random and unconnected events. Edward O. Wilson also talks of the "extreme plasticity of social behaviour," implying that we can adapt to living in just about any social and environmental conditions, including of course those that economic development or progress impose upon us.

When ecology developed, partly as a reaction against the reductionist and mechanistic paradigm of science,¹⁴ it sought to re-establish the essential notion that the ecosphere is organized or orderly, and that this order is critical. This notion was largely embodied in the principle of the "balance of nature," which was then seen as a basic principle of ecology. Thus S.A. Forbes saw "an ideal balance of nature as one promotive of the highest good of all the species."¹⁵ W.C. Allee and the other principal members of the Chicago school of ecology in the 1940s also accepted the principle of the balance of nature, according to which "the community maintains a certain balance, establishes a biotic order, and has a certain unity paralleling the dynamic equilibrium and organization of other living systems."¹⁶

12. Metuh, Emefie Ikenga, 1981, *God and Man in African Religion*, Geoffrey Chapman, London, p. 57.

13. Passmore, John, 1978, *Science and its Critics*, Duckworth, London, pp. 108–109.

14. I deal with the nature of early academic ecology, in *The Way* in particular in chapters 1 and 4.

15. Forbes, S. A., 1880, "On Some Interactions of Organisms," *Bulletin of the Illinois State Laboratory of Natural History*, I., pp. 11–18.

16. Allee, W. C., Emerson, W.S.W.A., Park, O., Park, T., Schmidt, K. P., 1949, *Principles of Animal Ecology*, Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders, pp. 7–8.

In the 1930s and 40s however, ecology was systematically perverted so as to make it conform to the paradigm of science and hence to rationalize economic development or progress, and ecologists sought to discredit the concept of the balance of nature in the same way as they questioned the established ecological principles: that ecological succession leads to a climax, that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, and that complexity gives rise to stability.

Stability

A natural system at any level of organization that is capable of maintaining the basic features of its critical order in the face of internal or external challenges, is referred to as "stable." A stable system is not thereby geared towards change but towards the avoidance of change. Change occurs not because it is desirable *per se*, but because in certain conditions, it is necessary, as a means of preventing larger and more disruptive changes. It follows that stability is not the same as immobility. An immobile system is not stable because it is not capable of adapting to environmental challenges, and its order is thereby vulnerable to large-scale disruption.

Needless to say, mainstream science as well as mainstream ecology accentuate change—perpetual change—so as to make it appear that economic development or progress is a natural process. Needless to say, the opposite is true. Stability has been the most striking feature of the world of living things.

The great biologists C.H. Waddington and Jacques Monod, among others, were impressed by the constancy of living things, as was the Cambridge ethologist W.H. Thorpe, who fully realized that the constancy of certain biological forms is more difficult to explain "than it is to account for their evolution." He notes for instance that

"The Wagtail (*Motacilla*) there in the garden was here before the Himalayas were lifted up! This constancy is so extraordinary, that it seems to demand a special mechanism to account not for the evolution but for the fixity of some groups."¹⁷

Paul Weiss also realized this. There is so great a preoccupation with change, he noted, that we have totally neglected the less glamorous but more *fundamental constancy* of the living world. "In our educational system," he writes, "we are acting very much like newspaper editors, who highlight the spectacular and neglect the far more constant phenomena." Thus we accentuate evolution, but we do not impress on our children that the most fundamental features of all living things are exactly the same and "have remained the same from the simplest living system that we know, all the way up to man." They should all be told that

"all the biochemical mechanisms of macromolecular synthesis, energy utilization, respiration, storage, proliferation, cell division, membrane structure and function, contractility, excitabil-

17. Thorpe, W. H., in Koestler, Arthur and Smythies, J. R., eds., 1972, *Beyond Reductionism*, Hutchinson, London, p. 393.

ity, fibre-formation, pigmentation, and so forth, have all remained unaltered in essence through the ages."¹⁸

What is true of biological evolution is true of social evolution as well.¹⁹ The main feature of vernacular societies, within which man has spent well over ninety per cent of his experience on this planet, has been their stability. This is particularly true of hunter-gatherer societies. During the old stone age, for instance, flint-chipping techniques did not change for some 200,000 years, nor did the lifestyle of Australian Aborigines for at least 30,000 years. "The Australian ethos" writes the anthropologist, W.E.H. Stanner

"appears to be continuity, constancy, balance, symmetry, regularity. The value given to continuity is so high that they are not simply a people 'without history.' They are a people who have been able, in some sense, to 'defeat' history, to become a-historical in mood, outlook and life."²⁰

It is probable that the same could be said of all hunter-gatherer societies and tribal societies in general when living in the environment to which they have been adapted by their social evolution.

Homeostasis

Biological organisms are self-regulating cybernetic systems capable by their own efforts of maintaining their stability in the face of internal and external challenges—a quality referred to as "homeostasis." The French physiologist Claude Bernard—one of the first scientists to note the capacity of living cells to maintain their constancy in the face of change considered that it was the goal of all living things to do so. The term was later coined by the physiologist Walter Cannon in his seminal book "The Wisdom of the Body." He was struck by the fact that organisms

"composed of material which is characterized by the utmost inconstancy and unsteadiness, have somehow learned the method of maintaining constancy and keeping steady in the presence of conditions which might reasonably be expected to prove profoundly disturbing."²¹

An obvious example is the ability of mammals to maintain the constancy of their body temperature in spite of external changes.

Interestingly enough, Cannon considered that the mechanisms he found in biological organisms may be operative in other natural systems which could also explain their constancy. A comparative study, he suggests, might show that every complex organization must be capable of "more or less ef-

18. Weiss, Paul, in Koestler and Smythies, *ibid*, p. 46.

19. *Ibid*, p. 46.

20. Stanner, W. E. H., in Hammond, Peter Boyd, ed., 1971, *An Introduction to Cultural and Social Anthropology*, Macmillan and Collier Macmillan, London, pp. 289–290.

21. Cannon, Walter, 1932, *The Wisdom of the Body*, Norton, New York, p. 22.

fective self-righting adjustments in order to prevent a check on its functions, or rapid disintegration of its parts, when it is subjected to stress."²²

Eugene Odum notes how ecosystems are endowed with the necessary mechanisms for self-regulation and hence homeostasis.

"Besides energy flows and material cycles, ecosystems are rich in information networks comprising physical and chemical communication flows that connect all parts and steer or regulate the system as a whole. Accordingly, ecosystems can be considered cybernetic in nature, but control functions are internal and diffuse rather than external and specified as in human-engineered cybernetic devices."²³

Roy Rappaport was probably one of the first anthropologists to show that tribal societies are capable of such behaviour. In his seminal book *Pigs for the Ancestors*, he interpreted the ritual cycle of a small social group in New Guinea in cybernetic terms, showing it to be above all a means of controlling its impact on its natural environment so as to assure its sustainability or stability.²⁴ Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, quite independently of Rappaport, interpreted the cultural pattern of the Tukano Indians of Colombia in much the same way. Thomas Harding also sees tribal societies as capable of homeostatic behaviour and thereby of maintaining their stability. "When acted upon by external forces" he writes "a culture will, if necessary, undergo specific changes only to the extent of, and with the effect of preserving unchanged its fundamental structure and character."²⁵

James Lovelock, in his seminal book *Gaia: a New Look at Life on Earth*, shows that Gaia herself displays homeostasis. He was also struck by the extraordinary stability of the earth's relationship with its atmospheric environment. As Sagan and Margulis note, it must have been maintained very much as it is now at least "since the time that air-breathing animals have been living in forests"—or for about 300 million years. Fossil records show that the climate has changed very little since life first appeared on earth about 3500 million years ago. Yet the output of heat from the sun, the surface properties of the earth, and the composition of the atmosphere have almost certainly varied greatly over the same period.²⁶

What is missing however from the whole discussion of homeostasis is the realization that natural systems are integral parts of the Gaian hierarchy, and that a system cannot maintain its homeostasis and hence its stability unless the hierarchy of natural systems of which it is part is also capable of

22. Cannon, Walter, *ibid*, p. 25.

23. Odum, Eugene P., 1983, *Basic Ecology*, Saunders College Publishing, Philadelphia, p. 46.

24. Rappaport, Roy A., 1967, *Pigs for the Ancestors*, Yale University Press, New Haven, p. 4.

25. Harding, Thomas G., 1960, "Adaptation and Stability" in Sahlins and Elman, eds., *Evolution and Culture*, p. 54.

26. Sagan, Dorion, and Margulis, Lynn, 1983, "The Gaian perspective of ecology," *The Ecologist*, Vol. 13, No. 5, pp. 160–167.

doing so. There is no stable economy, for instance, within an unstable society, no stable society within an unstable ecosystem, and no stable anything when the ecosystem itself is being destabilized, as is happening today. Hence for a natural system to maintain its homeostasis, its behaviour must be homeotelic to the Gaian hierarchy, which means subordinating all other considerations to that of maintaining the critical order or stability of the ecosystem.

Homeorhesis

In spite of the basic tendency in nature towards relative immobility, living things are changing dynamically all the time. Thus a fertilized egg develops into a foetus, a child into an adult, a pioneer ecosystem into a climax ecosystem and unicellular organisms (sometimes) into multicellular organisms. How does one reconcile this tendency towards change with the thesis of overall stability?

From the evolutionary point of view these processes of change do not violate the principle of stability so long as one sees them holistically. Individual generations or ontogenies can be regarded as feelers enabling the long-term evolutionary process—the Gaian process—to monitor its interactions with and thereby permit its adaptation to its spatio-temporal environment.²⁷

Seen cybernetically, ontogenetic development occurs along a closely integrated constellation of set-paths which Waddington refers to as "chreods" (from the Greek root *chre* it is necessary, and *odos* a route or path). The total constellation of chreods along which a system develops constitutes what Waddington refers to as the "epigenetic landscape"—the developmental path the system is constrained to follow by virtue of the instructions with which it is endowed and the homearchic²⁸ constraints imposed upon it by the larger systems of which it is part. A developing system thereby displays "a certain

27. This statement will sound very odd to those who are accustomed to thinking of evolution as a process that affects the individual organism, (or—in statistical terms—a large number of individual organisms), and that changes to the natural world as a whole can be understood in terms of the changes occurring to these individual organisms. Needless to say, this thesis is untenable if the natural world is an organized whole of which the individual organisms are but the differentiated parts. In other words, if the Gaian thesis is correct, the unit of evolution cannot be the individual but Gaia herself. Since Gaia is a spatio-temporal entity, Gaia, in a sense, is evolution. However, I prefer to see evolution (less accurately) as the "Gaian process." This issue is dealt with in *The Way*, chapter 21.

28. I use the term homearchy (from the Greek *homeo*, same, and *archos* to rule) to refer to the control of differentiated natural systems by the hierarchy of larger systems of which they are part. For instance, the control (much of which is likely to be internalized) of people by their families, communities and ecosystems. I also use the term *heterarchy* (from the Greek *hetero*, different and *archos* to rule) to refer to the control of natural systems by agents that are external to the Gaian hierarchy, such as corporations and state institutions, since the latter have a totally different agenda, this can only give rise to behaviour that is heterotelic to Gaia.

lack of flexibility"; its development has "a strong tendency to proceed to some definite end-point."

This ability has been noticed by many students of development, among them Driesch who noted the remarkable "equipotentiality" of the sea-urchin embryo. He and others also pointed to the ability of a fertilized egg to develop into a normal embryo even after undergoing severe amputations. This goal-seeking behaviour of a developing embryo remains inexplicable in terms of mechanistic science.

The tendency of a developing system to maintain itself on its pre-set path along its constellation of chreods and to correct any disturbances that might divert it from its path, Waddington refers to as "homeorhesis" (from the Greek *homeo*—same and *rheis*—flow). Homeorhesis is the principle of homeostasis applied to a predetermined path or trajectory rather than to a fixed point in space-time.²⁹ The ecologist G.H. Orians refers to it as "trajectory stability," which he defines as "the property of a system to move towards some final end point or zone despite differences in starting points."³⁰

Of course, this process is subject to homearchic control by the Gaian hierarchy. It is Gaian homeostasis which homeorhetic systems seek to achieve—since this is a prerequisite of their own stability. In this essay I shall seek to show that all life processes are homeorhetic regardless of the level of organization at which they occur. It is with those occurring at the level of a vernacular society that I shall be particularly concerned with.

Homeotely

As we have seen, natural systems, as differentiated parts of the Gaian hierarchy, share the common goal of maintaining its critical order or stability, for only in this way can they maintain *their own critical order and hence their own stability*. It is significant that there is no word in the English language that makes explicit the essential purposive and whole-maintaining character of life processes, so I have had to coin a new word—homeotely, from the Greek *homeo* (same) and *telos* (goal).

The principle of homeotely must clearly apply to all natural systems. Thus von Bertalanffy accentuates the "whole-maintaining character" of life processes at the level of the biological organism:

"The most convinced representative of an ateleological point of view must admit that actually an enormous preponderance of vital processes and mechanisms have a whole-maintaining character; were this not so the organism could not exist at all. But if this is so, then the establishment of the significance of

29. Waddington, C. H., 1975, *The Evolution of an Evolutionist*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, pp. 221–223.

30. Orians, G. H., 1975, "Diversity, stability and maturity in natural ecosystems," in van Dobben, W. H., and Lowe-McConnell, R., eds., *Unifying Concepts in Ecology*, Funk, The Hague, pp. 139–150.

the processes for the life of the organism is a necessary branch of investigation."³¹

He cites E. Ungerer as being so impressed by the "whole-maintaining" function of life processes that he decided to replace the biological "consideration of purpose" with that of "wholeness."³²

The same principle applies to a community and a society. At least some anthropologists of the "functional" school saw cultural behaviour as ensuring the integrity and stability of social systems. For Radcliffe-Brown the function of a behavioural trait is the contribution it makes "to the total activity of which it is part," while "the function of a particular social usage is the contribution it makes to *the total social life as a functioning unit of the total social system*"³³

It must be clear that the teleological nature of life processes only becomes apparent when one sees them holistically in terms of their relationship with the spatio-temporal whole of which they are part. Mainstream scientists, who insist on looking at them in isolation from the whole, continue to insist that they are random, goalless and self-serving. This could not be better illustrated than by the preposterous writings of Professor Richard Dawkins at Oxford University.

The coordination of homeotelic processes is particularly impressive. Radcliffe-Brown saw the essential "functional unity" of a society as

"a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, i.e. *without producing persistent conflicts which could neither be resolved nor regulated.*"

He notes that this view of society is in direct conflict with the view that culture is no more than a collection of "shreds and patches" for which there are "no discoverable significant social laws."³⁴ Without the coordination required to prevent "persistent conflicts," life processes, however, could not conceivably achieve their common goal of maintaining the critical order of the Gaian hierarchy.

As I have already mentioned, living things behave homeotelically towards the Gaian hierarchy because it is the only way of maintaining its integrity and stability and hence their own integrity and stability. This is clear if one realizes that they are but the differentiated parts of such systems in isolation from which they have no meaning, cannot survive or, in the case of a loosely integrated system, can survive only imperfectly and precariously. As Eugene Odum writes,

31. von Bertalanffy, Ludwig, 1962, *Modern Theories of Development: An Introduction to Theoretical Biology* trans. Woodger, J. H., Harper Torchbook, New York, p. 123.

32. Ungerer, E., 1930, "Der Aufbau des naturwissens" *Pedagogische Hochschule ii*, quoted by von Bertalanffy, 1962, *Modern Theories of Development*, p. 12.

33. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 1965, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, Cohen and West, London, p. 181. A general discussion of this issue will be found on pp. 178-187.

34. *Ibid*, p. 186.

"because each level in the biosystem's spectrum is integrated or interdependent with other levels, there can be no sharp lines or breaks in a functional sense, not even between organism and population. The individual organisms, for example, cannot survive for long without its population, any more than the organ would be able to survive for long as a self-perpetuating unit without its organism."³⁵

From another perspective, they must behave homeotelically to the hierarchy of larger systems of which they are part, because the latter provides them with their "field," i.e. the environment to which they have been adapted by their evolution and upbringing and which, as Stephen Boyden points out, must best satisfy their most fundamental needs.³⁶ For these reasons, one can go so far as to say that *in a stable biosphere, behaviour that satisfies the requirements of the whole must also be that which best satisfies the requirements of its differentiated (as opposed to random) parts*. I refer to this as "the principle of hierarchical mutualism."

Of course, with the increasing social and ecological disintegration that occurs under the impact of economic development or progress, behaviour ceases to be homeotelic; it becomes misdirected, and though it may continue to serve, superficially at least, some of the interests of the parts, it no longer serves those of the whole Gaian hierarchy. I refer to such behaviour as heterotelic (from the Greek, *hetero*, different, and *telos*, goal)

I think we can say that just about all the policies adopted in our modern industrial society fall into this category. All are technological and institutional, and though some may seem superficially to serve the interests of individual people, they are designed above all to serve those of the state and the corporations, without any regard whatsoever for their invariably destructive effects on society, the natural world and the ecosphere as a whole.

The critical distinction between homeotelic and heterotelic behaviour, or between normal and abnormal behaviour, is foreign to the paradigm of science. If behaviour is looked at reductionistically, there is no way in which its purposive and "whole maintaining" function can be established, and hence no way of distinguishing between behaviour that serves to maintain the critical order of the ecosphere and that on the contrary that serves to disrupt it. Reductionist science is thus above all an instrument of scientific obscurantism and mystification—among other things, it prevents people from understanding the true nature of the conflict between their interests and those of their political and industrial leaders.

35. Odum, Eugene P., 1983, *Basic Ecology* Saunders College Publishing, Philadelphia, p. 5.

36. Stephen Boyden is a biologist at the Australian National University. He deals with this thesis in an article published in *The Ecologist*, 1973, Volume 3, No. 8, entitled "Evolution and Health." I have devoted a number of chapters in *The Way* to it and to its various ramifications. See chapters 46, 47, 48 and 49.

Education

Education in a normal vernacular society is socialization and ecologization (if such a word exists) i.e. a process whereby a child born with a potential for becoming a member of almost any family, community, society, or ecosystem, learns to become a member of a specific family community, society and ecosystem. From the point of view of the society it provides the means of renewing itself, or progressively reproducing itself by integrating successive generations into its critical spatio-temporal structure.

A functionally similar process occurs at all levels of organization. Thus a cell, immediately after division, is endowed with the potential for becoming a member of a large number of possible tissues or organs, and slowly learns to fulfil its specialized functions within that tissue or organ in which it is situated. The process of cell development or differentiation is also the means whereby the organ or tissue, and indeed the organism itself, can reconcile the necessarily short life-span of its constituent cells with its overall goal of maintaining its stability and that of the biospheric hierarchy of which it is part.

Not surprisingly, the educational process is governed by precisely the same general laws that govern the differentiation of a cell, the development of an embryo and indeed all other homeorhetic life processes at different levels of organization. One such law is that behaviour proceeds from the general to the particular. It is during the earlier phases that the generalities of a child's behaviour pattern will be determined. It is these earlier stages which are the most important and that is why the mother is the most important educator and the quality of the family environment the most significant factor in determining a child's character and capabilities. Another complementary law is that behavioural processes are sequential, their various stages occurring in a specific order. If one is left out, it must follow then the subsequent ones will either not be able to occur at all, or will occur at best imperfectly. Thus what a child learns during its formal institutionalized education cannot make up for any deficiency in the earlier phases of its upbringing. This is the conclusion that most serious studies have revealed. J.S. Coleman for instance, whose massive study led him to examine the career of 600,000 children, 6,000 teachers and 4,000 schools, reported in 1966 "that family background differences account for much more variation in achievement than do school differences."³⁷

As the educational function has been usurped by state institutions and increasingly today by corporations, it has been disembedded from the social process and ceases thereby to serve its normal social and ecological functions. Instead children are imbued with the world-view of modernism which must necessarily lead them to adopt a heterotelic way of life, disrupting rather than preserving what remains of the critical order of the ecosphere.

37. Coleman, J. S., 1968, *The Adolescent Society*, The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, p. 103.

Settlements

The structure of the settlements of vernacular man reflected above all that of the societies whose physical infrastructure they provided. The basic social unit was undoubtedly the extended family and it is this that must first of all be accommodated, but the settlements must also accommodate the lineage group and the community. Each of these social groupings, moreover, must have the element of privacy required to maintain its identity and integrity, which is essential to maintain the critical order of the ecosphere.

In an Australian Aboriginal encampment, for instance, we find that each family has its own space—the area that the family sweeps several times a day. This place is protected by a windbreak (*wiltja*) and at the edge of it there is a fire. The family spaces are grouped around a larger central space. In the darkness of the night they cannot see each other and thereby have the privacy they require, further enhanced by the custom that once it is dark people do not leave their family space—for fear of malignant spirits that lurk around it.³⁸

The cities of the Yoruba of Western Nigeria are also divided into areas inhabited by different extended families, which are further organized into neighbourhoods inhabited by closely related families. Those inhabiting adjoining areas are also related, although less closely. The traditional city is thus a hierarchical system of houses, compounds, neighbourhoods and clusters of neighbourhoods of related people: these are closely built and larger spaces separate less closely related groups. In this way the settlement pattern reflects the society's social structure.

Conversely, a number of anthropological studies have noted the socially disastrous consequences of modernizing the settlements of stable societies to satisfy market requirements. Jaulin has shown how such changes led to the disintegration of the society of the Motilone Indians. Claude Lévi Strauss has also described the same process as it affected the Bori Indians of Brazil.

However, to accommodate critical social structures is not enough—a settlement must be sanctified if it is to be preserved. Among other things this means that it must be made to reflect, in the eyes of its members, the whole structure of the cosmos. Thus vernacular man could not consider living in a house, village or city, that had not been sanctified and hence ritually integrated into the cosmic hierarchy. Thus before a wild and uninhabited area could be inhabited, sacred rites had to be performed so as to "cosmicize" it. Ananda Coomaraswamy tells us that in the Rig Veda, the word *vima*, meaning to "measure out" or to "lay out," is used to refer to "the bringing into being of inhabitable space," or the laying out of "abodes of cosmic order."³⁹

38. Rappaport, Amos, 1978, "Culture and environment," *Ecologist Quarterly*, No. 4, Winter, p. 270.

39. Coomaraswamy, Ananda, 1983, *Symbolism in Indian Architecture*, The Historical Research Documentation Centre, Jaipur, p. 8.

To build a new village or city meant first building a holy house or temple, on the cosmic model. In this way, the settlement that surrounded it was integrated into the cosmic hierarchy. The traditional ceremony performed for that purpose was, as Eliade puts it, a re-enactment of the original act of creation, or cosmogenesis. Thus when Romulus founded Rome, he dug a small ditch in the form of a circle. He threw into it some sacred earth that he brought with him from the town where his ancestors were buried, and each of his companions did likewise. In this way, Rome remained *terra patrum*. The ditch was always known as *mundus*, which apparently referred to the place the *manes* or ancestors lived, and which also meant the world or cosmos.⁴⁰

Believing that he, his artefacts and his settlements were integral parts of the cosmic hierarchy, chthonic man saw them all as designed on the same basic plan. According to Fred Eiseman, in Bali

"man is a tiny part of the overall Hindu-Balinese universe but he contains its structure in microcosm. Man's body has three parts—head, body and feet—just as the universe, the macrocosm, has three parts; the upper world of God and heaven, the middle world of man, and the underworld. Man is a kind of scale model of the universe, with exactly the same structure—as is the island of Bali and each village, temple, house, compound, building and occupant of it."⁴¹

By seeing his body, his house and his settlement as reflecting the same critical order, which is also that of his society, of the natural world and of the cosmos itself, it becomes clear to vernacular man that his life is subject to the same single law that governs the cosmic hierarchy, and that he is a participant in the great Gaian enterprise, whose goal is to maintain the critical order of the cosmos.

Needless to say, during the industrial age, those who have planned and built our cities have almost totally ignored such considerations. Over the last fifty years particularly, our settlements have been designed almost exclusively with purely economic and utilitarian ends in view, and the results, as we all know, have been catastrophic.

Economics

I like George Dalton's view of economics as dealing with the provision of material goods to satisfy biological and social needs. This is what Karl Polanyi refers to as the "substantive" use of the term economics as opposed to the "formal" use. I propose a still more general use of the term "economics" to refer to the study of how resources are distributed within a natural system. In this way we could extend the use of the term to include the economics of biological organisms, ecosystems, vernacular societies and

40. This whole issue is described in great detail by Mircea Eliade in *The Myth of the Eternal Return, or Cosmos and History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1971.

41. Eiseman, Fred, 1989, *Bali: Sekala and Niskala*, Vol. 1, ed. David Pickell, Pickell-Periplus, Berkeley, p. 5.

the ecosphere itself. Clearly all require resources of various sorts such as nutrients to ensure their sustenance and hence to preserve their critical order or stability. In addition, if we accept the thesis of von Bertalanffy's General Systems Theory, we may also suppose that the same fundamental laws govern the distributions of resources in all natural systems regardless of their level of organization.

The most fundamental of such laws—and this must be the basic law of a realistic Economics—is that resources must be distributed so as to maintain the integrity and stability of the system within which they are distributed, which also means helping to maintain the integrity and stability of the Gaian hierarchy of which the system is part. This is clear at the level of a biological organism. Thus, oxygen is transported via the red corpuscles to all parts of the body in accordance with the latter's requirements; so are the various nutrients that the body requires. The principle becomes even clearer when scarcity occurs. In such conditions, a natural system is perfectly capable of setting up its own very effective rationing system, and one that clearly reflects its priorities. Nutrients are provided to the parts in accordance with the importance of their contribution to the preservation and hence the stability of the living whole.

Thus in cold weather, as Ralph Gerard notes, a rationing system becomes operative in preserving the necessary temperature of the critical parts of the body. To begin with, there is a reduction in the blood flow to the surface of the skin, reducing radiation and conduction. This may proceed so far that the skin is frozen and dies, the subordinate unit sacrificed "for the protection of the larger unit."⁴² Such behaviour is an essential part of an organism's homeostatic mechanisms.

That resources are distributed in a vernacular society (as in all stable natural systems) in such a way as to assure the integrity and stability of the Gaian hierarchy, rather than to maximize economic development or GNP in accordance with modern economics, has many implications.

To begin with it means that modern economics, which is entirely based on the economic behaviour of modern heterotelic societies, simply does not apply to the behaviour of vernacular societies any more than it does to that of any other stable natural systems.

This is the thesis of the economic historian Karl Polanyi in his seminal book *"The Great Transformation"* (1944), much to the discomfiture of the economics community. He noted that in the vernacular world, *homo economicus* is conspicuous by his absence, and economic activities are largely conducted to satisfy social rather than commercial goals. In the language of Karl Polanyi they were "embedded" or "submerged" in social relationships. This means that such an economy was under social control, and thereby designed to satisfy the social requirements and hence maintain the society's integrity and stability. Once social relations actually become embedded in

42. Gerard, Ralph, in Whyte, Lancelot Law, Wilson, Albert G., Wilson, Donna eds., 1969, "Hierarchical Structures (Proceedings of the symposium held Nov. 18–19, 1968 at Douglas Advanced Research Laboratories, Huntington Beach, Calif.), American Elsevier, New York, p. 224.

the economic system, as is the case today, then the latter ceases to be under control, becoming random to the society and to the ecosphere and disrupting their critical order.

How the economy was once embedded in social relationships is clear. Vernacular families were organized into extended families and small communities that were often loosely organized to form larger social groupings. However, it was at the level of the family and the community that most social and economic functions were fulfilled. It was at those levels that the children were brought up and educated, the old and the sick cared for, the rituals and ceremonies organized and conducted and law and order maintained, (the latter via the force of public opinion that faithfully reflected the society's traditional values). It was also at the levels of the family and the community that the functions of government itself were carried out, largely by the council of elders, sometimes by a chief or village headman, but almost always by people, who were integral parts of the community and thereby imbued with its cultural pattern and traditional values. It was also, at the level of the family and the community that what we regard today as the economic activities were fulfilled, i.e. that the food and artifacts were produced and distributed.

Economic functions fulfilled in this way occur without any external inducements—no money needs to change hands. Thus a mother looks after her children, because by doing so she is satisfying her own psychological needs, but by the same token because she is assuring the integrity and stability of her family, hence of the community of which it is part. Whether she is doing this consciously or not is totally irrelevant to the argument. We are in any case largely unconscious of our true motivations and the reasons we give to explain them tend to be but pure rationalizations, as is generally accepted. Members of cohesive vernacular communities tended to behave homeotelically towards their community for the same reasons, thereby contributing in the same manner towards maintaining the stability and integrity of the whole Gaian hierarchy.

In such a society, as Sahlins notes, a man does not act as a purely economic animal. "He produces in his capacity as a social person, as husband and father, brother and lineage mate, member of a clan and village." He works as an integral member of these social groups, as a "whole man."⁴³

This means that the modern concept of work used in modern economics, simply does not apply to people living in such a society. Not surprisingly there is no word for it in their vocabularies. As Mungo Park wrote towards the end of the eighteenth century "paid service is unknown to the negro, indeed, the African language ignores the word."⁴⁴ Jean Liedloff tells us that though the Yequana Indians of Venezuela, with whom she lived for two and

43. Sahlins, Marshall, "Tribal economics" in Dalton, George, ed. 1971, *Economic Development and Social Change, The Modernization of Village Communities*, the Natural History Press, New York, pp. 43–61.

44. Park, Mungo, 1984 (original edition 1799), *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, Folio Society, London, p. 154.

a half years, did have a word for work—*tarabajo*, it obviously came from the Spanish word *trabajo*, pointing to its relatively recent origin.⁴⁵

If primitive economic behaviour is largely an aspect of kinship behaviour, as Sahlins puts it, then it must be "organized by means completely different from capitalistic production and market transaction,"⁴⁶ and also, one might add, from socialist production and distribution via a state bureaucracy.

Polanyi sees the distribution of food and other products in a vernacular society as governed by two basic principles; reciprocity and redistribution.⁴⁷ When a hunter kills a game animal he will not sell it or even store it for a rainy day; instead, he will give a feast. In a sense this will provide him with all the advantages he could have derived from selling or storing it, because he knows that his hospitality will one day be reciprocated. At the same time, it contributes, as does reciprocity, to social cohesion. It also prevents the accumulation of goods that might otherwise be translated into capital leading to the development of large-scale economic enterprises that are *no longer subject to effective social control*, and also to the development of the market with the corresponding reorganization of the society and of its natural environment to satisfy its exigencies.

Economic behaviour in a stable society serves, in other words, to fulfil essential social and ecological functions. Malinowski came to this conclusion after his exhaustive study of the Trobriand Islanders. He regarded their elaborate system of reciprocity and redistribution as "one of the main instruments of social organization, of the power of the chief, of the bonds of kinship and of relationship in law."⁴⁸

Technology

In a vernacular society, technology is also "embedded" in social relations—in other words, it is under social and hence ecological and Gaian control. The technology used by a vernacular society in the production of its artefacts or in the cultivation of its fields is not that which maximizes productivity, but that which best suits the strategies that the society exploits for achieving its goal of maintaining its homeostasis and hence the homeostasis of the ecosphere itself. This technology is also rationalized and legitimized by its mythology.

All economic activities in vernacular society are highly ritualized. Every stage in an economic activity is marked by a ceremony that endows it with a cosmic meaning enabling it to contribute to maintaining that wider critical order on which the survival of every society depends. That this was the case among the ancient Greeks is made clear by Hesiod in his *Works and Days*.

45. Personal communication to the author.

46. Sahlins, Marshall, *op. cit.* pp. 43–61.

47. Polanyi, Karl, 1957, (original edition 1944), *The Great Transformation*, Beacon Press, Boston, p. 46.

48. Malinowski, Bronislaw, 1937, "Anthropology as the basis of social science," in Cattel, Cohen and Travers, eds., *Human Affairs: Essays on the Application of Science to the Study of Society*, Macmillan, London, p. 232.

The art of agriculture, in order to be effective, he tells us, must above all be in keeping with the *Nomos*, or the traditional law, and hence with nature's course. As Cornford puts it, "Man must keep straight upon the path of custom (*Nomos*) or right (*Dike*) or else the answering processes of natural life would likewise leave the track."⁴⁹

Thus the technology of vernacular man was not designed to dominate or transform the environment, but rather to enable him to live with it. Reichel-Dolmatoff notes how this is true of the Tukano Indians of Colombia. They have

"little interest in new knowledge that might be used for exploring the environment more effectively, and there is little concern for maximizing short-term gains or for obtaining more food or raw materials than are actually needed. But there is always a great deal of interest in accumulating more factual knowledge about biological reality and, above all, *about knowing what the physical world requires from man*. This knowledge, the Indians believe, is essential for survival because man must bring himself into conformity with nature if he wants to exist as part of nature's unity, and must fit his demands to nature's availabilities."⁵⁰

He notes how highly developed is the Indian's knowledge of ecology and animal behaviour. "Such phenomena as parasitism, symbiosis, commensalism and other relationships between co-occurring species have been well observed by them and are pointed out as possible methods of adaptation." They are also well aware of what would be the consequences for them of violating basic ecological laws. Thus their mythology describes how various animal species have been punished and occasionally made extinct

"for not obeying certain prescribed rules of adaptive significance. Thus, gluttony, improvidence, aggressiveness and all forms of over-indulgence are punished by the superior forces to serve as examples not only to the animal community, but also to human society. Animals, then, are metaphors for survival. By analysing animal behaviour the Indians try to discover an order in the physical world, *a world-order to which human activities can then be adjusted*."⁵¹

Robert Fernea, who describes the traditional irrigation system of the El Shabana tribe of Mesopotamia, accentuates its sustainability and contrasts this with the non-sustainability of modern irrigation methods. He believes that all the ancient tribal societies who once practised irrigated agriculture in Mesopotamia achieved a "congruence of fit" between their methods of culti-

49. Cornford, F. M., 1957, *From Religion to Philosophy*, Harper Brothers, New York, p. 167.

50. Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo, 1977, "Cosmology as ecological analysis: a view from the rainforest," *The Ecologist*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 4-11.

51. *Ibid*, pp. 4-11.

vation, their land-tenure systems and "the nature of land, water and climate" which modern society cannot begin to emulate.⁵²

It is among other things because vernacular society *adapted its technology to its environment* that it was sustainable, which modern industrial society, *by seeking, on the contrary, to adapt its environment to its technology*, cannot conceivably be.

The Way

Like the developing embryo in the womb, each life process must follow an appointed constellation of chreods or path, or Way, if it is to achieve its end-state and thereby contribute to maintaining the critical order of the cosmos. Thus one can talk—as does Rupert Sheldrake—of "behavioural chreods" and also of "cultural chreods," in that a society, by means of its specific cultural pattern, is capable of maintaining itself on its path by correcting any diversions from it—so long as they occur within its tolerance range (i.e. so long as its environment does not diverge too drastically from that to which it has been adapted by its evolution) and hence its field. The Way a society must follow is that which conforms to its traditional law which the ancient Greeks referred to as the *Nomos*. The Way was also referred to by them as *Dike*, which meant justice, righteousness or morality. Jane Harrison tells us that *Dike* was also "the Way of the world, the way things happen."⁵³

The Way was also referred to as *Themis*, which Jane Harrison regards as "that specialized way for human beings which is sanctioned by the collective conscience."⁵⁴ *Themis* was also taken to be the Way of the Earth, and sometimes the Way of the cosmos itself, that which governed the behaviour of the Gods. Later, when these concepts were personalized, *Themis* became the goddess of law and justice, and hence of morality. The Way was also seen to coincide with *Moirai* the path of destiny or fate. The Chthonic gods were subordinated to *Moirai*, as they were to *Dike*, the two actually coinciding with each other. Thus for Anaximander, all things are attributed to different provinces that provide the basis of the critical order of the natural world "according to what is ordained,"⁵⁵ a concept in which, according to Cornford "necessity and right are united." In Homer, the gods are seen as subordinate to *Moirai*, and indeed to *Dike*—cosmic forces that are older than the gods themselves and that are moral. Against fate, and hence against the moral law, the gods can do nothing. As Homer tells us in the *Odyssey*, the gods cannot even save a man whom they love, if the "dread fate of death" is

52. Fernea, Robert A., 1970, *Shayk and Effendi: Changing Patterns of Authority Among the El Shabana of Southern Iraq*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass, p. 315.

53. Harrison, Jane, 1927, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 517.

54. *Ibid* p. 517.

55. Anaximander, quoted by Cornford, F. M., 1957, *From Religion to Philosophy*, Harper Brothers, New York, p. 8.

upon him.⁵⁶ Herodotus tells us that "it is impossible even for a god to avoid the fate that is ordained."⁵⁷

The Way to be followed by all human beings was the same as that which must be followed by society as a whole, by the natural world, by the cosmos and therefore by the gods themselves. There is thus a single law which governs the behaviour of the whole cosmic hierarchy.

"Themis in the world of Zeus," as Pythagoras writes, "and *Dike* in the world below, hold the same place and rank as *Nomos* in the cities of men; so that he who does not justly perform his appointed duty may appear as a violator of the whole order of the universe."⁵⁸

The higher the status of an individual, and hence the greater the vital force with which he was endowed, the more important it was that he should rigorously follow the Way. Thus Odysseus tells us that when a blameless King maintains the *Dike*

"The black earth bears wheat and barley, and the trees are laden with fruit, and the sheep bring forth and fail not, and the sea gives store of fish and all out of his good guidance, and the people prosper under him."⁵⁹

Among the Chinese the concept of *Tao* refers at once to the order and to the Way of the cosmos. The term is applied to the daily and yearly "revolution of the heavens"⁶⁰ and of the two powers of light and darkness, day and night, summer and winter, heat and cold. E. de Groot tells us that

"It represents all that is correct, normal or right (*ching* or *twan*) in the universe; it does, indeed, never deviate from its course. It consequently includes all correct and righteous dealings of men and spirits, which alone promote universal happiness and life."⁶¹

Feng Yu-Lan sees the *Tao* as the all-embracing first principle of things. All living things, including humans, are part of this all-embracing natural order, subject to the *Tao* which is its governing principle.⁶² *Tao*, as the order of nature, Yu-Lan Feng writes, governs their very action. Humans follow the *Tao*, or Way, by behaving naturally. "When all things obey the

56. Cornford, *Ibid*, p. 12.

57. Herodotus, quoted by Cornford, *ibid*, p. 12.

58. Iamblichus; "Life of Pythagoras", quoted by Cornford, *Ibid* p. 54.

59. Homer, *The Odyssey*, 1854, translated by Alexander Pope, Cooke, London, quoted by Harrison, *ibid*, p. 532.

60. de Groot, Jan Jacob Maria, 1910, "The Religion of the Chinese," Macmillan, New York, quoted by Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

61. *Ibid*, p. 174.

62. Feng, Yu-Lan, 1984, "A Short History of Chinese Philosophy," trans. Derek Boddler, Macmillan, New York, "quoted by Peerenboom, R. P., 1991, "Beyond naturalism: a reconstruction of Taoist environmental ethics," *Environmental Ethics*, Vol. XIII, Spring, p. 4.

laws of the Tao," as Wing-Tsit Chan writes, they will form a harmonious whole, and the universe will become an integrated organism.⁶³

"A similar concept existed in Vedic India. It was referred to as *R'ta*. 'The processes whose perpetual sameness or regular recurrence', writes Maurice Bloomfield, 'give rise to the representation of order, obey *R'ta* or their occurrence is *R'ta*.'"⁶⁴

R'ta also stands for the truth, though in a philosophical context truth is usually *Satya*. Untruth, though it is sometimes *Asatya*, is usually expressed as an An-*R'ta*, hence as a divergence from *R'ta* or the Way.

The Vedic poet, as Krishna Chaitanya notes, fully realizes that to obtain nature's bounty, man must obey *R'ta*: "for one who lives according to eternal law, the winds are full of sweetness, the rivers pour sweets. So may the plants be full of sweetness for us." The great Vedic *Hymn to the Earth* clearly expresses the belief in man's dependence on the order of the cosmos and in man's role in maintaining it by observing the ancient law. In this hymn, the poet expresses his faith in the eternal order and in man's duty to preserve it. It is this order which has bound "rock, soil, stone and dust" in such a way that "trees, lords of the forest, stand very firm." It is this order that maintains in "unfailing flow, day and night, the waters that are common to all" and nurtures "cornfields that nourish quadrupeds and bipeds." In all this the poet displays a respect that unites the spiritual and the practical: "Whatever I dig from thee, Earth, may it have quick growth again. O purifier, may we not injure thy vitals or thy heart."⁶⁵

Later, the concept of *Dharma* was also used by the Hindus in the same way. "That regularity, that normality of the universe, which produces good crops, fat cattle, peace and contentment," A.M. Hocart writes, "is expressed by the word *Dharma* which etymologically means 'support,' 'upholding.' It describes the way in which animals, men or things are expected to behave; it is natural law. The sun is sometimes identified with *Dharma* because it regulates the seasons; sometimes it is considered to be regulated by it. Among the Gods, Varuna is the Lord of Right, who lays down ordinances for the universe. The king on his accession is seen to have become to his people what Varuna is to the gods. For that reason, he too is known as the 'lord of Right.'"⁶⁶ In Balinese Hinduism, Eiseman writes, *Dharma* is seen as "the organizing force that maintains order, the organization that governs the universe as a whole, the relationships between various parts of the universe and actions within the various parts of the universe."⁶⁷

63. Wing-Tsit Chan, ed. 1963, "A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy," quoted by Peerenboom, R. P., *ibid*, p. 9.

64. Bloomfield, Maurice, 1908, "The Religion of the Veda, the Ancient Religion of India from Rig-Veda to Upanishads," quoted by Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

65. Chaitanya, Krishna, 1983, "A Profound ecology: the Hindu view of man and nature," *The Ecologist*, Vol.13, No.4, pp. 127-128.

66. Hocart, A. M., 1970, *Kings and Councillors*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p. 112.

67. Eiseman, Fred, 1989, *ibid*, p. 12.

The concept of *Dharma* was also taken up by the Buddhists who brought it to China where the Dharma of Mahayana Buddhism was identified with the Tao. De Groot describes the Buddhist Dharma as the universal law which embraces the world in its entirety. "It exists for the benefit of all beings, for does not its chief manifestation, the light of the world, shine its blessing on all men and all things?"⁶⁸ When a Buddhist Lama sets his prayer-wheel turning, he is performing a ritual that has deep meaning both in terms of the Dharma and the R'ta. Not only are the prayers printed on it repeated by his audience, but as Jane Harrison notes,

"he finds himself in sympathetic touch with the Wheel of the Universe; he performs the act, 'Justice-Wheel-Setting in motion'. He dare not turn the wheel contrariwise; lest that were to upset the whole order of nature."⁶⁹

If to follow the Way is to maintain the critical order of the cosmos—then a society can be seen as doing so when its behaviour pattern is homeotelic to the Gaian hierarchy. When, on the contrary, it is heterotelic, then a society must be seen as following the anti-Way, that which threatens the order of the cosmos and must thereby give rise to the worst possible discontinuities. Thus in the Vedas, as Chaitanya notes, we read that R'ta, though benign, can also be "stern and fierce" when it comes to transgressions.⁷⁰ "Brihaspati rides a fearsome chariot of R'ta for destroying the wicked,"⁷¹ meaning those who violate the eternal laws and so threaten the critical order of the cosmos. The latter are best seen as following the Anti-Way, or in Vedic India, the An-R'ta, the opposite to the R'ta, and later, among the Buddhists, the *adharma*, the opposite to the *Dharma*.

Our modern society has quite clearly set out systematically to diverge from the Way. Its overriding goal is economic development or progress, the supreme heterotelic enterprise, which can only be achieved by methodically disrupting the critical order of the ecosphere so as to replace it with a totally different organization:—the technosphere, which derives its resources from the ecosphere and consigns to it its ever more voluminous and more toxic wastes. Technospheric expansion is thereby but another way of looking at ecospheric disintegration and contraction and the pattern of behaviour that must be adopted to achieve this suicidal goal is the anti-Way.

Vital Force

Vernacular man follows the Way even in those societies in which the concept has not been clearly articulated. Many have developed an associated concept, that of vital force. Cornford tells us that in the classical world, a place was regarded as sacred because of the presence in it of a dangerous

68. de Groot, Jan Jacob Maria, *ibid*, 1910, page 166, quoted by Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

69. Harrison, Jane, 1927, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, page 526.

70. Chaitanya, Krishna, 1983, *ibid*, pp. 127–135.

71. *Ibid*, pp. 121–135.

power which made it sacrosanct—"not to be set foot on by the profane."⁷² Sacred things had to be treated with great respect, indeed with trepidation. They were the source of every benefit but also of all misfortunes, for sacred things contained dangerous energy or "vital force." Most traditional society had its word for it: *Mana* among the Melanesians and Polynesians; *orenda* among the Sioux and *muntu* among the Baluba—to name but a few.

Durkheim regards vital force as "the source of all religiosity." He sees "the spirits, demons, genii and gods of every sort" as "the concrete forms taken by this energy." It is partly, at least, because they are endowed with this vital force that they are sacred and have become objects of religious cults. The sun, the moon and the stars are also worshipped for this reason.

"They have not owed this honour to their intrinsic nature or their distinctive properties but to the fact that they are thought to participate in this force which alone is able to give things a sacred character, and which is also found in a multitude of other beings even the smallest."⁷³

Lods considers that

"the very ancient term which is found in all Semitic languages to express the idea of 'god,' one of the various forms of *el* (Hebrew), *ilu* (Babylonian), *ilah* (Arabic), originally denoted the vague force which was the source of all strength and life."⁷⁴

Vital force is seen as powering the whole living world. To acquire it personally is the only sure avenue to success. Among the Baluba, vital force is referred to as *muntu*. A powerful man is described as *muntu mukulumpe*, a man with a great deal of *muntu*, whereas a man of no social significance is referred to as a *muntu mutupu*, or one who has but a small amount of *muntu*.⁷⁵ A complex vocabulary is used to describe all the changes that can affect a man's stock of *muntu*. All illnesses, depressions, failures in any field of activity are taken to be evidence of a reduction in this vital force and can be avoided only by maintaining one's stock of it. A man with none left at all is known as *mufu*. He is as good as dead.⁷⁶

Vital force was not just accumulated by individuals; it is usually seen as flowing through the cosmos and concentrating in certain things and beings, and in so doing, forming a pattern of power and hence of sanctity—a philosophy known as Hylozoism. Paul Schebesta tells us that for the Pygmies of the Ituri forest in Zaire, vital force or *megbe*

72. Cornford, F. M., 1957, *ibid*, p. 32.

73. Durkheim, Emile, 1964, (original edition 1915), *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, George Allen and Unwin, London, p. 199.

74. Lods, Adolphe, 1932, *Israel: From its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century*, trans. S. H. Hooke, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p. 250.

75. Tempels, Placide, 1984, *La Philosophie Bantoue*, Présence Africaine, Paris, p. 69.

76. *Ibid*, p. 33.

"is spread out everywhere, but its power does not manifest itself everywhere with the same force nor in the same way. Certain animals are richly endowed with it. Humans possess a lot more of some types of *megbe* but less of other types. Able men are precisely those who have accumulated a lot of *megbe*: this is true of witch-doctors."⁷⁷

Significantly, the amount of vital force residing at the different levels of social organization reflects the extent to which the society is integrated or centralized. Thus in a very loose society, individuals and families are endowed with a considerable proportion of the society's vital force. On the other hand, in highly centralized traditional kingdoms such as ancient Egypt, or the old kingdom of Benin (now in Nigeria), the vital force becomes concentrated in the person of the divine king, who was divine precisely for that reason. In such a society, what is more, the welfare of all the inhabitants is regarded as totally dependent on the fulfilment of the important rituals and ceremonies designed to preserve and increase the king's stock of vital force, and on the observance of the many taboos surrounding his person.

The relationship between things and beings at different echelons in the hierarchy of the cosmos is not symmetrical. Vital power flows downwards to vitalize and hence sanctify things and beings at the lower echelons, though it will only do so if the latter fulfil their obligations towards the higher echelons and hence towards the cosmos as a whole. It is thus understandable that so many of the rituals and ceremonies of a traditional people—and indeed, their whole way of life—should be designed to maintain the correct distribution of vital force at each level in the cosmic hierarchy. In this way they can maintain the critical order and stability of the cosmos, and thereby enable the people to follow The Way.

To neglect the performance of these sacred rituals and ceremonies—worse still, to break the sacred laws that govern their performance—is to violate a taboo. This can only lead to a disastrous change in the distribution of vital force within the cosmic hierarchy. An act is taboo, according to Roger Caillois, because it disrupts

"the universal order, which is at once that of nature and society [and as a result,] the Earth might no longer yield a harvest, the cattle might be struck with infertility, the stars might no longer follow their appointed course, death and disease could stalk the land."⁷⁸

Once we abandon tribal man's notion of vital force, and the closely associated notion of the sacred, we go a long way towards desanctifying society and the natural world; in doing so, we leave it wide open to the depredations of modern industrial man who follows the anti-Way. Thus one has to agree with Hans Jonas that what is most required today is to restore the category of the sacred, which he regards as that which has been most thoroughly destroyed by the scientific establishment.

77. Schebesta, Paul, 1940, *Les Pygmées*, Gallimard, Paris, p. 62.

78. Caillois, Roger, 1988, *L'Homme et le Sacré*, Gallimard, Paris, p. 24.

The Gods

The deities of chthonic man were above all the guardians of the critical order of the cosmic hierarchy. As such, they personified the laws that were seen as governing the cosmos and that man had to observe if he was to assure the preservation of its critical structure. This meant that by observing those laws man was also fulfilling his obligations to the appropriate deities. Thus to follow the Way in Vedic India was to fulfil one's obligations to Varuna, the God who personified the R'ta; in ancient Egypt to Re, who personified the *Maat*; in Greece to Themis, once the cosmic force bearing that name came to be represented by that Goddess.

The Gods also personified the vital force that flowed through the living world, reflecting its critical structure and sanctifying it. Jane Harrison notes that, originally, the gods of the Romans were impersonal and ill-defined, and that rather than being referred to as *dei* or gods, they were seen as *numina*, the plural of *numen* which meant vital force,⁷⁹ suggesting along with Marett⁸⁰ and later Durkheim and Lods that the notion of vital force preceded that of the gods and spirits.

Whether this is so or not, the two concepts are complementary. It is probable that, as the gods grew in importance, so did they in turn reinforce the sacred nature of the vital force with which they were imbued. In this way, they sanctified each other as well as the structure of the living world which their organization faithfully reflected.

The role of the gods of vernacular man in sanctifying and hence in preserving the critical order of society is particularly well documented. "Ancestor Worship" seems to be common to all known tribal peoples throughout the world, though the term is misleading, for the ancestors were not worshipped as modern man worships his gods. His relationship with them was rather one of mutual obligations. The gods had needs, and their principal need was for the living to fulfil their ritual and ceremonial obligations, observing the laws that the ancestors had enacted *in illo tempore*.⁸¹ For their part, the living and their families, clans and tribes, needed the gods to protect them from malnutrition, disease, enemy invasions and other disasters. In Japan, as Lafcadio Hearn puts it,

"The happiness of the dead depends upon the respectful service rendered them by the living; and the happiness of the liv-

79. Harrison, Jane, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

80. R. R. Marett's *The Threshold of Religion* was published in 1909 (Methuen and Company Ltd, London). It was very much an answer to Tylor's thesis that man's original religion was animism (see his classic *Primitive Culture*, 1903, John Murray, London.) Marett saw the belief in an "indwelling psychic power," referred to as *mana* by the Melanesians and Polynesians, as predating animism. He referred to it as "the pre-animistic religion." Though this idea aroused a lot of interest at the time, mainstream anthropologists now seem to have lost interest in it and on the whole the idea has been discredited in anthropological circles.

81. The term "*in illo tempore*" is a term much used by Mircea Eliade. It refers to the mythical period in which the heroes lived and the laws enacted. Radcliffe-Brown refers to it as "the dawn period," as it is known among certain Australian tribes.

ing depends upon the fulfilment of their pious duty to the dead"⁸²

—a clear case of hierarchical mutualism. Thus rather than pray for favours, tribal man reminded his gods instead that he had fulfilled his obligations towards them and expected them to do likewise. He would even curse them if they did not reciprocate. Jomo Kenyatta prefers to refer to this relationship as "communion with the ancestors."⁸³

Underlying this form of religion is the principle that a dead ancestor, or a deity, remains a member of his family, his community and his society, rather than gravitating to some distant paradise—a concept unknown to chthonic man. In this way, the ancestral gods in chthonic society are as much part of society as are the living—a point made particularly eloquently by William Robertson Smith some eighty years ago.

Significantly, the gods of vernacular man, like his vital force, were seen as faithfully reflecting the hierarchical structure of his society. E. Driver shows how the differences in the organization of the gods among North American Indian societies could be explained in terms of their degree of integration or centralization:

"There was a strong tendency to arrange gods in a ranked hierarchy in areas where people were ranked in a similar manner, and to ignore such ranking where egalitarianism dominated human societies. Thus the people of Meso-America carefully ranked their gods, while those in the Sub-Arctic Plateau and Great Basin believed in large numbers of spirits of about equal rank. Other areas tended to be intermediate in this respect. Among the Pueblos where many spiritual personalities were widely recognized to be designated as gods, there was little tendency towards ranking, just as there was more equality among human beings."⁸⁴

The Swazi, on the other hand, have developed a cohesive and hierarchically organized society and, according to Hilda Kuper, their gods are organized in exactly the same way:

"In the ancestral cult, the world of the living is projected onto a world of spirit (emadloti). Men and women, old and young, aristocrats and commoners, continue the patterns of superiority and inferiority established by earthly experiences. Paternal and maternal spirits exercise complementary roles, similar to those operating in daily life on earth; the paternal role reinforces legal and economic obligations; the maternal exercises a less formalized protective influence. Although the cult is set in a kinship framework, it is extended to the nation through the king, who

82. Hearn, Lafcadio, 1904, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, Macmillan, New York, p. 37.

83. Jomo Kenyatta, 1979, *Facing Mount Kenya*, Secker and Warburg, London, p. 232.

84. Driver, E. 1961, *Indians of North America*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p. 428.

is regarded as the father of all Swazi. His ancestors are the most powerful of all the spirits."⁸⁵

The ancestral gods and thus the vital force which they personify are organized in such a way as to reflect the critical order of vernacular society, just as the spirits of nature are organized to reflect that of the natural world. In this way, the critical structure of the ecosphere is sanctified and its human members forced to preserve it, come what may for fear of incurring the most terrible penalties.

Robert T. Parsons, writing on the Kono of Nigeria, sums up the nature and function of vernacular religion: it is

"not only an organization of human relationships, but it includes also the relationships of people with the earth as a whole, with their own land and with the unseen world of constructive forces and beings in which they believe. Religion brings them all into a consistent whole."⁸⁶

What is more, the behaviour pattern associated with such a religion must be that which serves to maintain the critical order of "this consistent whole," i.e. of the whole cosmic hierarchy.

However, chthonic religion dies as society disintegrates. The Olympian Gods were the products of this social disintegration. Whereas the behaviour of the original chthonic deities was subjected to the great powers that governed the cosmos (the *Moirai*, or fate, which once also referred to the spatial order of the cosmos, and *Dike*, or justice, which was responsible for assuring its temporal order), the Olympian Gods were set above these cosmic powers. Their behaviour and indeed that of the disintegrating society whose organization they reflected was no longer subject to the constraints that previously served to maintain the critical order of the cosmos.

As social disintegration proceeded still further, the Olympian gods ceased to have any relationship with society, for society was no more. The accent was then on the cult of a national God and eventually on that of the universal God. As society further disintegrated, the only remaining vernacular social grouping was the nuclear family and, not surprisingly, the universal god acquired a wife and a child so that the now truncated pantheon faithfully reflected the newly atomized society.

As society further disintegrates and religion becomes increasingly "otherworldly"; as man is severed from nature and indeed from the entire Gaian hierarchy, so his behaviour towards his Gods ceases to occur within its correct field—that provided by the Gaian hierarchy of which he is part. Instead, it becomes misdirected or heterotelic to this hierarchy, ceasing to fulfil its true social, ecological and cosmic role, and leads man even further along the anti-Way.

85. Kuper, Hilda, 1963, *The Swazi. A South African Kingdom*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, p. 58.

86. Parsons, Robert T., 1964, *Religion in an African Society*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, p. 176.

Correcting divergences from The Way

Developing natural systems can only maintain themselves on their course or along their constellation of chreods if they can deal effectively with any external or internal challenges that might divert them from it. To do this, they must either isolate themselves from such challenges or, alternatively, correct diversions from their path or Way, which requires that they interpret the problems caused by such diversions correctly.

Vernacular man in the classical world understood, as Hughes notes, that "hunger, ill-health, erosion, poverty and general ruin" were only different forms "that the Earth's revenge could take for the terrible mistreatment meted out to her by man"—punishments for having diverted from the Way in pursuit of the anti-Way or what the ancient Greeks would have called the *ou Themis*. The only way to combat these ills, therefore, was to treat the earth with greater care, which meant to return to the Way of the ancestors who lived in the Golden Age when such ills were unknown.⁸⁷

Vernacular people invariably interpreted disease in this way. Thus among the Tukano of Colombia, as Reichel-Dolmatoff notes,

"Illness is taken to be the consequence of a person's upsetting a certain aspect of the ecological balance. Overhunting is a common cause and so are harvesting activities in which some relatively scarce natural resource has been wasted. The delicate balance existing within the natural environment, between nature and society, and within society itself, is bound to affect the whole.

"To restore this 'delicate balance,' the shaman as a healer of illness does not so much interfere on the individual level, but operates on the level of those supra-individual structures that have been disturbed by the person. To be effective, he has to apply his treatment to the disturbed part of the ecosystem. It might be said then that a Tukano shaman does not have individual patients: his task is to cure a social malfunctioning."⁸⁸

He does this by re-establishing the rules that "will avoid overhunting, the depletion of certain plant resources and unchecked population increase."

Quite clearly then, the shaman is more than a medical practitioner. He is a "truly powerful source in the control and management of resources,"⁸⁹ for he can really affect the incidence and severity of diseases over which the modern medical practitioner, with his very limited brief, has no control whatsoever.

The philosophy underlying this interpretation of disease and the means of curing it is even more explicit in the case of the Qollahuaya diviners of the community of Kaata in the Bolivian Andes. They see their community as an

87. Hughes, J. Donald, 1983, *ibid*, pp. 54–60.

88. Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo, 1977, *ibid*, pages 4–11.

89. *Ibid*, pp. 4–11.

integral part of an *ayllu*—conceptualizing their mountainous territory as a human body, with communities living on the high ground, the central areas and in the lowlands. According to Joseph W. Bastien, the head of the *ayllu* is the "moist *puna* area..." where herders graze alpacas, llamas, sheep and pigs; the grasses that grow there are its hair; its eyes are the lakes of Apacheta. Its trunk is formed by the sloping terraced fields of potatoes, oca and barley.

The *Kaata* also has a heart, and a liver, which produce blood and fat and are the "principles of life and power." They are circulated by the diviners throughout the community and in particular into the "earth shrines" by means of rituals and ceremonies in which the sick people "eat with the mountain." For the people of Kaata, human health is thereby identified with the integrity of their *ayllu*: it follows that when people, their society and its environment "work together to form one body, the bodies of sick individuals become whole" and the sick are restored to health. The body metaphor provides in this way "a systemic model in which there is an analogy between the human body and the environmental and social bodies." Diseases are diagnosed as "signs of disorders between man and his land, or between his vertical *ayllu* and *Ayllu Kaata*." The disease is then combated "not by isolating the individual in a hospital away from his land" but instead by "gathering the members of his social group in ritual and together feeding all the parts of *Ayllu Kaata*."⁹⁰

Bastien sees this as being very much the approach to disease of the people of the Andes in general. For them disease

"is an organic, cultural, environmental and social phenomenon...By means of the body metaphor, diviners not only examine, but also interrelate the complex networks of environmental factors and social structure with physical distress. This often prevents subsequent illness because action is taken to change social and environmental causes of the sickness."⁹¹

In this manner, vernacular man correctly diagnoses heterotelic diseases as the symptoms of social and ecological maladjustments brought about by diverging from the Way, and thereby violating the laws of the cosmos and disrupting its critical order. What is more he fully realizes that maladjustments can only be eliminated by correcting such a divergence and returning to the Way.

Modern man, on the other hand, interprets problems in terms of cause and effect relationships on the basis of which a disease is attributed to a discreet event such as the action of a bacterium, virus or other pathogen—which must be eliminated, usually by waging chemical warfare against it.

90. Bastien, Joseph W., 1981, "Metaphorical relations between sickness, society and land in Qollahuaya ritual," *American Anthropological Association Bulletin*, No.12., pp. 19–37.

91. *Ibid*, p. 488.

The same is true of all the other ever more daunting problems that confront our society today, such as crime, delinquency, drug addiction, poverty, unemployment, etc. All are interpreted in such a way as to make them appear soluble by the expedients that science, technology and industry can provide and whose application is rationalized and hence legitimized in terms of the world-view of modernism. Needless to say, everywhere the incidence of all these problems is escalating.

That is the essence of the Great Misinterpretation—the ultimate manifestation of modern man's cognitive maladjustment to the industrial world that he has created. It draws us into a chain-reaction leading to ever greater social and environmental destruction, from which we must waste no time in extracting ourselves if we are to have any future on this planet.

The Great Reinterpretation

No amount of empirical or theoretical evidence is likely to persuade mainstream scientists or other protagonists of the world-view of modernism to accept any of the principles of the world-view of ecology. What is more, if they are eventually accepted, it will not be because they will have been "proved" to be true in the scientific sense of the term, but because the "reigning paradigm" or "canonical knowledge" will have changed to such an extent that they will have become consistent with it.

Similarly, no amount of empirical or theoretical "evidence" as to the untenability of the basic ideas of today can lead scientists to abandon them if they are part of "current wisdom," the "reigning paradigm," or "canonical knowledge."

Clearly then, so long as we argue from within the accepted "conceptual framework," or the reigning paradigm, or the canonical knowledge of the day, we can never dissuade people either to accept new ideas or to abandon old ones. "Demonstration," Polanyi insists, "must be supplemented... by forms of persuasion which can induce a conversion."⁹² Such a conversion, or generalized paradigm shift, involves a profound rearrangement or recombination of the knowledge that makes up our world-view. It must affect its very metaphysical, ethical and aesthetic foundations. In the same way the members of a society are converted to a new religion or world-view when that with which they are imbued proves to be unadaptive to the new conditions—in particular the social and ecological chaos caused by colonialism and economic development. The new religio-political movements to which they are converted is generally referred to as millenarian. They proliferated in Europe during the tenth century, a period of socio-economic change that caused very serious social stress. Many of the movements which sought to establish new cultural patterns during those troubled times were convinced that the year 1000 presaged the end of the world and they called upon their adepts to prepare themselves spiritually for this momentous event.

Such movements are also referred to as "messianic" in that they are often led by a prophet who sees himself as divinely inspired—as a re-incarnation

92. Polanyi, p. 151.

of a previous great religious figure, or in the case of movements of this sort occurring among the Jews, as the Messiah himself. These movements have proliferated throughout the Third World, during the colonial period in particular. In Lagos, there has been such a proliferation of messianic cults that their leaders went so far as to set up the world's first trade union of messiahs. Anthony Wallace refers to such cults as "revitalist."⁹³

The increasing failure of all policies based on the world-view of modernism and its derivative paradigms—those of science and modern economics in particular—to satisfy our most fundamental psychic needs or indeed solve any of the worsening problems that threaten our very survival on this planet gives rise to psychic conditions increasingly propitious to the emergence of revitalist movements. The chances are that such movements will be affected, among other things, by ecological ideas that are increasingly in the air and whose relevance is becoming ever more apparent to even the blindest among us. There are signs too, that such movements are likely to preach a return to the vernacular way of life. Thus while the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the Moslem world and of Hindu fundamentalism in India can be seen as an unpleasant trend towards chauvinism, bigotry and intolerance, these movements are clearly also a reaction against Western economic imperialism and the disruption of the cultures and traditions of Moslems and Hindus by Western science, technology and industrial development.

Significantly, too, a considerable proportion of the revitalist movements that have so far sprung up in the Third World have been "nativistic"—which is to say that they correctly attributed the ills against which they were reacting to the way of life imposed upon their members by their colonial masters, and preached a return to the Way of their ancestors. Many such movements have been violent and unpleasant, of that there is no doubt. Usually too, they have been put down with equal violence and unpleasantness as their ideas were rightly seen as a threat to the established order. However, there is reason to hope that the ecology-based revitalist movements of the future will seek to achieve their ends in the true Gandhian tradition. It could be that Deep Ecology, with its ethical and metaphysical preoccupations, might well develop into such a movement. So could the Earth First movement in the U.S.A., whose religious and metaphysical basis has recently been described by Bron Taylor.⁹⁴

We cannot afford to wait and see whether such movements will develop into revitalist cults that are powerful enough to transform our society. Instead, we should work towards their development by helping to create the conditions in which they are likely to emerge. Let us remember that the world-view of ecology is very much that of a vernacular community-based society, whereas the world-view of modernism is that of an industrial society. We must thereby set out to combat and systematically weaken the main institutions of the industrial system—the state, the corporations—and the

93. Wallace, A. F. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 264–281.

94. Taylor, Bron, "The religion and politics of Earth First," *The Ecologist*, Vol. 21, No. 6, Nov/Dec, pp. 258–266.

Edward GOLDSMITH

science and technology which they use to transform society and the natural world. At the same time, we must do everything to help recreate the family and the community, and above all a localized and diversified economy based on them, reducing in this way our increasingly universal dependence on a destructive economic system that, in any case, is in decline and may well be close to collapse.

As we multiply our efforts in these directions, so we must create the terrain in which ecological ideas can take root and flourish. May they inspire those who will lead us back to the Way, and thereby restore and preserve what still remains of the beautiful world we have been so privileged to inherit.



BECOMING NATIVES OF TURTLE ISLAND

by

Gary SNYDER

**Speak of the United States, we are
talking only two centuries of English-
speaking affairs—but speak of Turtle
Island, we are talking of a vast past, an
open future and communities of plants,
animals and humans.**

Why not rediscover Turtle Island⁹⁵

I

WE HUMAN BEINGS of the developed societies have once more been expelled from a garden, the formal garden of Euro-American humanism and its assumptions of human superiority, priority, uniqueness, and dominance. We have been thrown back into that other garden with all the other animals and fungi and insects, where we can no longer be sure we are so privileged. The walls between "nature" and "culture" begin to crumble as we enter a post-human era. Darwinian insights force occidental people, often unwillingly, to acknowledge their literal kinship with critters.

95. This text was first published under the title "Turtle Island" in *Resurgence* No. 171. The essay is based on a talk given at the University of California, Davis, where he is a lecturer. Gary Snyder is the author of several volumes of essays and seven collections of poetry including the Pulitzer prize-winning *Turtle Island*.

Ecological science investigates the interconnections of organisms and their constant transactions with energy and matter. Human societies come into being along with the rest of nature. There is no name yet for a humanistic scholarship that embraces the non-human. I suggest (in a spirit of pagan play) we call it "pan-humanism."

Environmental activists, ecological scientists, and pan-humanists are still in the process of re-evaluating how to think about, how to do policy, with Nature. The professional resource managers of the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management have been driven (partly from people of conscience within their own ranks) into re-thinking their old utilitarian view of the vast lands in their charge. This is a time of lively confluence, as scientists, self-taught ecosystem experts from the communities, land management agency experts, and a new breed of ecologically-aware loggers and ranchers (a few, but growing) are beginning to get together.

In the more rarefied world of ecological and social theory the confluence is rockier. Nature writing, environmental history and ecological philosophy have become subjects of study in the humanities. There are, however, still a few otherwise humane historians and philosophers who unreflectively assume that the natural world is primarily a building-supply yard for human projects. That is what the Occident has said and thought for a couple of thousand of years.

RIGHT NOW THERE ARE two sets of ideas circling about each other. One group, which we could call the "Savers," places value on extensive preservation of wilderness areas and argues for the importance of the original condition of nature. This view has been tied to the idea that the mature condition of an ecosystem is a stable and diverse condition technically called "climax."

The other position holds that nature is constantly changing, that human agency has altered things to the point that there is no "natural condition" left, and that there is no reason to value climax (or "fitness") over any other succession phase; and that human beings are not only part of nature but that they are also dominant over nature and should keep on using and changing it. They can be called the "Users."

The Savers' view is attributed to the Sierra Club and other leading national organizations; to various "radical environmentalists" and to many environmental thinkers and writers. The Users' view, which has a few supporters in the biological sciences, has already become a favourite of the World Bank and those developers who are vexed by the problems that come with legislation that requires protection for creatures whose time and space are running out. It has been quickly seized on by the industry-sponsored populist-flavoured "Wise Use" movement.

Different as they are, they both reflect the instrumentalist view of nature that has long been a mainstay of Occidental thought. The Savers' idea of freezing some parts of nature into an icon of "pristine, uninhabited wilderness" is also to treat nature like a commodity, kept in a golden cage. Some preservationists have been insensitive to the plight of indigenous peoples whose home grounds were turned into protected wildlife preserves or parks;

or to the plight of local workers and farmers who lose jobs as logging and grazing policies change.

The Users, in turn, are both pseudo-populist and multi-national. On the local level they claim to speak for communities and workers (whose dilemma is real enough) but a little probing discloses industry funding. On the global scale their backers line up with huge forces of governments and corporations, with NAFTA and GATT, and raise the spectre of further destruction of local communities. They are staffed by the sort of professionals whom Wendell Berry calls "hired itinerant vandals."

Postmodern theoreticians and critics have recently ventured into nature politics. Oddly enough they have sided with the Users—and they also like to argue that nature is part of history, that human beings are part of nature, that there is little in the natural world that has not already been altered by human agency, that in any case our idea of "nature" is a projection of our social condition and there is no sense in trying to preserve the wild. However, to say that the natural world is subject to continual change, that nature is shaped by history, or that our idea of reality is a self-serving illusion, are not new insights. These positions still fail to come to grips with the question of how to deal with the pain and death of real beings, as real as suffering humanity, and how to preserve natural variety. The need to protect worldwide biodiversity may be economically difficult and ethically controversial, but there are strong scientific and practical arguments in support of it.

HOMINIDS HAVE OBVIOUSLY had some effect on the natural world going back for half a million or more years. So we should totally drop the use of the word "pristine" in regard to nature as meaning "untouched by human agency." "Pristine" should now be understood as meaning "virtually" pristine. Almost any apparently untouched natural environment has in fact experienced some tiny degree of human agency. Historically there were huge pre-agricultural environments where the human impact, rather like deer or cougar activities, was normally almost invisible to any but a tracker's eye.

The greatest single pre-agricultural human effect on wild nature, yet to be fully grasped, was deliberate use of fire. In some cases human-caused fire seemed to mimic natural process, as with native burning in California. Alvar Nunez "Cabeza de Vaca" in his early sixteenth-century walk across what is now Texas and the Southwest found well-worn trails everywhere.

But the fact still remains that there were great numbers of species, vast grasslands, fertile wetlands and extensive forests in mosaics of all different stages in the pre-industrial world. Berry Commoner has said that the greatest destruction of the world environment—by far—has taken place since 1950.

We are still laying the groundwork for a "culture of nature." The critique of the Judæo-Christian-Cartesian view of nature (by which all developed nations excuse themselves for their drastically destructive treatment of the landscape) is well underway. Some of us would hope to resume, re-evaluate, re-create, and bring into line with complex science, that old view that holds the whole phenomenal world to be our own being: multi-centred,

"alive" in its own manner, and effortlessly self-organizing in its own chaotic way. Elements of this view are found in a wide range of ancient vernacular philosophies, and it turns up in a variety of more sophisticated but still tentative forms in recent thought. It would be a third way, not caught up in the dualisms of body and mind, spirit and matter, or culture and nature. It would be a non-instrumentalist view that extends intrinsic value to the non-human natural world.

There have been Euro-American scouting parties following a skein of old tracks that would cross the Occidental (and Postmodern) divide for several centuries. I am going to lay out the case history of one of these probes. It's a potentially new story for the North American identity. It has already been in the making for more than thirty years. I call it "The Rediscovery of Turtle Island."

II

IN JANUARY OF 1969 I attended a gathering of Native American activists in Southern California. Hundreds of people had come from all over the west. After sundown we went out to a gravelly wash that came down from the desert mountains. Drums were set up, a fire started, and for most of the night we sang the pan-tribal songs called "49s." The night conversations circled around the idea of a native-inspired cultural and ecological renaissance for all of North America. I first heard this continent called "Turtle Island" there by a man who said his work was to be a messenger. He had his long dark-brown hair tied in a Navajo men's knot, and he wore dusty khakis. He said that Turtle Island was the term that the people were coming to, a new name to help us build the future of North America. I asked him who or where it came from. He said "There are many creation myths with Turtle, east coast and west coast. But also you can just hear it."

I had recently returned to the west coast from a ten-year residence in Japan. It was instantly illuminating to hear this continent called "Turtle Island." The re-alignments those conversations suggested were rich and complex. I was reminded that the indigenous people here had a long history of subtle and effective ways of working with their home grounds. They had an exuberant variety of cultures and economies, and some distinctive social forms (such as communal households) that were found throughout the hemisphere. They sometimes fought with each other, but usually with a deep sense of mutual respect. Within each of their various forms of religious life lay a powerful spiritual teaching on the matter of human and natural relationships, and for some individuals a practice of self-realization that came with trying to see through non-human eyes. The landscape was intimately known, and the very idea of community and kinship embraced and included the huge populations of wild beings. Much of the truth of Native American history and culture has been obscured by the self-serving histories that were written on behalf of the conquerors, the present dominant society.

This gathering took place one year before the first Earth Day. As I re-entered American life during the Spring of 1969, I saw the use of the term "Turtle Island" spread through the fugitive Native American newsletters and

communications. I became aware that there was a notable groundswell of white people too who were seeing their life in the western hemisphere in a new way. Many whites figured that the best they could do on behalf of Turtle Island was to work for the environment, reinhabit the urban or rural margins, learn the landscape, and give support to Native Americans when asked. By late 1970 I had moved with my family to the Sierra Nevada and was developing a forest homestead north of the South Yuba River. Many others entered the mountains and hills of the Pacific Slope with virtually identical intentions, from the San Diego back-country north into British Columbia. They had begun the reinhabitory move.

Through the early seventies I worked with my local forest community, but made regular trips to the cities, and was out on long swings around the country reading poems or leading workshops—many in urban areas. Our new sense of the western hemisphere permeated everything we did. So I called the book of poems I wrote from that period *Turtle Island*.

The introduction says:

"Turtle Island—the old/new name for the continent, based on many creation myths of the people who have been living here for millennia, and reapplied by some of them to 'North America' in recent years. Also, an idea found worldwide, of the earth, or cosmos even, sustained by a great turtle or serpent-of-eternity.

"A name: that we may see ourselves more accurately on this continent of watersheds and life-communities—plant zones, physiographic provinces, culture areas: following natural boundaries. The 'USA' and its states and countries are arbitrary and inaccurate impositions on what is really here.

"The poems speak of place, and the energy-pathways that sustain life. Each living being is a swirl in the flow, a formal turbulence, a 'song.' The land, the planet itself, is also a living being—at another pace. Anglos, Black people, Chicanos, and others beached up on these shores all share such views at the deepest levels of their old cultural traditions—African, Asian, or European. Hark again to those roots, to see our ancient solidarity, and then to the work of being together on Turtle Island."

Following on the publication of these poems I began to hear back from a lot of people—many in Canada—who were remaking a North American life. Many other writers got into this sort of work each on their own, a brilliant, and cranky bunch that included Jerry Rothenberg and his translation of Native American song and story into powerful little poem-events, Peter blue Cloud's evocation of Coyote in a contemporary context, Dennis Tedlock's storyteller's representation of Zuni oral narrative in English. Ed Abbey's call for a passionate commitment to the wild, Leslie Silko's shivery novel *Ceremony*, Simon Ortiz' early poems and stories—and much more.

A lot of this followed on the heels of the back-to-the-land movement and the early seventies' diaspora of long-hairs and dropout graduate students to rural places. There are thousands of people from those days still making a

culture: being teachers, plumbers, chair and cabinet-makers, contractors and carpenters, poets-in-the-schools, auto mechanics, geographic information computer consultants, registered foresters, professional storytellers, forest service workers, river-guides, mountain-guides, architects or organic gardeners.

THE FIRST WAVE OF writers mentioned left some strong legacies—Rothenberg, Tedlock, and Dell Hymes gave us the field of Ethnopoetics (the basis for truly appreciating multicultural literature); Leslie Silko and Simon Ortiz opened the way for a distinguished and diverse body of new American Indian writing; Ed Abbeys eco-warrior spirit led toward the emergence of the radical environmental group, Earth First!, which (in splitting) generated the Wild Lands Project. Some of my own writings contributed to the inclusion of Buddhist ethics and lumber industry work-life in the mix, and writers as different as Wes Jackson, Wendell Berry and Gary Paul Nabhan opened the way for a serious discussion of place, nature in place, and community. The Native American movement has become a player in the national debate, and the environmental movement has become (in some cases) big politics. Although the counter-culture has faded and blended in, its fundamental concerns remain a serious part of the dialogue.

A key question is that of our ethical obligations to the non-human world. The very notion rattles the foundations of Occidental thought. Native American religious beliefs, although not identical coast to coast, are overwhelmingly in support of a full and sensitive acknowledgement of the subjecthood of nature. This in no way backs off from an unflinching awareness of the painful side of wild nature; seeing how everything is being eaten alive. The twentieth-century syncretism of the "Turtle Island view" gathers ideas from Buddhism and Taoism and from the lively details of worldwide animism and paganism. Here too there is no imposition of ideas of progress or order on the natural world—Buddhism teaches impermanence, suffering, and no deity. "No self in self, no self in things." Buddhist teachings go on to say that the true source of compassion and ethical behaviour is paradoxically none other than one's own realization of the insubstantial and ephemeral nature of everything. Much of animism and paganism celebrates the actual, in its inevitable pain and death, and offers no utopian hopes. Add to this contemporary ecosystem theory and environmental history, and you get a sense of what's at work.

Conservation Biology, Deep Ecology, and other new disciplines are given a community constituency and real grounding by the Bioregional movement. Bioregionalism calls for commitment to this continent *place by place*, in terms of biogeographical regions and watersheds. It calls us to see our country in terms of its landforms, plant life, weather patterns, and seasonal changes—its whole natural history—before the net of political jurisdictions was cast over it. People are challenged to become "reinhabitory"—that is to say, to become people who are learning to live and think "as if" they were totally engaged with their place for the long future.

This doesn't mean some return to a primitive lifestyle or utopian provincialism but simply implies an engagement with community and a search for the sustainable sophisticated mix of economic practices that would enable people to live regionally and yet learn from and contribute to a planetary so-

ciety. (Some of the best bioregional work is being done in cities, as people try to restore neighbourhoods). Such people are, regardless of national or ethnic backgrounds, in the process of becoming something deeper than "American (or Mexican or Canadian) citizens"—They are becoming natives of Turtle Island.

NOW IN THE NINETIES the term "Turtle Island" continues, modestly, to extend its sway. There is a Turtle Island Office which moves around the country with its newsletter, which is a national information centre for the many bioregional groups which every other year hold a "Turtle Island Congress." Participants join in from Canada and Mexico. The use of the term is now standard in a number of Native American periodicals and circles. There is even a "Turtle Island String Quartet" based in San Francisco. In the Winter of '92 I practically convinced the director of the Centro de Estudios Norteamericanos at the Universidad de Alcalá in Madrid to change his department's name to "Estudios de la Isla de Tortuga." He much enjoyed the idea of the shift. We agreed: speak of the United States, and you are talking two centuries of basically English-speaking affairs; speak of "America" and you invoke five centuries of Euro-American schemes in the western hemisphere; speak of "Turtle Island" and a vast past, an open future, and all the life communities of plants, humans and critters comes into focus.

III

THE NISENAN AND MAIDU, indigenous people who live on the east side of the Sacramento valley and into the northern Sierra foothills, tell a creation story that goes something like this:

"Coyote and Earthmaker were blowing around in the swirl of things. Coyote finally had enough of this aimlessness and said, 'Earthmaker, find us a world!' Earthmaker tried to get out of it, tried to excuse himself, because he knew that a world can only mean trouble. But Coyote nagged him into trying. So leaning over the surface of the vast waters, Earthmaker called up Turtle. After a long time Turtle surfaced, and Earthmaker said, 'Turtle, can you get me a bit of mud? Coyote wants a world.' 'A world,' said Turtle, 'Why bother? Oh well.' And down she dived. She went down and down and down, to the bottom of the sea. She took a great gob of mud, and started swimming toward the surface. As she spiralled and paddled upward, the streaming water washed the mud from the sides of her mouth, from the back of her mouth—and by the time she reached the surface (the trip took six years) nothing was left but one grain of dirt between the tips of her beak. 'That'll be enough!' said Earthmaker, taking it in his hands and giving it a pat like a tortilla. Suddenly Coyote and Earthmaker were standing on a piece of ground as big as a tarp. Then Earthmaker stamped his feet, and they were standing on a flat wide plain of mud. The ocean was gone. They stood on the land."

Gary SNYDER

... and then Coyote began to want trees and plants, and scenery, and the story goes on with Coyote's imagining landscapes which then come forth, and he starts naming the animals and plants as they show themselves. "I'll call you skunk because you look like skunk." Those landscapes are there today.

My children grew up with this as their first creation story. When they later heard the Bible story they said, "That's a lot like Coyote and Earthmaker." But the Nisenan story gave them their own immediate landscape, complete with details, and the characters were animals from their own world.

Mythopoetic play can be part of what jumpstarts long-range social change. But what about the short term? There are some immediate outcomes worth mentioning: A new era of community interaction with public lands has begun. In California a new set of ecosystem-based government/community joint management discussions is beginning to take place. Some of the most vital environmental politics is being done by watershed or ecosystem-based groups. "Ecosystem management," by definition, includes private landowners in the mix. In my corner of the northern Sierra we are practising being a "human-inhabited wildlife corridor," an area that functions as a biological connector, and are coming to certain agreed-on practices that would enhance wildlife survival even as people continue to live there. Such neighbourhood agreements would be one key to preserving wildlife diversity in most Third World countries.

Ultimately we can all lay claim to the term "native" and the songs and dances, the beads and feathers, and the profound responsibilities, that go with it. We are all indigenous to this planet, this mosaic of wild gardens we are being called by nature and history to reinhabit in good spirit. Part of that responsibility is to choose a place. To restore the land one must live and work in a place. To work in a place is work with others. People who work together in a place become a community, and a community, in time, grows a culture. To work on behalf of the wild is to restore culture.



A CULTURE OF TREES

by

Gita MEHTA

The forests have been the cradle, the university, the monastery, the library and the source of mythology of Indian civilization⁹⁶

IN INDIA, WHEN A BOY AND A GIRL get engaged, their horoscopes are read by the family priests to see if the couple are compatible. But compatibility, in Indian astrology, extends far beyond whether the young man and the young woman will suit each other. Alas, the priests of India are supremely uninterested whether Darby finds his Joan or Abelard his Héloïse: they search for the wider significance of the union. Does the presence of bride or bridegroom bring luck to the new family? So the bridegroom's parents ask the priest,

"If this girl marries into our family, will she be a boon or a burden? Will she increase our wealth, or will she cast a shadow over our house, perhaps shortening her mother-in-law's life or bringing bad health to her father-in-law?"

If the girl's horoscope reveals the faintest hint of such possibilities, the priests shake their heads and inform the prospective parents-in-law, "It is very sad, but you have chosen a *manglik* girl to be your son's wife."

96. This article first appeared in *Resurgence*, No 168, Jan. Feb. 1995. Gita Mehta's latest novel, *A River Sutra* (Heinemann, £9.99) was reviewed in *Resurgence* 163.

Happily for the *manglik* girl, she is not doomed by a fate over which she has no control, to live the life of a frustrated spinster. There is a solution to her problem. She must first marry someone else, transferring her ill-fortune to another husband. Then, purified, she can finally marry her bridegroom, secure in the knowledge that she is bringing to his house only good luck. But which husband is so noble that he will marry this unfortunate girl and take upon himself her ill-starred destiny only to release her, cleansed, into the arms of another man?

Those of you who have travelled in India will have passed trees with withered flower garlands hanging from their branches. Those garlands denote the presence of a husband. The *manglik* girl garlands a tree as her bridegroom in a marriage ceremony as elaborate as that between human beings, to cleanse herself of the misfortunes of her fate. And of course, if it is the bridegroom who is the *manglik*, then he takes a tree as his first bride.

The use of the tree to receive evil is an idea as old as India itself. The devout still believe the tree is all that remains on our planet of the sacred soma plant, nourishment of the gods themselves. Indeed, the *Atharva Veda*, written 1,000 years before Christ, contains this prayer:

The sin, the pollution
Whatever we have done with evil,
With your leaves we wipe it off.

Is it any wonder, then, that the tree is sacred in India?

And if the tree, as a bridegroom cleanses the *manglik* bride of the evils of her fate, to the artists of India the tree has an even greater significance: the tree gifted art to humankind.

The *Puranas*, the texts of the oldest Indian legends, tell the story thus: The gods had become quarrelsome, and *Vac*, sacred speech, fled the profaning gods to hide in water. But the gods claimed her and the waters gave her up. So sacred speech fled the waters and entered a forest. Again the gods claimed her, but the trees refused to yield her up. Instead, they gifted her to humankind in things made of wood that sang: the drum, the lute, the reed pipe, the pen.

BEYOND THE CLEANSING of pollution, beyond the gift of art, to the philosophers of ancient India the forest was the symbol of an idealized cosmos. The great Indian academies were all held in groves of trees, an acknowledgement that the forest, self-sufficient, endlessly regenerative, combined in itself the diversity and the harmony which was the aspiration of Indian metaphysics. It is not by chance that out of India's forests came the great body of India's knowledge: the *Puranas*, the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the epics of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, the sutras of Yoga, and the medical studies of Ayurved.

This veneration of the forest inevitably had its impact on the Indian city, which had, at its heart, a grove of trees, from which the streets emanated outwards like branches, reminding the city dweller that humans are only part of a living organism. And finally, after men and women had fulfilled their obligations to the material life of the city, obligations such as marriage, children, governance, war, trade, they retreated to the forest to pursue a life

of contemplation and meditation, drawing from trees the tranquillity necessary to reflection.

So again, it is not by chance that the founders of two of India's greatest religions, Buddhism and Jainism, namely the Buddha and Mahavira, should both have attained enlightenment not on the road to some Damascus, but while meditating under a tree.

The Nobel Prize laureate and poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in his book *Tapovan*, attempted to explain the essential silviculture of India in these words:

"Indian civilization has been distinctive in locating its source of regeneration, material and intellectual, in the forest, not the city. India's best ideas have come when human beings were in communion with trees. Indian thinkers were surrounded by and linked to the life of the forest, and the intimate relationship between human life and living nature became the source of their knowledge."

But it is not only the scholars to whom Tagore pays homage who have been the guardians of the forest; rather, it is as if India has, over thousands of years, woven a mantle of conservation around herself with strands of morality, art, philosophy, religion, mythology. Especially mythology. Trees feature in so much Indian mythology, as providing shade or sanctuary to the divine, they have become sacred in themselves. The goddess Meenakshi resides in the forest at Madurai, a grove sacred twice over, because it was also the playground of the god Krishna and his Gopis. In Kanchi, the god Shiva, creator and destroyer of worlds, appeared to a sage meditating under a mango tree. That mango grove is a pilgrimage centre, and all mango trees are sacred.

Throughout India trees are worshipped as incarnations of the goddess: Bamani, Rupeshwari, Vandurga are the divinities who reveal themselves to humankind in the guise of different kinds of tree. And the goddess of the forest, Aranyi, has inspired a whole body of texts, known as *Aranyani Sanskriti*, which translates as "the civilization of the forest."

In tribal India the tree is venerated as the Earth Mother, not only because it provides food, air, occupation, materials for housing, fodder and fuel, but because without the tree there is neither soil nor water, nothing to prevent the one from being washed away and the other from evaporating. Throughout the great tribal tracts of India, home of the Bhils, the Santals, the Nagas, and the Bishnois, whenever a child is born a tree is planted in the child's name, forging a relationship between child and tree closer than that between child and family, because that tree is uniquely his. By the time the child reaches adolescence, the tree—they are all slow-growing trees—has just come into fruit, commencing its life as provider to the tribal, and the tribal's life as guardian of the tree.

EVEN IN METROPOLITAN INDIA, one finds trees that are venerated as shrines. For instance, in Bombay, the second-most densely populated city in a country known for its dense populations, there is a tree in the middle of a busy intersection of roads. In its trunk are embedded three religions in the form of a small cross, a small temple, a small mosque. Hurtling

around this unique traffic island, in a Bombay taxi, one is struck not so much by the three faiths as by the sacredness of a single tree which provides sanctuary to three separate religions in a land noted for the savagery of its religious riots. Eighteen hundred kilometres south-east of that traffic island, near Madras, there is a mile of towering terracotta statues. Twenty-foot high elephants, horses, armed and moustachioed warriors stand as a guard of honour over the path the pilgrim must take to reach the shrine, which is a tree.

The forest, then, is India's central metaphor for Nature, venerated as a symbol of inexhaustible fertility, represented again and again in Indian art as the tree of life, referred to again and again in Indian literature as a paradigm of the cosmos.

So, with all this veneration, this adoration, this reproduction in art and literature and philosophy, it seems beyond belief that Indians could have permitted half the trees of India to be cut down over the last century, and themselves axed half the remaining fifty percent in the last thirty years.

The Hindu scriptures tell us that we are living in *Kalyug*, the Age of Evil. And the characteristic evil of our evil age is speed. Even so, the statistics of what is happening to India's forest cover are terrifying. Of the dense jungle that covered the great range of the Himalayas in 1950, it is calculated that, if commercial felling continues at the present rate, there will not be a single tree left by the end of the century—only five years away.

IT IS AS IF THE SUBCONTINENT, in replacing veneration of the tree with consumption of the tree, is no longer able to connect cause with effect. The sages sitting in the forests of ancient India, reciting the *Puranas*, may have had some presentiment of the India that was to come. In the Puranic text that tells the legend of sacred speech taking sanctuary from the gods in a grove of trees, it is said the gods were enraged when the trees refused to return her to them, gifting her instead to humankind as music and literature. In their anger the gods placed a curse upon trees: "Because through instruments made of wood you have given sacred speech to humankind, so with instruments made again from your own bodies, by axes with wooden handles, as thunderbolts will humans cut you down."

Nearly 300 years ago women and men of the Bishnoi tribe died in an attempt to end that curse. The Bishnoi faith prohibits the cutting of green trees, and demands absolute protection of the shade and fodder tree of the area, the *khejari*. As a result, their lands are still fertile while all around them fields have been claimed by the desert of Rajasthan. Although in earlier centuries other members of the Bishnoi tribe gave their lives to protect their trees, it is the martyrdom of Amrita Devi, a woman from a Bishnoi village in the kingdom of Jodhpur, which is most often retold.

Amrita Devi, like her fellow tribals, had been raised to love and tend the trees that encircled her village. So when the axemen of the king of Jodhpur, needing timber for the king's lime kilns, arrived to cut down the trees, Amrita Devi confronted the axemen, begging them to leave the forest untouched. She explained the religious beliefs of the Bishnois, but the king's axemen were unmoved. Amrita Devi flung her arms around the first tree marked for felling. As the axes cut through her body, she uttered the words

which have become a slogan of her tribe: "A chopped head is still easier to replace than a chopped tree."

Amrita Devi's daughter took the place of her dismembered mother. She too was killed, only to be replaced by a younger sister, who, in dying, yielded her place to the youngest sister, who also gave her life trying to protect the tree with her body. Unarmed men, women, and children, from eighty-three surrounding Bishnoi villages, converged on Amrita Devi's village to protect the trees, but the axemen were still unmoved, and by nightfall nearly 400 tribals, from forty-nine separate villages had been butchered. Whole families, like Amrita Devi and her daughters, had died in defence of the *khejari* forest.

There is an annual fair still held in commemoration of those deaths, in Amrita Devi's village. A regular visitor to this fair is a man named Sunderlal Bahuguna, a man whom many Indians revere as the *Mahatma* of India's forests. He calls the fair "my one important place of pilgrimage," because it is the method first used by the Bishnoi tribe that he emulated in the Chipko movement to save what remains of the Himalayan forests.

The word *chipko* means to "cling to," and throughout the Himalayas, villagers and conservationists, students and folk poets, are attempting to halt India's deforestation by clinging to trees marked for felling by commercial contractors. The Chipko movement is also planting trees, fighting to replace the monoculture forests of fast-growing trees, like the eucalyptus and the pine—which give nothing to the soil or to the people who live off it, but are for the wood pulp industry—with the great slow-growing trees and the mixed forests on which so much of India's economy and ecological balance has always depended.

The movement has spread from the Himalayas to South India, where ten years ago a group of peasants, men and women, marched *en masse* to a government nursery and pulled out thousands of eucalyptus seedlings, planting tamarind and mango seeds in their place, protesting that these trees, not the eucalyptus keep the soil and its people alive. They were thrown into jail, while Indian newspapers continued to carry full-page advertisements for just such government nurseries, heavily supported by the officials of the World Bank, urging Indians to invest in eucalyptus. "Money Grows on Trees!" the advertisements shrieked. "Earn green gold! Bumper Profits will be Yours!" The officials that run these nurseries, as indeed their colleagues in the World Bank, would not pass the test of good government as described in a folk tale of the Santal tribals of Bengal and Orissa.

Once upon a time, the story goes, there was a king, who had many water reservoirs, and around the edges of the water he planted trees: mangoes, peepuls, palm trees, banyan trees; and the banyan trees were bigger than any others. And every day after his bath the king used to walk about and look at the trees. And one morning, as he did so, he saw a maiden go up to a banyan tree and climb it, and the tree was then carried up into the sky. But when the king went in the evening he saw the tree in its place again. The same thing happened three or four days in a row. The king told no one, but one morning he climbed the banyan tree before the maiden appeared, and when she came he was carried up to the sky along with her. In the sky the maiden descended from the tree and went to dance with a crowd of divine

milkmaids. So the king also got down and joined in the dance. He was so absorbed that he took no note of the time. And when he at last tore himself away, he found the banyan tree had disappeared. There was nothing to be done but stay in the sky. So he began to wander about and soon he came to some men building a palace as quickly as they could. He asked for whom the palace was being built, and they said, "For you, because you are a good ruler who plants trees for your subjects so they will have food and shelter long after you have gone." Suddenly the banyan tree reappeared, so the king climbed into it and was carried back to earth.

After that, the king used to visit the banyan tree every day, and when he found that it did not wither, although it had been taken up to the sky from its roots, he concluded that what he had seen was true, and he began to prepare for death, distributing all his wealth among his subjects, and making no answer to the questions of his courtiers. A few days later he died and was taken to the palace which he had seen being built in the sky. Because it is said by us Santals, "The trees you have tended in this world will bring you honour in the next world, and all the worlds beyond."

I can't help agreeing with the Santals, that planting a tree does indeed bring honour to those who do so, including all those politicians who plant trees with fixed smiles on their faces, while the world's cameras record their exertions. But as an Indian, I know there is more than honour in the action. For us the preservation of trees is as much a matter of cultural as of ecological survival. The forests have been the cradle, the university, the monastery and the library of Indian civilization. By denying our essential dendrophilia, our love of the tree, which gave us a view of the world in which people and nature were dependent on each other, by exchanging this vision for the dendrophobia of Western culture which has made us the monarch and the consumer of nature, clearing forests first for agriculture and then for industry, we are exchanging our capacity to understand the relationship between living things into a purely linear, purely profit-oriented view of the world.

And for a more precise understanding of what this view of the world means, we have only to listen to the alarm expressed by the astronauts circling the planet, who have said that the earth is now obscured by smoke—smoke rising from the funeral pyres of the Earth's great forests, stretching from Brazil to Siberia.

India has traditionally prided herself on being *karma bhoomi*, the land of experience, calling all other places the lands of the consumer. From the folk tales of her tribals to the monumental works which are the pillars of Indian civilization, India has no shortage of experience to draw upon in helping the world find a balance between people and their technology, and the Earth on which they wield it. But if the curse of the *Puranas* has indeed found its time, and Indians persist, like thunderbolts, in cutting down their trees, then we will become a people ever more deracinated, literally cutting ourselves off from our cultural and philosophical roots, by the very act of cutting down our trees.

And a treeless India will be a land of sorrow. After all, in a land without trees, we Indians should ask ourselves where will all those unmarried girls go to find themselves a husband?

THE CALL OF THE FOREST

ECOLOGICAL ALTERNATIVES AND NATURAL ECO-LIVING AT THE EDGE OF SILVILIZATION

by

Eric E. van MONCKHOVEN⁹⁷

"Man is a tribal animal" Manitonquat⁹⁸

IN MARCH 1994, a group of people the media had named The Tribe—an "intentional" community born in France in 1976—decided to separate. At this last *rendez-vous* in the mountains of Aspromonte,⁹⁹ there were about fifty people. Maybe more. Maybe less. For me, everything started during the summer of 1979. In Paris, I met a group of ecotopians who aspired to green the planet through the creation of a transnational platform for ecologi-

97. The author is an international consultant in matters pertaining to the environment and sustainable development. He is quite active in developing the European Global Eco-village Network, in the creation of an Urban ecological Park (Ecolandia) in Regio Calabria, Southern Italy, and in the organization of natural ecoliving training programs. This text is a translation from the French version by the author with our assistance.

98. *Manitonquat* is the *powwah*, or spiritual leader, and the *minatou*, or wisdom-keeper of Wampanaog nation's Assonet band. Better known as *Medicine Story*, he is also the promoter of the Rainbow Gathering. Since 1981, he has lived in Greenville, N. H., where he is leader of the Mettanoket community. Together with his companion, Ellika Linden, he co-founded the *International Theater of the Children of Peace*. Besides his activities as story teller and playwright, he does volunteer work to help prisoners and to organize seminars. In a book *Return to Creation* (Bear Tribe Publishing [1991] P.O. Box 9167, Spokane, Washington, U.S.A. 99209), he expresses in-depth his views on the traditions of his people and about the world.

99. The Aspromonte is a massive forest mountain at the extreme south of Calabria (Italy), one of the poorest regions of Europe in terms of GNP, but very rich in terms of its biodiversity and traditions.

cal and alternative groups. Although this project seemed to me to be very ambitious, I was won over and I joined in.

In search of the lost paradigm

At the origin, there was the idea of building up a vast network connecting co-operatives of a new kind—the *eco-living co-operatives ECOOP*—with the aim of providing their members—consumers and producers—with healthy alternative goods and services on a fair trade basis. Such a venture was likely to happen partly because of a large number of volunteers. Some of them were experimenting and experiencing a kind of community living in the eastern suburb of Paris, that was inspired by utopian socialism, following the Native Indian and Franciscan spirit.

In 1978, *The Horse of 3*¹⁰⁰—a three thousand square meter space located in the heart of Paris—became a meeting place fully dedicated to alternative lifestyles, and of crucial importance for networking. Just a few months after its inception, thousands of people stemming from different walks of life became part of this network.

To external observers and to the media, all this was perceived as a veritable challenge to the French "establishment," not only on an ethical and political basis, but also socially and economically. What would become of "nuclearized and militarized France" if such pluralistic, bioregional and self-reliant communities, organized in such networks and federations of mutual interests, were to spread all over the country?

The eco-operatives were places where people could meet each other and from where they could re-assess "modernity," "progress," and "development." As the movement blossomed, all kinds of new initiatives were rapidly born.

In March 1980, a large number of peace, third world and ecological organizations took part in *New Earth—the first international symposium of alternative lifestyles*, which took place in Paris. During the entire week thousands of visitors came to talk about concrete ways of becoming environmental-friendly with Mankind and the Earth. Topics discussed included development of organic farming, natural food, alternative health care, renewable energy, waste management and recycling, free radio communications, North-South dialogue, non-violence and disarmament.

In 1981 and 1982, two successive editions of *New Earth* were organized at the Bastille Pavilion. The represented genuine *Eco-living Workshops*. The number of visitors had grown from 30,000 to 50,000, with people coming not only from France, but also from Japan, India, Canada, United States, Poland, Germany, Belgium, Spain and Scandinavia.

These participants symbolized the emergence of a new generation which felt a growing need for meeting and dialogue—free from politics. Alternative and ecological networks were rapidly springing up in every city and countryside, embracing each aspect of daily life. Names such as

100. The French original *Cheval de Troie*, i.e. number 3, carries a play on words with *Cheval de Troie* (Trojan horse).

Friends of the Earth, *Médecins sans Frontières*, *Frères des Hommes*, *Chipko*, *Solidarinosc*, *Stampa Alternativa*, etc, were increasingly familiar to the public.

In 1981, the idea of creating a green university was born. It was to be an independent body whose aim was to explore all the streams of human thought and to find innovative ways to answer such problems as the arms race, drug addiction, starvation and poverty. During the summer 1984, Professor Johan Galtung—a Norwegian sociologist and the author of a large number of books and articles about irenology¹⁰¹ and the social cosmology of the West—was nominated rector of this *New International University*. In the Fall of 1984, the first cycle of public courses was inaugurated, covering such topics as *Gandhi Today*; *Hitlerism*, *Stalinism* and *Reaganism*; *The Green Movement*, etc.

In the same year that famine erupted in Africa, a group of experts from this university mobilized to submit an action plan—*The Sahelian Front*—to the governments of the sub-saharian region and to international organizations. The main goal of this huge project of transnational co-operation was to fight desertification, from Green Cape to Djibouti, by promoting endogenous technologies, by strengthening village grassroots' initiatives, and by creating an eco-development task-force—*The Green Helmets*.¹⁰²

Another group of experts left Paris and headed for Senegal. This was to be a three year program of nomadism whereby people would cross southern Europe and Africa on foot. The threefold objective was to experiment with techniques of nomadism on foot and of ecological forest survival; to set up a public information campaign about the degradation of natural environments and desertification throughout the world; to collect information on oral traditions in view of creating a data-base on alternative and vernacular knowledge and know-how. Despite the fact that Moroccan authorities did not allow the expedition to pass through its territory, the participants were not discouraged, even if they had already covered 6,000 kilometers through France, Spain and Portugal. Blocked during 18 months at Ceuta, they launched a new walking program.

From 1988 to 1990, thousands of trees were planted in Italy during a second walking campaign—*The Greening of the Mediterranean Basin*. In 1991, the campaign won the United Nations Environment Programme Global 500 Award at Mexico City. In Italy, the ministry of environment rehabilitated *The Feast of the Trees*, a yearly event where school children plant trees. A decree was proclaimed which invited the municipal authorities to plant annually as many trees as there had been births on their territory.

Women without Frontiers, an organization of women dedicated to peace and sustainable development that was born in the wake of the New University, launched a third walking program. The initial goal was to create a green belt connecting the Etna Volcano in Sicily and the Chernobyl nuclear power station in Byelorussia by planting a tree at every kilometre that they walked. *The Mothers for Life/Walking Trees* walked 6,000 kilometers

101. Irenology is the science of peace.

102. Ecological units of monitoring and intervention.

across Europe, through 10 countries¹⁰³ involving hundreds of non profit organizations, schools, youth clubs. In August 1991, they were in Berlin to celebrate the breakdown of the wall. For reasons beyond their control, Oslo was the last leg of their journey.

From 1991 to 1993, some one hundred people took part in a research programme of ecological survival in the Finnish wilderness. It was about experimenting with, studying and giving value to community-based and forest eco-living practice inspired by the traditions of tribal peoples. A pilot village was set up 200 kilometers North of the Polar Circle. After one year of intense public debate in the press and in the political arena, the authorities would not allow the group—dubbed by the media as *The Indian Lifestyle people*—to stay in the area. Despite a large support campaign of public support backed up by a committee of well-known academics from universities world-wide, nothing could be done to convince the authorities to withdraw their decision to proceed with the mass deportation decision.

The latter act of repression was to prefigure the end of the "Tribe's" odyssey throughout Europe. The "Tribe" and many others represent the vibrant and peaceful call of many young people for a reorientation of lifestyles and for a reconversion of the socio-economic structures which directly threaten and in the long term, the very existence and survival of mankind and of the planet.

The challenge of the 80's

During the industrial revolution, one could see that the dominating society had created a multiplicity of institutional bodies to regulate the flow of peoples and to subjugate them to economic goals. Cities and factories became the main features of man's mental, physical and social landscape. The power strategy was based on the denial of:

"solidarity existing between the nature of a place and the culture of a group, by parcelling out the land, by privatizing it, and by creating barriers, enclosures, walls, places of forced residence that were to become the bounded reservations where the problems for which the industrial world had no solution had to be handled. Psychiatric institutes to cure insanity, cultural houses to prevent social and cultural inequities, asylums for elders condemned to isolation after the breakdown of their family, relocation institutes and prisons to answer delinquency, public centres of social help, youth clubs... so many territorial compartments, inherent in a model of technical and social segregation, both of nature and of culture."¹⁰⁴

In 1969, Man walked on the moon. Our worldviews collapsed. What was meant to be simply a technological achievement was soon at the origin

103. Italy, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, Denmark and Sweden.

104. Ronald Pirson, *Des Associations. Espace pour une citoyenneté européenne*. Éd. Pac/Vie Ouvrière, Fondation Marcel Hichter, 1987, Bruxelles.

of a prodigious mind-shake. With the image of the earth, shot from outer space, we could no longer live in splendid isolation.

In a book published in 1986 at Barrault and titled "*Nous l'avons tant aimée la révolution*," Daniel Cohn Bendit, an emblematic figure of the late 60's student insurrection, summed up in a few lines the prevailing reasons that caused the great awakening that moved the youth at that time:

"In 1968, the planet was set ablaze. It almost seemed as if somebody had given a universal password. In Paris as in Berlin, in Rome and in Torino, the street and the cobblestone became the symbols of an era of rebellion. Jim Morrison was singing 'We want the world and we want it now.' This happened 15 years ago.

"Supported by the prodigious development of the means of communication, we were the first generation to live the physical and daily presence of the whole world, through a flow of images and sounds. Not only thanks to music and to TV news—all these images created violent reactions, indignations and feelings which shook up a lot of youngsters, whatever their nationality.—but also thanks to cinema, mass fashion, behaviour and consumerism. This was possible only if one could see these images, if the standard of living in your country could allow the development of mass media and if the political regimes allowed that information to circulate.

"I'm convinced that we have not only been living in a time of intoxicating enthusiasm, but also of great anguish. There are still many people asking themselves what pushed them to rise up and to fight in the beginning of the 70's. I think we were willing to change the course of our life. We wanted to partake in the piece of history that was being written at that time. This ambition has sealed our destiny and thrown us into a form of political activism rich with very intense experiences, but also heavy with dangers and risks difficult to evaluate.

"The taste for life, the orientation taken by history, this is the key to understand why we took up the challenge."

The dominant features of the industrial and urban society, the excess of materialism, the accumulation of data and figures were no longer satisfactory. One had to live in the present and to fit into a deeper dynamic: that of life, of nature, of man, in all its complexity, diversity and intensity. It was a revolution in the hearts and minds, in the streets, in the factories and in the universities.

"Let us regain the control of our lives" was a motto in the middle of the 70's. Like many other slogans of the time, it proclaimed the movement of thousands of young people who were going to rebuild their lives, without having to wait for the blessing of the politician, the priest or the technocrat. New symbolic sites emerged which soon became new fields of commitment: concerns about practical ecology, the social economy, alternative health care, natural survival, continuing education, local and community-based development, cultural action, international solidarity, etc.

Nothing could limit the democratization of culture, any more than the culture of democracy. Unpredictable in form, dispersed in time and space, these experiences transgressed all forms of barrier and prohibition. Some were real success stories. Many were real achievements. One cannot deny their unquestionable impact in all sectors of society.

*Nit moy garabou nit*¹⁰⁵

There were people involved with the *Ecoovie* network, with the *New University* and with the *Sahelian Front* who met in 1976 in the suburb of Paris to found *The Tribe*. They were sharing the common desire to return to a forgotten and extinguished tradition of brother/sisterhood with their relations—the elemental forces, the realm of plants, the wild animals—and with the rhythms and human organizational forms that go with that.

In France and all over Europe, one could see us—half rebels and half "troubadours," half Indians and half Gypsies—founding non-profit organizations, arranging workshops, congresses, festivals, campaigns, information and meeting networks, on issues ranging from practical ecology to alternatives-to-development; setting up campsites along the paths and in the woods, picking up and transforming a wide range of plants for hygiene, food and textiles, planting thousands of trees and taking good care of dozens of "honeycombed" gardens; walking 15,000 kilometers across mountains and forests, singing and dancing human solidarity, natural harmony and dialogue, witnessing the return to values that brought us forward; studying, researching and reactualizing craft techniques and vernacular knowledge—that people had forgotten, although they were in use in remote periods of history all around Europe, Africa, Asia, America and in the Pacific.

It was a question of innovating, culturally and socially, of freeing ourselves from the yoke of history which sees in Western industrial civilization the topmost stage of human growth. In the beginning of the 80's, we were about 200 people willing to experiment with "silvilization," the "savage" lifestyle, another way of seeing the world, i.e. from the *Silva*, the Forest.

We were not the first ones to question history, the one taught at schools. Many of our questions were about ancient and minority cultures. The reports of recognized sociologists, psychologists, archaeologists, ethnologists and anthropologists nurtured our collective imaginary world. The results of a certain number of encounters that were discussed by the group, enriched our readings of reality. How could one stay indifferent to the call of Francis Mazière in his "*Lettre aux Hommes oubliés*" published by the magazine *Planète* in 1952?

"It's now time to decide if we consider the primordial/primal/primitive cultures as lower stages of evolution according to our dialectics, or if the most advanced scientific works are not looking for truths that have been kept in the parables of these people of very ancient cultures. The main

105. *Nit moy garabou nit*, "Man is a tree-cure for Man," is a Senegambian proverb of Wolof origin.

question is to know if it is still possible to attempt a dialogue between us and them."

Many methodological and deontological questions called out for an answer. The arrogance of the scientific approach did not at all satisfy us. It seemed to us that the descendants and heirs of some of these human traditions not yet completely eradicated by *civilization* had something to teach us.

We were remembering those adventurers, a large majority of francophones, who having fled from Europe—a continent broken down by war, famine and epidemics—had woven links of heart and blood with the natives in the New World. They favored life in the wilderness among the tribes to the constraints of Church and State in the colonies. What followed was the gradual gestation of a new nation—the Métis.

Among us were Basques, Normans, Britains, Slovenes, Walloons, Ainus, "*pièdes-noirs*." With a large number of other cultural shores/views to be explored, couldn't we consider ourselves *métis*?

The house and the garden we had on the banks of the Marne river became the headquarters of the *Laboratory of Experimental Paleo-archaeology* and of the *first European indigenous reservation*. It was in this small plot located in the suburb of Paris that we went into the initial stage of camp life management. We built up flexible and modular housing structures on the site, with a lodging capacity equal to a block of ten flats; we transformed the ornamental garden into a productive area—it became a place of relief for a wide range of foods, aromatic and medicinal plants; the house looked like a university library or a study centre the garage came to be a production studio; we drew a map of the region with related data about abandoned orchards and woods where we could pick up plants and firewood. We baptized *Amazonie* a piece of land located at some 30 kilometers; we transformed it into a demonstration area for ecological gardening and permaculture.

Our aims were not all predefined. There was such movement in the air and in our minds; people were so well disposed that everything seemed real, realistic and attainable. Of course, some may say that it was just a matter of youthfulness, fancy and spontaneity. This was our way, the way by which we could transcend the limits of the "*conformisme bourgeois*" that we had, more or less, individually experienced before. The future was in our hands. It was our duty to envision it, to live it, to imbed it.

Liberated from drug addiction, alcoholism and models of mass consumption, we have been living during more than a decade moments of deep intercommunion and great joy—a festival of outstanding intensity. This does not mean that there were no torments, nor moments of crisis, great confusion or frustration. In the countries where our activities were related to those of Pierre Maltais, a Canadian businessman¹⁰⁶ who was active in some of the projects, the media and some administrative authorities responded with aggressiveness and belligerence. There are still many unresolved questions and much mystery surrounding that man's motivations and real interests, and only the future will tell if his detractors were right or wrong. But

106. J. P. Delière and Brewae, *Le Micmac des services secrets*.

we cannot keep silent about the too sudden departure of some persons who were so dear to us and who lost their lives in sad conditions.

Toward new solidarities

One can read and write history as a confrontation between masters and slaves, as a process that obeys the laws of natural selection. We can be haunted by death impulses or by predatory appetites. One can state like some philosophers of the 17th century that "*Man is a wolf to man.*" But this is not the whole of history.

In the course of centuries, the civilizational process has given birth to organizational systems—agricultural, industrial, and urban—that were imposed by force. Today, more than ever before, these systems are running out of steam and getting bogged down, and even threatening a large portion of mankind. Even the middle class, which was the incarnation of success and industrial progress, is slowly losing everything that it considered to be its gain.

What yesterday was obvious only to a minority has become an unquestionable truth in the eyes of the majority: the imperative of material growth and development, the economic exploitation of the earth and of its natural resources in favor of a privileged class of people, are leading to the shameless modernization that is poverty and violence, both in the North and in the South, throughout the world.

"The leaders of the newly founded nations—from Nehru to Nkrumah, from Nasser to Sukarno—accepted the image that the North had of the South, and internalized it as their self-image. Underdevelopment became the cognitive foundation for the establishment of nations throughout the Third World (...) Economic development as the primary aim of the state beautifully suited the Western concept of the world as an economic arena."¹⁰⁷

In the face of the abyss created by the hegemony of civilizational thought based on ethnocide, ecocide and economicide, a new dynamic of social movements has sprung up. At the margins and the periphery, in the countryside and the suburbs, where the paralysis brought about by development is the most glaring, a portion of humanity has already given up the illusions about economic growth. It is bringing to fruition the past experiences, producing self-reliance, elaborating answers which are more respectful of both mankind and nature. New solidarities, or ancient ones that are being reenacted, are born, and along with them, new forms of organization and identity.

As western scientists rediscover nature according to the ancient Greek meaning of physis;¹⁰⁸ as political and social institutions find themselves impotent in the face of cumbersome human realities, nothing can prevent us

107. Wolfgang Sachs, "The Archaeology of the Development Idea" in *Interculture*, Montreal, Fall 1990, Issue 109, p. 5.

108. I. Prigogine and I. Stengers *La Nouvelle Alliance*, Folio/Essais, Gallimard, Paris, 1979–1986.

from hoping that the visions, knowledge and organizational structures inherent in primordial worldviews and *silvilization* will again find a place of honour in the fields of cultures, technical/scientific/social innovation. The latter have yet to be liberated from their materialistic arrogance and from their autocratic, bureaucratic, and technocratic narcissism.

As ideals and concepts *Silvilization* and *Civilization* exist of course only in our minds and on paper. But real men and women cannot be reduced to mental categories, whatever they may be. At every turn of their journey of cultural dissidence, the *Tribe* members have met with the resistance of a system whose rationalism leads to irrationality. They have understood some of its mechanisms and perceived its internal limits. Simultaneously, they have become aware of the pluralism of the ways that remain to be explored, but also of the long journey that still lies ahead.

Goethe wrote: "*Theories are grey, but the trees are always green.*"

Welcome!



THE WAY

An Ecological World-View
EDWARD GOLDSMITH

First published in 1992, THE WAY is Edward Goldsmith's *magnum opus*. This new edition has been fully revised and incorporates a glossary, references and index.

The book first provides a radical critique of the world-view of Modernism which shapes all the disciplines in terms of which we seek to understand the world.

The Way then sets out what must be the underlying principles of a truly ecological world-view. The first is that our real wealth is our natural wealth. Primal human societies saw things very much in this way. Human welfare, for them, was maximized by maintaining the critical order of the cosmos. In many archaic societies, a word existed for the path or Way that had to be followed in order to maintain the critical order of the cosmos. The whole behaviour pattern of such societies were made to conform to the Way and thereby primarily served to achieve the same goal.

Whereas with us, major problems are interpreted as evidence that economic development has not proceeded far or fast enough, for such a society they indicated that it had diverted from the Way, disrupting thereby the critical order of the cosmos.

A truly ecological world-view, as the author sees it, must necessarily be based on the world-view of chthonic societies, whose members, significantly enough, were the only people who knew how to satisfy their real needs without destroying society and the natural world.

Goldsmith has written a masterpiece. It is ecological philosophy, not in the usual sense of environmental ethics, but an all-embracing system in which the traditional concerns of Western philosophy and science are given an entirely new context... Every writer of environmental philosophy from now on will have to take Goldsmith's work into account.

J. Donald Hughes, Professor of History, University of Denver and author of *Ecology in Ancient Civilizations*

Shattering the scientific and economic paradigms that have created the mess we are in, Goldsmith articulates a new comprehensive point-by-point blueprint for the radical changes in human thinking, and in our systems of organization, that stand a chance to sustain life on Earth. Anyone interested in charting the planet's survival must read this vital work.

Jerry Mander, author of *In the Absence of the Sacred*

Themis Book, 576 pp, 242 x 144mm. ISBN 0952730227, \$62 (£28.50) cloth edition; ISBN 0952730235, \$36 (£16.50) paperback edition. You can order from the Intercultural Institute of Montreal or from Green Books Ltd, Foxhole, Dartington, Totnes, Devon U.K. TQ9 6EB Tel: 01803 863260

Sci-Fi or Sports Fishing Politics or Parenting Forbidden Fashions or Feminist Fiction

**Whatever your interest,
we've got a Canadian Magazine for you!**

Order Great Canadian Magazines today
A subscription catalogue for everyone



Great Canadian Magazines 1997 is here! Nowhere will you find so many intriguing titles on virtually every topic under the sun. There are 100's of special and general interest publications to choose from. And because all these magazines are published here in Canada, you get news and views that are relevant to your life.

Use it to find the perfect gift, one to match the special interests of your family and friends. Or treat yourself to some great reading at home or at work. Great Canadian Magazines 1997 is annotated and indexed, and has a handy address directory too.

To get your new catalogue, fill in the coupon and mail it today with \$5 (including GST, shipping and handling). We are also happy to take VISA or Mastercard orders by fax or phone.

**VISA AND MASTERCARD, PHONE
AND FAX ORDERS ARE WELCOME!**

TEL (416) 504-0274 FAX: (416) 504-0437

CANADIAN MAGAZINE PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
130 Spadina Avenue #202, Toronto, ON M5V 2L4
TEL (416) 504-0274 FAX: (416) 504-0437

**10% off on two or more
subscriptions!**

Great gift ideas!



Yes! Send me Great Canadian Magazines 1997. I enclose my credit card information or cheque for \$5 (GST, postage and handling are covered in this amount).

Name _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Cheque enclosed	<input type="checkbox"/> Credit Card
Address _____	Visa	exp. date _____
City _____	Mastercard	exp. date _____
Prov. _____	Signature _____	
Postal _____		

Interculture

CULTURES AND SOCIETIES		
•Cross-Cultural Economics, <i>R. Panikkar</i>	77	
•Human Rights, a Western Concept? I (<i>photocopy</i>) – II 2 <i>issues</i>	82–83	
•Peace and Cultural Disarmament, <i>R. Panikkar</i>	89	
•Should We Say No to Development?	95	
•State and Culture, <i>A. Nandy</i>	99	
•The Challenge of Collective Rights	103	
•Science and Culture, <i>Hinzmann, Nandy, Baquer et al.</i>	112	
•The Right of Conquest, I, <i>É. Le Roy et al.</i> – II, <i>H. Zaoual et al.</i> 2 <i>issues</i>	116–117	
•Ecosophy and Silvilization, <i>E. Goldsmith, G. Snyder, G. Mehta, E. von Monckhoven</i>	*132	
Quebec		
•Who is Québécois, I: Statements; II: Questions; III: History (3 <i>Issues</i>)	58–59–60	
•From an Integrationist to a Cross-Cultural Quebec	73	
•Interculturalism in Quebec: Philosophy and Practices among the NGOs, <i>Kalpana Das</i>	123	
— Books —		
• <i>The Way: an Ecological World-view,</i> <i>E. Goldsmith, cloth edition</i>	\$62	#1
• <i>The Way... paperback edition</i>	\$36	#2
• <i>Guide des archives des organismes interculturels du Québec,</i>	\$25	#3

INTERCULTURALISM AND NATIVE PEOPLES		
-------------------------------------	--	--

•Some basic sociological facts, <i>R. Vachon</i>	113
•Mohawk and Western cultures, a contrast, <i>R. Vachon</i>	114
•The Mohawk Dynamics of Peace, <i>R. Vachon</i>	*118
•Seven Mohawk Communities. The Warriors, <i>R. Vachon</i>	121
<i>Intercultural foundations of Peace between Mohawk nation and North American States</i>	
•Towards a common language, <i>Robert Vachon</i>	*127
•A common horizon, <i>Robert Vachon</i>	128
•A new method, <i>Robert Vachon</i>	129

Proceedings of the Conference
"White Justice / Native / Justice", \$20 #4

- **Meeting of Cultures, I, II (2 issues)** 57-61
- **Intercultural Education,
II, III, IV(3 issues)** 51-87-88
- **Intercultural Health,
I, II, III (3 issues)** 54-56-67
- **Social Work and Cultural Pluralism** 100
- **Images of Health and Healing** 101
- **How is Wisdom Communicated?**
S. Eastham 115

- International Cooperation and Cultures,
II, III (2 issues) 80–81
- The Alternative Economics Movement,
S. Hunt 102
- The Autonomous Economy,
I II, *A. De Romafña* (2 issues) 104–105
- The Archaeology of the Development Idea,
W. Sachs 109
- Global Poverty: A Pauperizing Myth,
M. Rahnema 111
- The Post-Modern Era. Some Signs and
Priorities, *F. Vachon, A. Nandy, W. Sachs,*
R. Panikkar *130

- **Book** —

- Liberation Theology, Asian Perspective 68

- ## CULTURAL WORLDS

- INTERCULTURAL INSTITUTE OF MONTREAL**

- The Monchanin Cross-Cultural Centre ,
I, History & Practice, II Orientation
(2 issues) 90-91

Individual \$5 per issue (*with asterisk: \$9.50) # _____ \$19 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$52 ☐
Institution \$9 per issue (*with asterisk: \$16) # _____ \$33 ☐ \$60 ☐ \$88 ☐
Book(s) (Prices include mailing and taxes) # _____ Enclosed \$ _____

Abroad, subscription add \$4/year — Quebec: add 6.5% PST1006100976, GSTR118847581



Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Prov./State _____

Postal code _____ Country _____

Tel. _____ Office _____

PAYMENT:  ☐  ☐ Cheque ☐

International Money Order ☐ Bank Draft ☐

Card No. _____

Expiration date _____

Signature _____

Payable to the Intercultural Institute of Montreal, 4917 St.Urbain, Montreal PQ Canada H2T 2W1
Prices are in Canadian Dollars. Abroad: you can pay by a Bank Draft drawn on a Canadian Bank
Phone orders: (514) 288-7229—Fax: (514) 844-6800