

SECOND EDITION

#56

DOGMAS *and* DREAMS

A READER IN MODERN
POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Edited by Nancy S. Love

STUDIES IN POLITICAL THINKING
SERIES EDITOR: George J. Graham Jr.
Vanderbilt University

DOGMAS AND DREAMS

A Reader in Modern Political Ideologies

SECOND EDITION

Edited by Nancy S. Love
Pennsylvania State University

Chatham House Publishers, Inc.
Chatham, New Jersey

Dogmas and Dreams: A Reader
in Modern Political Ideologies
SECOND EDITION

Chatham House Publishers, Inc.
Box One, Chatham, New Jersey 07928

Copyright © 1998 by Chatham House Publishers, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Publisher: Patricia Artinian
Managing editor: Katharine Miller
Cover design: Lawrence Ratzkin
Production supervisor: Melissa A. Martin
Composition: Bang, Motley, Olufsen
Printing and binding: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dogmas and dreams: a reader in modern political ideologies / edited by
Nancy S. Love. — 2nd ed.

p. cm. — (Chatham House studies in political thinking)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 1-56643-043-7
1. Political science. 2. Ideology. 3. Right and left (Political science) I. Love, Nancy Sue, 1954- . II. Series.
JA66.D64 1998 CIP
320.5-dc21 97-17502

Manufactured in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank individually some of the people who have helped me to dedicate this book. Isaac Kramnick is the person who inspired me when I assisted in his course "Liberalism and the Modern World." He is a superb teacher and his influence on me is profound. He is also for its subtler forms, which could not also want to thank my students at Penn State who in my ideologies course tested these ideas and helped me to refine them. Rochelle Quiggle and Lisa Iancu and helped, along with Tracey Iancu and Regina Moore, to prepare the manuscript.

For a project such as this, staff support is essential. Ayalla typed much of the text. Jo Ann critical points when it seemed it would be impossible. Adesalu supervised the whole process.

At Chatham House, my thanks to Patricia Artinian, Katharine Miller for seeing the project through the publication process and to Edward Artinian for his support.

I would also like to thank the individuals who granted permission to include the following in this book.

Diane Ravitch, "Pluralism within Multiculturalism," is from *Rights and Responsibilities*, copyright © 1995. Reprinted with permission of Basic Books, New York.

Milton Friedman and The University of Chicago Press, *Capitalism and Freedom*, Chicago.

Isaac Kramnick and *Dissent*, for Isaac Kramnick's "The Race of Life," *Dissent* 28, no. 2 (Spring 1985).

Michael Oakeshott, "On Being Conservative," in *On Being Conservative and Other Essays*, by Michael Oakeshott, printed by permission of Basic Books, New York.

Irving Kristol, "Capitalism, Socialism, and the Future of the West," in *The Mission of Irving Kristol, c/o Writers' Group*, *Neo-Conservatism: The Autobiography of Irving Kristol*, New York: Basic Books, 1997.

CONTENTS

<i>Introduction: Ideology and Democracy</i>	xv
---	----

<i>Part One — Liberalism and Democracy</i>	i
--	---

1. John Locke, <i>Treatise of Civil Government</i>	7
2. John Stuart Mill, <i>On Liberty</i>	19
3. John Stuart Mill, <i>Considerations on Representative Government</i>	46
4. <i>The Federalist Papers</i> , nos. 10 and 51	59
5. Diane Ravitch, <i>Pluralism within Unity: A Communitarian Version of Multiculturalism</i>	69
6. Milton Friedman, <i>Capitalism and Freedom</i>	77
7. Isaac Kramnick, <i>Equal Opportunity and the 'Race of Life'</i>	99

<i>Part Two — Conservatism</i>	113
--------------------------------	-----

8. Michael Oakeshott, <i>On Being Conservative</i>	119
9. Edmund Burke, <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i>	141
10. Irving Kristol, <i>Capitalism, Socialism, and Nihilism</i>	153
11. Phyllis Schlafly, <i>The Power of the Positive Woman</i>	165
12. Allan Bloom, <i>The Democratization of the University</i>	179

<i>Part Three — Socialism</i>	201
-------------------------------	-----

13. Charles Fourier, <i>Utopian Socialism</i>	207
14. Karl Marx, <i>Estranged Labor</i>	229
15. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, <i>The Communist Manifesto</i>	242
16. Karl Marx, <i>Value, Price, and Profit</i>	268

17. V.I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* 293
 18. V.I. Lenin, *The Economic Base of the Withering
 Away of the State* 308
 19. Eduard Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism* 323
 20. Students for a Democratic Society, *The Port Huron
 Statement* 341

Part Four — Anarchism

21. Emma Goldman, *Anarchism: What It Really Stands For* 353
 22. Henry David Thoreau, *Essay on Civil Disobedience* 359
 23. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *What Is Property? or, An Inquiry
 into the Principle of Right and of Government* 370
 24. Petyr Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid* 378
 25. Mikhail Bakunin, *Scientific Anarchism* 391
 26. Friedrich Engels, *On Authority and Versus the Anarchists* 402
 416

Part Five — Fascism

27. Joseph Mazzini, *The Duties of Man* 421
 28. Benito Mussolini, *Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions* 427
 29. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* 434
 30. Helen Zia, *Women in Hate Groups: Who Are They?
 Why Are They There?* 444
 477

Part Six — Feminism

31. Betty Friedan, *Our Revolution Is Unique* 489
 32. Heidi Hartmann, *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and
 Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union* 495
 503
 33. Monique Wittig, *One Is Not Born a Woman* 523
 34. Audre Lorde, *The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle
 the Master's House* 528

35. Audre Lorde, *Age, Race, Class, and
 Redefining Difference*
 36. Gloria Anzaldúa, *La Conciencia
 New Consciousness*

Part Seven — Environment

37. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature*
 38. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*
 39. Aldo Leopold, *The Land Ethic*
 40. Al Gore, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology
 the Human Spirit*
 41. *The Program of the Green Party of
 Republic of Germany*
 42. Carolyn Merchant, *Radical Ecology
 for a Livable World*

About the Author

Done? 293

ic Base of the Withering 308

tionary Socialism 323

ic Society, The Port Huron 341

Four — Anarchism 353

bism: What It Really Stands For 359

Essay on Civil Disobedience 370

What Is Property? or, An Inquiry 378

ght and of Government 391

l Aid 402

ific Anarchism 416

thority and Versus the Anarchists 421

Five — Fascism 427

ies of Man 434

n: Doctrine and Institutions 444

f 477

te Groups: Who Are They? 489

Six — Feminism 495

ution Is Unique 503

nhappy Marriage of Marxism and 523

e Progressive Union 528

Not Born a Woman

's Tools Will Never Dismantle

35. Audre Lorde, *Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women* 532

Redefining Difference

36. Gloria Anzaldúa, *La Conciencia de la Mestiza: Towards a* 540

New Consciousness

Part Seven — Environmentalism and Ecology 553

37. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature* 559

38. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* 569

39. Aldo Leopold, *The Land Ethic* 575

40. Al Gore, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and* 584

the Human Spirit

41. *The Program of the Green Party of the Federal* 596

Republic of Germany

✓ 42. Carolyn Merchant, *Radical Ecology: The Search* 606

for a Livable World

About the Author 616

*Radical Ecology:
The Search for a Livable World*

Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (1980) helped found the ecofeminist movement. In *Radical Ecology* (1992) Merchant suggests how to reconstruct human relationships with nonhuman nature in "the search for a livable world." Merchant is professor of environmental history, philosophy and ethics in the Department of Conservation and Resource Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

Introduction: What Is Radical Ecology?

Radical ecology emerges from a sense of crisis in the industrialized world. It acts on a new perception that the domination of nature entails the domination of human beings along lines of race, class, and gender. Radical ecology confronts the illusion that people are free to exploit nature and to move in society at the expense of others, with a new consciousness of our responsibilities to the rest of nature and to other humans. It seeks a new ethic of the nurture of nature and the nurture of people. It empowers people to make changes in the world consistent with a new social vision and a new ethic.

To become clear about our own goals for change, we need to reflect on the ways in which we have absorbed the norms and roles of the larger society in which we live. How can we replace feelings of individual helplessness with feelings of power to make changes consistent with a new social vision and a deeper, more articulate environmental ethic? . . .

Radical Ecology

Ecology as a science emerged in the late nineteenth century in Europe and America, although its roots may be found in many other places, times, and cultures. The science of ecology looks at nonhuman nature, studying the numerous, complex interactions among its abiotic components (air, water, soils, at-

oms, and molecules) and its biotic components (people and fungi). Human ecology adds the interactions between these elements, enormously increasing the complexities. History is most successful when it studies clearly defined places and peoples: the people of Papua New Guinea, the Shoshone Indians, the Tukano Indians of the Amazonian rainforests. Within the traditional dimension, environmental history emerges as a study of temporal changes in specific regions and has provided the framework for environmental historians—the ecological history of the emergence of hydraulic society in California, changing land use and conservation in America, and so on.

Social ecology takes another step. It analyzes the institutions that people use in relationship to natural resources—such as axes, guns, and bulldozers—transform them into “natural resources.” Systems of economic production, gathering, and fishing, subsistence agriculture, and hunting turn the resources into goods for home use or market sale. Systems of reproduction provide norms and techniques that determine whether and when to bear children. Laws and customs reproduce the social order. Ideas and ideologies, such as religion, art, and science, offer frameworks of consciousness and making ethical decisions.

Radical ecology is the cutting edge of social ecological systems toward new patterns of production and consumption that will improve the quality of human life and the environment. It challenges those aspects of the political and economic system that prevent the fulfillment of basic human needs. It offers a new perspective on the social causes of environmental problems and alternative solutions. It supports social movements for removing the causes of environmental degradation and raising the quality of life for people of every race and class.

How can radical ecology help to bring about environmental problems . . . result from contradictions (each other's continuance) in today's society. The tensions between the economic forces of production, the second from tensions between reproduction, the third from tensions between a particular form of production in modern society—capitalist and state socialist—creates accumulating contradictions between the environment (water, air, land, soil, and biota (including human beings) and the social system. The system must maintain and reproduce itself over time.

The first contradiction arises from the assumption that the environment is a resource. Examples include the destruction of the environment for production (such as the oil spills and air pollution) and the predicted nuclear winter from nuclear war); global warming; and the depletion of the ozone layer.

12

MERCHANT

Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World

re: *Women, Ecology and the Science*
ecofeminist movement. In *Radical Ecology*,
how to reconstruct human relationships
the search for a livable world."
d history, philosophy and ethics
Resource Studies at the University of

Radical Ecology?

is in the industrialized world. It acts
of nature entails the domination of
d gender. Radical ecology confronts
nature and to move in society at the
of our responsibilities to the rest of
ethic of the nurture of nature and
to make changes in the world consist-
ent.
or change, we need to reflect on the
as and roles of the larger society in
of individual helplessness with feel-
ing a new social vision and a deeper,

logy
nineteenth century in Europe and
many other places, times, and cul-
tural nature, studying the numer-
ous components (air, water, soils, at-

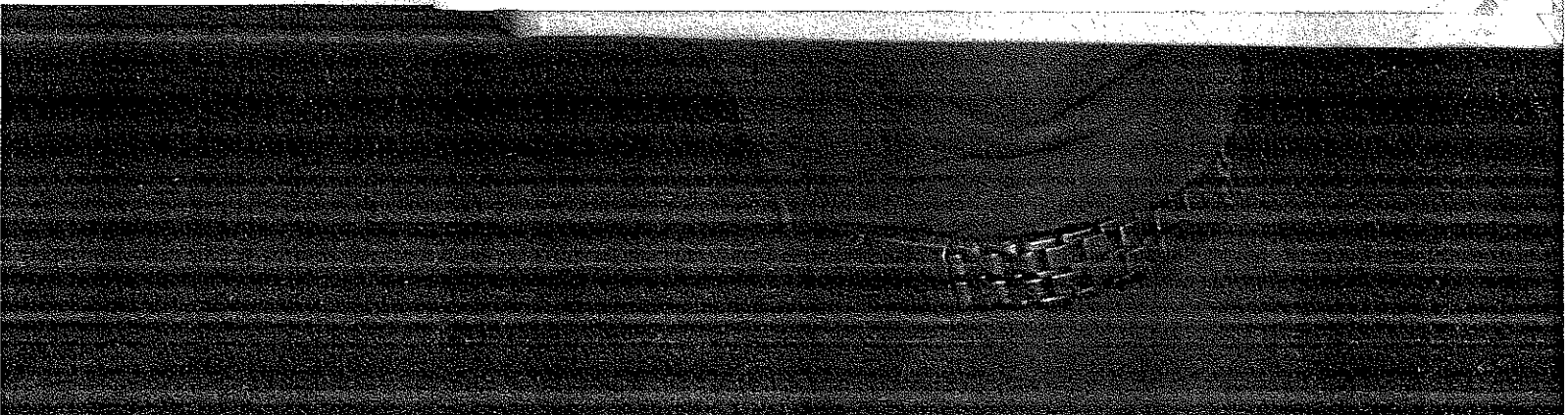
oms, and molecules) and its biotic components (plants, animals, bacteria, and fungi). Human ecology adds the interactions between people and their environments, enormously increasing the complexities. Human ecology has been most successful when it studies clearly defined places and cultures—the Tsembaga people of Papua New Guinea, the Shoshone Indians of the American west, the Tukano Indians of the Amazonian rainforests. When time is added as an additional dimension, environmental history emerges as a subject. Even here, temporal changes in specific regions have provided the most grist for the mills of environmental historians—the ecological history of New England, the emergence of hydraulic society in California, changing ideas of wilderness and conservation in America, and so on.

Social ecology takes another step. It analyzes the various political and social institutions that people use in relationship to nature and its resources. Technologies—such as axes, guns, and bulldozers—transform trees, animals, and rocks into “natural resources.” Systems of economic production, such as hunting, gathering, and fishing, subsistence agriculture, and industrial manufacturing turn the resources into goods for home use or market trading. Cultural systems of reproduction provide norms and techniques that guide families in deciding whether and when to bear children. Laws and politics help to maintain and reproduce the social order. Ideas and ideologies, such as myths, cosmologies, religion, art, and science, offer frameworks of consciousness for interpreting life and making ethical decisions.

Radical ecology is the cutting edge of social ecology. It pushes social and ecological systems toward new patterns of production, reproduction, and consciousness that will improve the quality of human life and the natural environment. It challenges those aspects of the political and economic order that prevent the fulfillment of basic human needs. It offers theories that explain the social causes of environmental problems and alternative ways to resolve them. It supports social movements for removing the causes of environmental deterioration and raising the quality of life for people of every race, class, and sex.

How can radical ecology help to bring about a more livable world? Environmental problems . . . result from contradictions (tendencies to be contrary to each other's continuance) in today's society. The first contradiction arises from tensions between the economic forces of production and local ecological conditions, the second from tensions between reproduction and production: The particular form of production in modern society—industrial production, both capitalist and state socialist—creates accumulating ecological stresses on air, water, soil, and biota (including human beings) and on society's ability to maintain and reproduce itself over time.

The first contradiction arises from the assaults of production on ecology. Examples include the destruction of the environment from the uses of military production (such as the oil spills and air pollution during the 1991 Gulf War or the predicted nuclear winter from nuclear war); global warming from industrial



emissions of carbon dioxide; acid rain from industrial emissions of sulphur dioxide; ozone depletion from industrial uses of chlorofluorocarbons; the pollution of oceans and soils from the dumping of industrial wastes; and industrial extractions from forests and oceans for commodity production. These assaults of production on global ecology are circulated by means of the biogeochemical cycles and thermodynamic energy exchanges through soils, plants, animals, and bacteria (see figure 1.1 [p. 610], center circle). Their effects are experienced differently in the First, Second, and Third Worlds and by people of different races, classes, and sexes.

The second contradiction arises from the assaults of production on biological and social reproduction. The biological (intergenerational) reproduction of both human and nonhuman species is threatened by radiation from nuclear accidents (such as the 1979 accident at Three Mile Island in the United States and the 1986 accident at Chernobyl in the Soviet Union) and by toxic chemicals from industrial wastes. The reproduction of human life on a daily (intragenerational) basis in Third World countries is endangered as local food, water, and fuel supplies are depleted by the conversion of lands to cash crops and in the First World as harmful chemicals in foods, drinking water, and indoor air invade the home. The reproduction of society as a whole is imperiled by government policies that support continued industrial pollution and depletion and by industry policies that support continued sex and race discrimination (see figure 1.1, middle circle). A country's form of social reproduction and its form of economic production constitute its political economy. Thus the United States, China, Brazil, Kenya, and Malaysia all have particular political economies.

The global ecological crisis of the late twentieth century, I argue, is a result of these deepening contradictions generated by the dynamics between production and ecology and by those between reproduction and production. But problems of pollution, depletion, and population expansion have specific roots in each country's internal history, its place in the global order, and the current trajectory of its internal development. Each environmental problem therefore needs to be examined in the context of its own specific history as well as its linkages to global political economies. . . .

As these two contradictions become more visible, they also undermine the efficacy of western culture's legitimating worldview, pushing philosophers, scientists, and spiritualists to rethink human relationships with the nonhuman world (see figure 1.1, outer circle). The mechanistic worldview created during the seventeenth century scientific revolution constructs the world as a vast machine made up of interchangeable atomic parts manipulable from the outside, just as the parts of industrial machines can be replaced or repaired by human operators. This mechanistic worldview, which arose simultaneously with and in support of early capitalism, replaced the Renaissance worldview of nature as a living organism with a nurturing earth at its center. It entailed an ethic of the control and domination of nature and supplanted the organic world's I-thou

ethic of reciprocity between humans and nature. domination legitimates the use of nature as commodity capitalism. . . .

Deep ecologists . . . call for a total transformation that will replace the mechanistic framework of domination with a framework of interconnectedness and reciprocity. They need to infuse religions with new ecological ideas and a revering nature. Social ecologists . . . see a total transformation as the best approach. Most of these theories reject the anthropocentric ethic which all parts of the ecosystem, including humans, have ecologically-modified homocentric ethic that values human ecology.

Radical environmental movements draw on the ideas of anarchists, but intervene directly to resolve the contradictions between production and reproduction. . . . advocate the formation of green parties that will transform production and a variety of direct actions that will transform production on reproduction by saving other species and cleaning up the environment. Ecofeminists . . . about issues that affect women's own bodies in biotechnology (toxic substances and nuclear radiation) and women's liberation (such as altering workplace/homeplace patterns of production). . . . development movement . . . searches for new ways that would reverse the assaults of production on ecology by preserving soils, waters, air, and biota.

Although radical ecology pushes for change and is not a monolithic movement. It has many schools and groups. Its branches are often at odds in goals and methods and specific actions. These produce conflicts and contradictions in a larger movement resulting in a variety of approaches and problems. My own view is one of guarded optimism. . . . movements that intervene at the points of greatest ecological damage and fulfill people's basic needs. . . . need to be subordinated to the reproduction of human needs and the preservation of local ecology. . . . ethic of partnership between humans and nonhuman world. . . . worldview advocated by deep and spiritual ecology. . . . transformation, it can nevertheless foster and support new social directions taken. Perhaps over the next five years a revolution will take place so that by the middle of the twenty-first century will have new forms of production, reproduction and consumption that sustain both people and the natural environment. . . . fulfill much of the vision and hope of radical ecology.

an industrial emissions of sulphur dioxide, of chlorofluorocarbons; the pollution of industrial wastes; and industrial commodity production. These assaults are mediated by means of the biogeochemical cycles (through soils, plants, animals, and people). Their effects are experienced in different worlds and by people of different

These assaults of production on biological reproduction (intergenerational) reproduction of life are threatened by radiation from nuclear accidents (Mile Island in the United States and Chernobyl in the Soviet Union) and by toxic chemicals that threaten human life on a daily (intragenerational) basis. Life is endangered as local food, water, and land are converted to cash crops and in the process drinking water, and indoor air in cities as a whole is imperiled by governmental pollution and depletion and by racism and race discrimination (see figure 1). Biological reproduction and its form of ecological reproduction and its form of ecological economy. Thus the United States, with its particular political economies.

In the twentieth century, I argue, is a result of the dynamics between production and reproduction. But the expansion of production and reproduction have specific roots in the global order, and the current environmental problem therefore has its own specific history as well as its

is more visible, they also undermine the traditional worldview, pushing philosophers, scientists, and relationships with the nonhuman world. The mechanistic worldview created during the scientific revolution constructs the world as a vast machine, manipulable from the outside, that can be replaced or repaired by human hands. This worldview arose simultaneously with and in opposition to the Renaissance worldview of nature as a living center. It entailed an ethic of the domination of the inorganic world's I-thou

ethic of reciprocity between humans and nature. Mechanism and its ethic of domination legitimates the use of nature as commodity, a central tenant of industrial capitalism. . . .

Deep ecologists . . . call for a total transformation in science and worldview that will replace the mechanistic framework of domination with a ecological framework of interconnectedness and reciprocity. Spiritual ecologists . . . see the need to infuse religions with new ecological ideas and revive older ways of revering nature. Social ecologists . . . see a total transformation of political economy as the best approach. Most of these theories entail an ecocentric ethic in which all parts of the ecosystem, including humans, are of equal value, or an ecologically-modified homocentric ethic that values both social justice and social ecology.

Radical environmental movements draw on the ideas and ethics of the theorists, but intervene directly to resolve the contradictions between ecology and production and between production and reproduction. Green political activists . . . advocate the formation of green parties that would recast social and political reproduction and a variety of direct actions that would reverse the assaults of production on reproduction by saving other species, preserving human health, and cleaning up the environment. Ecofeminists . . . are particularly concerned about issues that affect women's own bodies in biological reproduction (such as toxic substances and nuclear radiation) and women's roles in social reproduction (such as altering workplace/homeplace patterns and norms). The sustainable development movement . . . searches for new approaches to resource use that would reverse the assaults of production on ecology, thereby renewing and preserving soils, waters, air, and biota.

Although radical ecology pushes for change and social transformation, it is not a monolithic movement. It has many schools of thought and many action groups. Its branches are often at odds in goals and values, as well as techniques and specific actions. These produce conflicts and heated debates within the larger movement resulting in a variety of approaches to resolving environmental problems. My own view is one of guarded optimism, placing hope in social movements that intervene at the points of greatest ecological and social stress to reverse ecological damage and fulfill people's basic needs. The goals of production need to be subordinated to the reproduction of life through the fulfillment of human needs and the preservation of local ecologies and be informed by an ethic of partnership between humans and nonhuman nature. Although the new worldview advocated by deep and spiritual ecologists may not lead the social transformation, it can nevertheless foster and support the new economic and social directions taken. Perhaps over the next five decades a global ecological revolution will take place so that by the middle of the twenty-first century we will have new forms of production, reproduction, and consciousness that will sustain both people and the natural environment. Such a transformation would fulfill much of the vision and hope of radical ecology.

(Continued on p. 611)

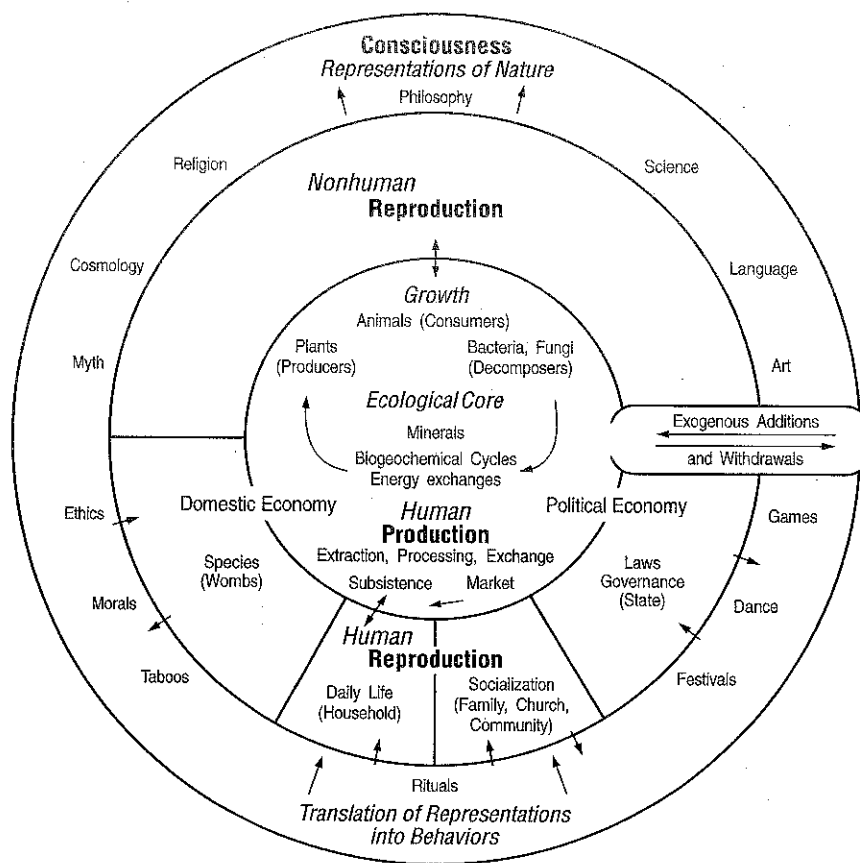


FIGURE 1.1

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR INTERPRETING ECOLOGICAL REVOLUTIONS

Ecology, production, reproduction, and consciousness interact over time to bring about ecological transformations. The innermost sphere represents the ecological core within the local habitat, the site of interactions between ecology and human production. Plants (producers), animals (consumers), bacteria and fungi (decomposers), and minerals exchange energy among themselves and with human producers in accordance with the laws of thermodynamics and the biogeochemical cycles. Introductions and withdrawals of organisms and resources from outside the local habitat can alter its ecology. Human production (the extractions, processing, and exchange of resources and commodities) is oriented toward immediate use as food, clothing, shelter, and energy for subsistence or toward profit in mercantile trade and industrial capitalism. With increasing industrialization, the subsistence-oriented sector declines and the market-oriented sector expands (as indicated by the clockwise arrow).

The middle sphere represents human and nonhuman generational reproduction of species and intragenerational ecological interactions directly in the case of nonhumans; by production in the case of humans. In subsistence (or production oriented toward the reproduction of daily life in the production of food, clothing, shelter, and energy (as indicated by the arrow). For humans, the reproduction of society also includes the church, and community) and the establishment of laws and order in the tribe, town, state, or nation.

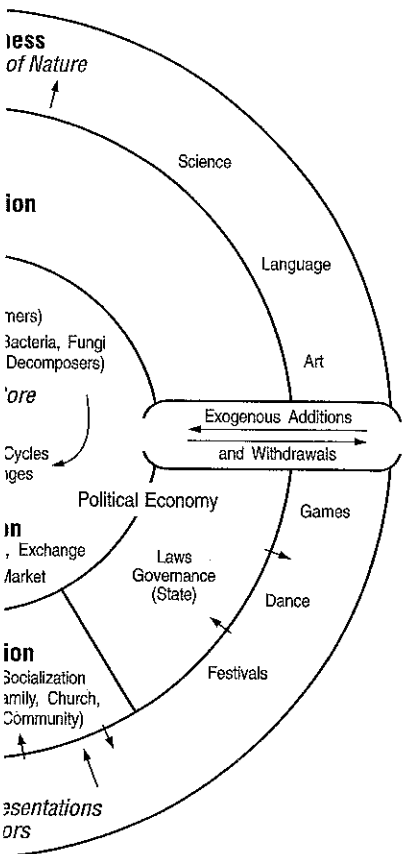
Human consciousness, symbolized by the outermost sphere, contains representations of nature reflected (as indicated by the arrows) in philosophy, science, language, and art, helping to maintain and to influence change. Through ethics, morals, taboos, and games, they are translated into actions and behaviors affected by the environment, production, and reproduction.

The "semipermeable" membranes between the spheres represent interactions among them. Ecological revolutions are built on tensions between production and ecology and between production and reproduction. These changes in turn stimulate and can be stimulated by nature and forms of human consciousness.

(Continued from p. 609)

Many people will disagree with the goals of radical environmentalism. Yet the radical standpoint from which to view and analyze mainstream environmentalism. It sharpens our understanding of the underlying Western civilization and its values. It challenges the Second and Third World economic and environmental movements to formulate answers to the dilemmas of self in society and society in nature.

The visibility of radical environmental movements makes environmental goals more acceptable. Radical actions that raise consciousness about issues enmeshed in bureaucratic processes. Although it may fail to bring about radical change, radicalism can still be effective in changing attitudes and promoting social change.



The middle sphere represents human and nonhuman reproduction. The intergenerational reproduction of species and intragenerational survival rates influence ecological interactions directly in the case of nonhuman individuals or as mediated by production in the case of humans. In subsistence (or use-value) societies, production is oriented toward the reproduction of daily life in the household through the production of food, clothing, shelter, and energy (as indicated by the two-way arrow). For humans, the reproduction of society also includes socialization (in the family, church, and community) and the establishment of laws and governance that maintain order in the tribe, town, state, or nation.

Human consciousness, symbolized by the outermost sphere, includes representations of nature reflected (as indicated by the arrows) in myth, cosmology, religion, philosophy, science, language, and art, helping to maintain a given society over time and to influence change. Through ethics, morals, taboos, rituals, festivals, the dance, and games, they are translated into actions and behaviors that both affect and are affected by the environment, production, and reproduction (as indicated by the arrows).

The "semipermeable" membranes between the spheres symbolize possible interactions among them. Ecological revolutions are brought about through interactions between production and ecology and between production and reproduction. These changes in turn stimulate and can be stimulated by new representations of nature and forms of human consciousness.

(Continued from p. 609)

THING ECOLOGICAL REVOLUTIONS

consciousness interact over time to bring most sphere represents the ecological interactions between ecology and human producers), bacteria and fungi (decomposers themselves and with human producers and the biogeochemical cycles. In-resources from outside the local habitat (the extractions, processing, and exported toward immediate use as food, toward profit in mercantile trade and socialization, the subsistence-oriented expands (as indicated by the clockwise

Many people will disagree with the goals of radical ecology. Perhaps most will decline to participate in its various actions. Yet radical ecology offers a critical standpoint from which to view and analyze mainstream society and mainstream environmentalism. It sharpens our understanding of the assumptions underlying Western civilization and its values. It broadens our perspective on Second and Third World economic and environmental problems. It helps us to formulate answers to the dilemmas of self in society, society in self, and self versus society.

The visibility of radical environmental movements may make mainstream environmental goals more acceptable. Radical actions often raise public consciousness about issues enmeshed in bureaucratic technicalities. Changes triggered by radical actions may then come about through normal political processes. Although it may fail to bring about revolutionary transformation, radicalism can still be effective in changing attitudes, raising consciousness, and promoting social change.

Conclusion: The Radical Ecology Movement

What has the radical ecology movement accomplished? A broad range of answers to this question is possible. Radical ecology has not brought about a worldwide socialist order. Nor is such a scenario likely in the immediate future. Its achievements are far more modest. As a theoretical critique of the mainstream environmental movement, it exposes social and scientific assumptions underlying environmentalists' analyses. As a movement, it raises public consciousness concerning the dangers to human health and to nonhuman nature of maintaining the status quo. In so doing, it pushes mainstream society toward greater equality and social justice. It offers an alternative vision of the world in which race, class, sex, and age barriers have been eliminated and basic human needs have been fulfilled.

What analyses and concrete results have radical theorists and activists contributed to the environmental movement?

Contributions of Radical Theorists

- Reality is a totality of internally related parts. The relationships are fundamental and continually shape the totality as contradictions and conflicts arise and are resolved.
- Social reality has structural (ecological and economic) and superstructural (law, politics, science, and religion) features. Continual change is generated out of the contradictions and interactions among the parts and levels.
- Science is not a process of discovering ultimate truths of nature, but a social construction that changes over time. The assumptions accepted by its practitioners are value-laden and reflect their places in both history and society, as well as the research priorities and funding sources of those in power.
- Ecology is likewise a socially constructed science whose basic assumptions and conclusions change in accordance with social priorities and socially accepted metaphors.
- What counts as a natural resource is historically contingent and is dependent on a particular cultural and economic system in a given place and time.
- Surplus and scarcity are produced by economic interactions with nonhuman nature. Scarcity is both real in that some resources are nonrenewable over human lifespans and created in that economic producers control the technologies of extraction and the distribution of commodities.
- Human reproduction is not determined by indiscriminate sexual passions, but is governed by cultural norms and practices.
- Gender is created not only by biology, but by social practices.

Contributions of Radical Activists

- The dangers of radioactive, toxic, and hazardous wastes to human health and reproduction have been exposed by citizen activists and regulations concern-

Carolyn Merchant — Radical Ecology: The Sea

ing disposal have been tightened.

- The siting of incinerators and landfills in poor and Third World countries has been exposed as racist.
- The rapid clearcutting of tropical rainforests and growth forests by corporations on both public and private land has led to the decimation of rare and endangered species, loss of biodiversity, and cutting in some areas has been curtailed.
- The slaughter of whales, dolphins, salmon, and other marine life has been sharply criticized and in some cases curtailed or terminated.
- The dangers of pesticides and herbicides on food and the environment have led to the availability of alternative systems of agriculture.
- The viability of green parties as a source of political change has been realized.
- The self-determination and power of indigenous peoples has led to the right to control their own natural resources.
- Direct, nonviolent action has become an accepted part of political protest.
- Alternative, nonpatriarchal forms of spirituality within mainstream religions that view people as part of nature rather than dominators are being accepted.
- The need for ecological education and individual responsibility has led to lifestyles that reduce conspicuous consumption and are moving in the right

While radical ecology has achieved specific gains, it also has its own limitations and internal contradictions. As a theory and as a movement, it lacks coherence. Theorists focus on underlying ethical, economic, social, and scientific issues, while ecologists wish to focus on redefining the meaning of science and cosmology, still others on the connection between science and ecology. Social ecologists and deep ecologists have different priorities. Social ecologists see the priority lies with challenging and redefining the mode for initiating transformation or whether the mode is the pursuit of social justice, with each camp accused of diverting energy away from social change. Some social ecologists disdain spirituality and as diverting energy away from social change, while deep ecologists defend ritual as a way of focusing social action. There is also disagreement, with many deep ecologists arguing for some form of ecocentric ethic, while social ecologists defend a human-centric approach informed by ecological principles. The debates among proponents of radical ecology in general

Ecology Movement

accomplished? A broad range of an- ecology has not brought about a ario likely in the immediate future. a theoretical critique of the main- es social and scientific assumptions a movement, it raises public con- health and to nonhuman nature of pushes mainstream society toward an alternative vision of the world in e been eliminated and basic human e radical theorists and activists con-

ical Theorists

parts. The relationships are funda- as contradictions and conflicts arise

nd economic) and superstructural res. Continual change is generated among the parts and levels.

imate truths of nature, but a social assumptions accepted by its practi- ces in both history and society, as ources of those in power.

science whose basic assumptions and cial priorities and socially accepted

ically contingent and is dependent m in a given place and time.

omic interactions with nonhuman esources are nonrenewable over hu- ic producers control the technolo- mmodities.

indiscriminate sexual passions, but by social practices.

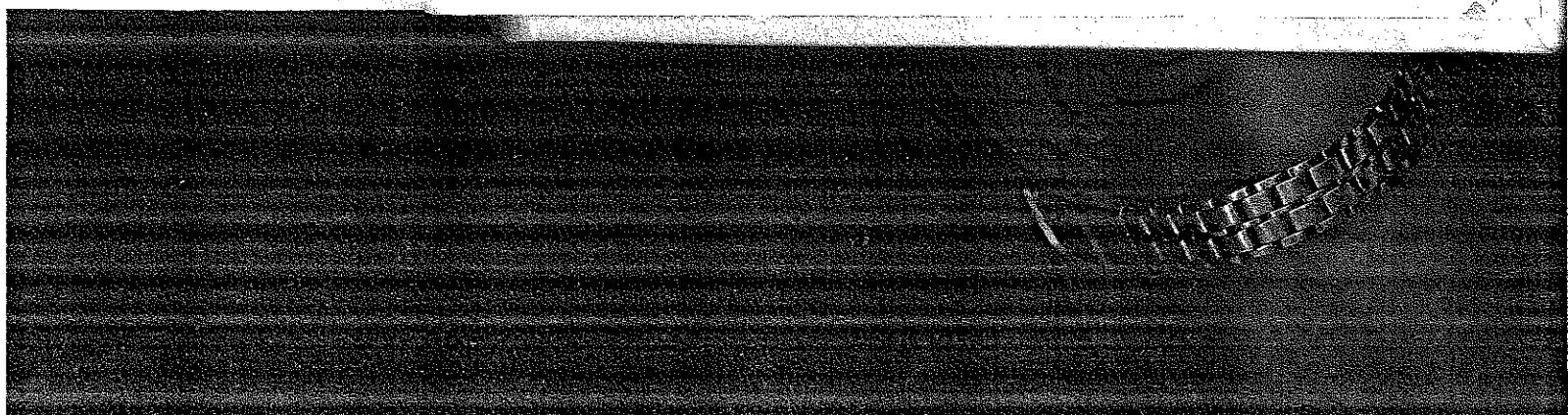
ical Activists

ardous wastes to human health and activists and regulations concern-

ing disposal have been tightened.

- The siting of incinerators and landfills in poor and minority communities and Third World countries has been exposed as racist.
- The rapid clearcutting of tropical rainforests and northern hemisphere old growth forests by corporations on both public and private lands and the associated decimation of rare and endangered species have been brought to public awareness, and cutting in some areas has been curtailed.
- The slaughter of whales, dolphins, salmon, and other ocean species has been sharply criticized and in some cases curtailed or temporarily reduced.
- The dangers of pesticides and herbicides on foods and in water supplies and the availability of alternative systems of agriculture have been made visible.
- The viability of green parties as a source of political power has been recognized.
- The self-determination and power of indigenous peoples throughout the world to the right to control their own natural resources has become important.
- Direct, nonviolent action has become an acceptable and highly visible means of political protest.
- Alternative, nonpatriarchal forms of spirituality and alternative pathways within mainstream religions that view people as caretakers and/or equal parts of nature rather than dominators are being adopted by more and more people.
- The need for ecological education and individual commitment to alternative lifestyles that reduce conspicuous consumption and recycle resources is making headway.

While radical ecology has achieved specific gains and visibility, it nonetheless has its own limitations and internal contradictions. Radical ecology lacks coherence as a theory and as a movement. Theoreticians are deeply divided as to underlying ethical, economic, social, and scientific assumptions. Some deep ecologists wish to focus on redefining the meaning of self, others on redefining science and cosmology, still others on the connections between spirituality and deep ecology. Social ecologists and deep ecologists are at odds as to whether the priority lies with challenging and redefining the dominant worldview as the mode for initiating transformation or whether the preeminent strategy lies in the pursuit of social justice, with each camp accusing the other of lack of sophistication. Some social ecologists disdain spiritual ecology as politically naive and as diverting energy away from social change, while many spiritual ecologists defend ritual as a way of focusing social actions. Ethically the camps are also in disagreement, with many deep ecologists and spiritual ecologists holding some form of ecocentric ethic, while social ecologists generally pursue a homocentric approach informed by ecological principles. Although the theoretical debates among proponents of radical ecology in general are often vituperative,



they are equally incisive and healthy as a forum for clarification of assumptions and principles.

Similarly, green movements are divided along both theoretical and strategic lines. Green politics is fraught with disagreements between those who hold deep ecological and/or spiritual ecological assumptions and those who identify with social ecology and hold an ethic of social justice as the primary objective. Equally significant are the divisions between Greens who wish to pursue a practical real-world strategy of working with other political parties to achieve ecological goals and Greens who refuse to compromise fundamental movement principles and prefer to work outside the established political system. Ecofeminists are often critical of deep ecologists for their failure to recognize both biological and socially constructed differences, and divided among themselves as to basic strategies for change, with some pressing for spiritual, others for social approaches, and still others seeking to combine ritual with action. Similarly the sustainability movement is divided among those who primarily follow scientific/ecological principles in advocating policy and those who incorporate or subordinate scientific strategies to social justice strategies.

Radical environmental movements also differ in different parts of the world. In the First World, much energy is directed toward mitigating the effects of toxic pollutants (e.g., chlorofluorocarbons, petroleum spills, PCBs, pesticides, and nuclear and hazardous wastes), preserving endangered species, saving wilderness, and promoting recycling. In the Second World, priorities are focused on controlling industrial threats to human health, particularly the effects of urban air and water pollution as well as nuclear contamination resulting from the Chernobyl accident. In the Third World a primary emphasis is on obtaining sufficient food, clean water, and adequate clothing for basic subsistence, developing appropriate technologies for cooking, heating, and farming, countering the effects of pesticide poisoning on human health, and preserving the lands of indigenous peoples.

Yet just as the environmental and human health problems facing the three worlds are interdependent, so radical movements are linked. When toxic substances and pharmaceuticals are banned in the First World, they are often dumped in Third World countries. Radical movements expose and protest against such practices. When rainforests are cut in Third World countries, destroying indigenous habitats, First World environmental groups organize consumer boycotts of timbers and hamburgers. When Second World activists organize environmental protests, they receive support and assistance from First World activists. International environmental conferences produce international networks of groups helping other groups.

Within the First, Second, and Third World radical ecology movements, theory and practice are linked, each informing and inseparable from the other. Divisions among proponents open new avenues for both synthesis and criticism. The movement as a whole is both dynamic and timely. New ideas and

new strategies for change are continually evolving; new people with energy and enthusiasm.

I ... [use] the concepts of ecology, production, and consciousness in understanding both the ecological crisis and the social crisis. I have analyzed the crisis [as] a result of two contradictions: the first between production and ecology, the second between production and reproduction. As these contradictions deepen, they push the world toward ecological catastrophe. The crisis could be relieved over the next several decades by a global ecological revolution brought about by changing consciousness that lead to ecological sustainability. Deep ecologists call for a transformation in consciousness from an individualistic worldview which transforms knowing, being, and science, while spiritual ecologists focus on religious experience and revering nature. Social ecologists call for a transformation based on new ecologically sustainable modes of production and democratic modes of political reproduction.

Radical ecological movements attempt to resolve the contradictions that lead to the crisis through action. Green politics attempts to mediate between production and reproduction, pressing for modes of production and nonhuman life that are compatible with ecological sustainability. Ecofeminists press for gender equality and transformation to the reproduction of life such that children and women that can provide adequate employment and security for both humans and nature. The sustainability movement addresses the contradiction between ecology and production, promoting sustainable production technologies, restoring ecosystems, and developing development programs.

Despite the accomplishments and vision of radical ecology, most of the world's power is presently concentrated in a few political institutions that bring about environmental policies that split rich from poor, whites from people of color, and humans from nature remain. Radical ecology itself challenges the political, economic, and scientific world order. To address the problems that challenge the hegemony of the dominant world order, problems promise to be among the most critical of the twenty-first century, environmentalists will play increasingly important roles. Radical ecology and its movements will continue to contribute to environmentalism and will remain on the cutting edge of contributing thought and action to the search for

forum for clarification of assumptions

and along both theoretical and strategic agreements between those who hold different assumptions and those who identify social justice as the primary objective. Even Greens who wish to pursue a practical other political parties to achieve eco-compromise fundamental movement in the established political system. Ecologists are divided among themselves in their failure to recognize both differences, and divided among themselves in pressing for spiritual, others for social, and others for political. Similarly, among those who primarily follow scientific policy and those who incorporate or reject justice strategies.

They also differ in different parts of the world directed toward mitigating the effects of pollution, petroleum spills, PCBs, pesticides, preserving endangered species, saving the Second World, priorities are for human health, particularly the effects of nuclear contamination resulting from the Second World. A primary emphasis is on obtaining adequate clothing for basic subsistence, food, housing, heating, and farming, concern for human health, and preserving the

human health problems facing the three movements are linked. When toxic substances in the First World, they are often linked. Environmental movements expose and protest against pollution in Third World countries, develop environmental groups organize conferences. When Second World activists organize support and assistance from First World conferences produce international

First World radical ecology movements, linking and inseparable from the other. New avenues for both synthesis and critical dynamic and timely. New ideas and

new strategies for change are continually evolving; the door is always open to new people with energy and enthusiasm.

I ... [use] the concepts of ecology, production, reproduction, and consciousness in understanding both the ecological crisis and ways of overcoming it. I have analyzed the crisis [as] a result of two contradictions, the first between production and ecology, the second between production and reproduction. As these contradictions deepen, they push the world into greater ecological stress. The crisis could be relieved over the next several decades, however, through a global ecological revolution brought about by changes in production, reproduction, and consciousness that lead to ecological sustainability. Thus deep ecologists call for a transformation in consciousness from a mechanistic to an ecological worldview which transforms knowing, being, ethics, psychology, religion, and science, while spiritual ecologists focus on religion and ritual as ways of revering nature. Social ecologists call for a transformation in political economy based on new ecologically sustainable modes of production and new democratic modes of political reproduction.

Radical ecological movements attempt to resolve the contradictions that lead to the crisis through action. Green politics address the contradiction between production and reproduction, pressing for ways of reproducing human and nonhuman life that are compatible with ecosystem health and social justice. Ecofeminists press for gender equality and the subordination of production to the reproduction of life such that children will be born into societies that can provide adequate employment and security and have an ethic of nurturing both humans and nature. The sustainability movement focuses on the contradiction between ecology and production, devising ecologically-sustainable production technologies, restoring ecosystems, and promoting socially-just development programs.

Despite the accomplishments and vision of radical ecologists, however, most of the world's power is presently concentrated in economic systems and political institutions that bring about environmental deterioration. The trends that split rich from poor, whites from people of color, men from women, and humans from nature remain. Radical ecology itself stands outside the dominant political, economic, and scientific world order. Together its various strands and actions challenge the hegemony of the dominant order. Because environmental problems promise to be among the most critical issues facing the twenty-first century, environmentalists will play increasingly important roles in their resolution. Radical ecology and its movements will continue to challenge mainstream environmentalism and will remain on the cutting edge of social transformation, contributing thought and action to the search for a livable world.

