

**Society, Ecology  
and Transformation**

**by the Philippine Greens**

**2006**

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## The World of Nature

The world of nature is the world of life and of life-sustaining processes. This world includes all plants, animals and microorganisms. It includes the wind, rain, and sunshine; the mountains, the soil, and the river. Our human communities are part of this larger community of life.

The natural world works in cycles. This way, it can work indefinitely even in a finite world. These cycles include:

**Water cycle.** As water is warmed up by sunlight, evaporates, forms into clouds. Later the clouds condense, become water again, and come back to the earth as fresh, life-sustaining rain. In the process, a weather pattern is created that refreshes the air and distributes water where it is needed.

**Carbon cycle.** In plants, water (H<sub>2</sub>O) combines with carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) and other minerals to create plant matter. The plant grows, retaining carbon and hydrogen and releasing oxygen. Plants play a pivotal role in balancing the amount of carbon dioxide and oxygen in the air.

**Oxygen cycle.** While plants absorb carbon dioxide and release oxygen, animals do the opposite, taking in oxygen and releasing carbon dioxide. This mutual dependence leads to balance.

**Nitrogen cycle.** Nitrogen becomes part of the soil's humus through nitrogen-fixing bacteria, or through the decay of plants and animal matter. Soil microorganisms then slowly convert the nitrogen in humus to nitrates, which enter plants through their roots to become proteins and plant matter. Later, plants decay or feed animals, whose wastes and remains return the nitrogen to the soil, completing the cycle.

All the great natural cycles keep our natural world fresh, clean and healthy for plants, for animals and for human existence. Living things play multiple

roles in these cycles, linking up everything through incredibly complex mechanisms which scientists today barely understand.

Our communities get everything they need for healthy living from the world of nature, which provides us air, water and food for nourishment, plant fibre and animal skin for our clothing, wood and other materials for our shelter, and with the infinite complexity of the universe and variety of living and non-living forms, for our endless appreciation and study.

The natural world has its own laws, many of which scientists acknowledge they know very little about. Ecologists studying these laws have come up with their own observations about how nature works. These observations are called the laws of ecology:

**Everything is related to everything else.** The simplest interference in natural processes sets off a chain reaction. Unforeseen damaging side-effects may outweigh good intentions.

**Everything must go somewhere.** When we release anything into the environment it will soon settle somewhere. If it is absorbed into the food chain, it will very often end up in human beings.

**Nature knows best.** Nature and life took millions of years to evolve into the delicate complexity that it is today. Changes made on very limited knowledge are bound to do more harm than good.

**There is no such thing as a free lunch.** Whatever we take from nature is not for free; it is borrowed wealth. We have to return it later, or we will end up repaying the debt anyway.

This is the world of nature. This is the world that sustains the community of life, to which we belong. This is our world.

## The Natural World in Crisis

Our natural world is in crisis. As a result, a very uncertain future awaits us. Our very survival is at stake, if we don't solve the following crises on time:

**The water crisis.** Our sources of potable water are being destroyed at an alarming rate. Commercial logging, mining, energy extraction, and similar activities have decimated our watersheds and polluted our rivers. Industries dump all kinds of poisons into our water systems. Underground water is increasingly contaminated by fertilizer and pesticide use. In addition, large-scale corporate extraction is depriving communities of water for drinking and household use. Even our lakes and seas are not spared from the pollutive, destructive impact of corporate activities. The crisis is further worsened by the effects of the El Niño phenomenon and climate change.

**The food crisis.** We are also rapidly losing our most fertile lands to industrial, commercial and residential uses. The productivity of our remaining agricultural lands have been damaged by the heavy use of fertilizers and pesticides. The diversity of our food crops has been seriously eroded by decades of monoculture and the intrusion of corporate seed monopolies. The field release of potentially dangerous genetically-modified organisms which reproduce, mutate and evolve is bound to make matters worse.

**Toxic proliferation.** Throughout the world, millions of tons of poisons are being released annually into our air, water systems, and the soil. They contaminate our food and make our working and living environments less and less livable. The entire natural world today, including the farthest reaches of the earth, are contaminated with the toxic outputs of industrial corporations.

**The health crisis.** While the cost of medical care has become unaffordable to most, new types of diseases and supergerms threaten us, including genetically-modified microorganisms which are being released by biotech companies into the environment. These new threats proliferate more easily in our

unhealthy and increasingly toxic living and working environment.

**The loss of biodiversity.** If genocide is the worst crime against humanity, today's large-scale species extinctions are humanity's worst crime against the community of life, of which it is a part. Corporate activities are killing species after species of our fellow living creatures, poisoning or otherwise destroying their habitats and claiming their living space for extractive, industrial, commercial or residential purposes. Life on earth is a web and when enough links are cut, the whole web will collapse.

**The atmospheric crisis.** Not only is our air spoiled with poisons from cars and industry, our atmosphere is also being altered in ways that threaten our very survival. The accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere is changing climate, warming the globe and raising sea levels; the destruction of the ozone layer is threatening to expose earth life to higher levels of ultraviolet rays and to cause new human diseases in ways we cannot even begin to foresee.

**The economic crisis.** All these crises now beset the community of life, of which we are a part. At the same time, the human community itself is beset with crises of equally disastrous proportions, best exemplified by the few who wallow in scandalous wealth while millions suffer from appalling poverty. Even while millions toil like slaves to keep themselves alive, the wealth they create, like the wealth created by the natural world, are quickly snatched by the global corporate elite that is the cause of the crises within human society, and within the community of life.

Through this framework of analysis, the Philippine Greens trace the root causes of these crises, identify the problems of Philippine society, and propose solutions that can extricate us from the deadly embrace of a system that is killing our natural world and our fellow human beings.

## Where Does Wealth Come From?

Natural world. Nature creates wealth -- the freshness of air and water, the fertility of the soil, the diversity of life, and everything else that sustains our life, our families, and our communities. The richness of natural wealth is both awesome and humbling. This is a truth that is so obvious, yet so taken for granted, so often forgotten. From natural wealth comes all other material wealth.

**Agriculture and fisheries (ecology) sector.** Directly based on nature is the ecology sector, which revolves around the gathering or raising of plants and animals -- living matter. Hunter-gatherers such as fisherfolk directly depend on natural wealth. Farmers enhance natural wealth with human care and attention. Farmers and fisherfolk do best when they work in harmony with nature and its living processes, relying on the renewable and boundless energy of the sun and the natural fertility of the soil and water. This sector provides the basis for the emergence and growth of the industrial sector.

**Industrial sector.** The industrial sector involves the application of human labor power -- often aided by machines -- to transform dead raw material into finished products. In contrast with the ecology sector, the object of industry is non-living material goods. Its subject is human labor or machine power, which create the wealth coming from this sector and without which dead matter cannot be transformed. A basic incompatibility exists between the non-living objects of this sector and the living objects of the ecology sector. The industrial sector extracts its raw material and its energy requirements from the ecology sector; it also dumps its wastes there, giving rise to a constant tension between the two. This sector provides

the basis for the emergence and growth of the information sector.

**Information sector.** The information sector creates non-material goods. Such wealth arises from the mental work of intellectuals, the result being stored in some material media. Non-material wealth such as ideas, knowledge, or information are neither used up nor worn down. They are not lost when shared or given away. People tend to share them freely, because "knowledge shared is knowledge doubled." This sector includes software, music and the arts, cultural items, databases, literature, media, ideas, designs, inventions, as well as traditional knowledge and genetic information. It is a sector that naturally gives rise to cooperation and sharing, but where the dominant forms of ownership today are highly monopolistic. These forms, called intellectual property rights (IPR), raise the selling price of non-material wealth by illegalizing the free sharing of information and thereby creating artificial scarcity.

**Financial sector.** The financial sector creates no wealth. It accumulates wealth by skimming wealth from those who do create it, and is extremely adept at doing so. Its biggest players accumulate money by using the huge financial, information and political resources already at their disposal to manipulate commodity prices, stock prices, interest rates, exchange rates, and other financial market instruments to improve their margins and make millions overnight. For 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, their money keeps "making" more money, concentrating wealth relentlessly in the hands of the global giants of finance.

<b>The Three Waves of Globalization</b>		
<b>First Wave</b>	<b>Second Wave</b>	<b>Third Wave</b>
Globalization of colonial rule	Globalization of capital and markets	Globalization of information economies
<b>INTERNAL SITUATION OF GLOBAL POWERS:</b>		
The engines of globalization are powerful forces in search of wealth to extract and to control. Globalization has taken different shapes, reflecting the internal changes in these expansionist forces. Here we concentrate on these internal changes.		
<b>First Wave</b> Mercantilist or early industrialist; In search of slaves and cheap labor; In search of tradeable goods or raw materials; State monopolies over trade;	<b>Second Wave</b> Late industrial stage; Huge accumulation of financial wealth turns money itself into a commodity; Search for markets and investment areas; State-corporate partnership with the State usually in dominant role;	<b>Third Wave</b> Information sector becomes the dominant sector; Needs source of information raw materials; Needs market for information finished products; Needs source of more intellectuals; Needs international regime for intellectual property protection; Unrestricted movement of information and capital erodes State controls; State-corporate partnership, with the global corporation often in dominant role;
<b>MASKING REAL INTENTIONS:</b>		
As expansionist forces search the world for wealth, they seldom express in such bare terms their intention to extract and acquire the wealth of their victims. Instead, they couch their intentions in deceptive language to disarm their targets and neutralize potential opposition. Under this heading, we look at the language they use to mask their real intentions.		
<b>First Wave</b> "We bring Christianity"; "We bring civilization"; "We bring democracy"; "We will pacify warring tribes"; "We bring education";	<b>Second Wave</b> "We bring jobs"; "We bring technology"; "We lend money for development"; "We protect you from communism";	<b>Third Wave</b> "Information at your finger tips"; "Global village"; "World without borders"; "Free flow of information"; "Instant access to the world's libraries"; "TV with a million channels";
<b>Means of imposing political rule:</b> To pave the way for their plan to extract wealth from weaker countries, global powers use various methods to impose their political rule, as listed under this heading. Such political rule strengthens their control over the local people and their natural resources.		
<b>First Wave</b> Direct foreign rule; Military occupation by foreign troops; Lower administrative bodies run by locals;	<b>Second Wave</b> Emergence of nation-state with some measure of political independence; Rule by local elites; Elite's economic interests coincide	<b>Third Wave</b> Smaller role for the nation-state; Curtailment of national sovereignty by supra-national institutions (World Bank, Intl Monetary Fund, World Trade Org, United

	with former colonizers; Military aid to local police and armed forces;	Nations, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, etc.); Increasing political voice of global corporations; Corporate partnerships with local elites and local governments Corporate control of information, communications, and media infrastructures;
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### FORMS OF WEALTH EXTRACTION AND CONTROL:

The main aim of global powers is the extraction of wealth from victim countries. There are many ways to draw out and transfer wealth. We list below the most important of them.

<b>First Wave</b>	<b>Second Wave</b>	<b>Third Wave</b>
Slavery; Forced labor; Tributes; Plunder of Third World wealth; Seizure of land for colonial tillage;	Unequal trade; High interest rates; Profit repatriation; Low wages; In response to national independence struggles, former colonial masters and their corporate counterparts concentrate their control on the economic and cultural life;	Extremely unequal trade; Hi-tech financial speculation; Purchase of State assets at bargain prices; Information monopolies; Royalties and other rent income from IPRs and information infrastructures;

### TECHNOLOGIES USED:

As technologies change, the ways of extracting wealth change too. Tracing how technology has developed during such wealth extraction gives us additional insights on globalization.

<b>First Wave</b>	<b>Second Wave</b>	<b>Third Wave</b>
Large-scale agriculture (plantation agriculture); Large-scale mining; Large-scale logging;	Energy generation technologies; Material processing and production technologies; Mass media infrastructure to create and expand markets; Chemical-based agriculture;	Information/communications technologies; Genetic engineering and biotechnology; Cloning; The Internet; Convergence of media, data, entertainment, and communications

### STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT:

The interaction between the global powers and their victims go through certain stages of development, shaped both by the needs of the global power, their impact on the victim, and the responses of the victim. These stages are listed below.

<b>First Wave</b>	<b>Second Wave</b>	<b>Third Wave</b>
1. Mercantilism 2. Early industrialism 3. National independence struggles;	1. Post-independence economic nationalism 2. Crises: oil, debt, capital flight, socialist breakup 3. Counterattack by global corporations (Structural	1. Emergence of monopolistic information economies 2. Struggle against information monopolies 3. Towards a non-monopolistic information economy;

	Adjustment Programs, GATT/WTO, Multilateral Agreement on Investments)	
<b>IMPACTS ON THE PEOPLE:</b>		
Under this heading, we discuss the impact globalization has on the people and the resulting loss of their wealth to global powers.		
<b>First Wave</b>	<b>Second Wave</b>	<b>Third Wave</b>
Loss of independence, freedoms; Loss of national wealth; Loss of best lands to colonial plantations; Loss of indigenous ancestral domains and lands;	Low prices for agricultural products; Low wages; Expensive manufactures; Loss of capital due to repatriation; Stunted growth of society; Lack of national sovereignty; Ecological disasters; Loss of food security; Toxic pollution;	Technologies are costlier and accessing them is more difficult Floods of junk culture; Loss of wealth due to highly unequal balance of trade; Homogenization of cultures; Threats from genetically modified organisms;
<b>IMPACTS ON THE NATURAL WORLD:</b>		
Here we discuss how globalization destroys the natural world and threatens not only human communities but the entire community of life.		
<b>First Wave</b>	<b>Second Wave</b>	<b>Third Wave</b>
Forest destruction; Destruction of mountain ecosystems in mining sites; Introduction of monoculture (sugar, tobacco, etc.);	Intensive resource extraction (forests, mines, quarries, etc.) for raw materials Disruptive energy projects (mega-dams, geo-thermal plants, coal plants); Pollution of air, water and soil Spread of toxic substances in ecosystems and the food chain Loss of soil life due to fertilizers and chemicals;	Worsening atmospheric crises due to ozone destruction, acid rain, air pollution; Release of potentially disruptive genetically modified organisms; Proliferation of non- biodegradable synthetic toxics;
<b>PEOPLE'S RESPONSES:</b>		
The people respond in different ways to the impact of globalization and in defense of their communities against foreign or corporate intrusion. Here are some of their responses:		
<b>First Wave</b>	<b>Second Wave</b>	<b>Third Wave</b>
Isolated rebellions; Emergence of national consciousness (eg, Philippine Propaganda Movement of the 19 <sup>th</sup> century); Revolution; National independence struggles; Confiscation of foreign property; Nationalization of selected industries; Nationalism/ liberal democracy is seen as alternative;	Economic nationalism; Regulation of foreign capital; Protection of local industries; Land reform; Civil wars; Debt repudiation; Environmental movement; Marxism/socialism as alternative;	Compulsory licensing; Opposition to IPRs; No patenting of life forms; Building public domain information resources; Against censorship of information; Restriction of market forces; In addition to Marxism and socialism, Green is increasingly seen as an alternative;

## Colonialism 2000

We are familiar with colonial-style trade relations between agricultural and industrial economies, because the Philippines suffered and continues to suffer under such a setup. We sell cheap agricultural products to the U.S. and other advanced countries, and we buy their expensive industrial goods. They use our agricultural products for raw material, and the finished goods they sell to us.

It is an unequal relation that keeps leading to trade deficits for agricultural countries. Our wealth is continually sucked out of the country by wealthier nations like the U.S., while our ecological systems bear the brunt of providing tradeable raw materials.

It is to free ourselves from such an unequal trade relation that some raise the slogan "nationalist industrialization." The logic is: if we could produce ourselves the industrial goods that we now import, we would not need to buy these expensive goods from others, and we would not need to sell our cheap raw materials to them either. We could process our own raw materials, and even have a surplus of finished industrial goods to sell.

Even if the Philippines were able to attain newly-industrialized status, that would not necessarily end the colonial relationship with the U.S. This is because the U.S. economy has, in the meantime, developed into an information economy. A potential colonial relationship still exists between an information economy on the one hand, and an industrialized one.

In this relationship, the U.S. shifts to cleaner information-based industries, while its more polluting ones move to the Philippines. Our industrializing economy then buys expensive information goods from the U.S. -- goods made at very low production costs -- and sells to the U.S. relatively cheaper industrial and consumer goods. Because of the much higher profit margins in the information sector, the trade balance can remain in favor of the information economy. Furthermore, the U.S. can also use an industrializing economy as a cheap source of raw materials for its information sector. The brain drain as well as the continuing collection of raw genetic material from the Philippines -- essentially for free -- are ways by which the U.S. gets its information raw materials from us.

However, this potential colonial relation can take hold only if there is a strict worldwide protection of U.S. information monopolies through intellectual property rights (IPR).

This is precisely what the GATT and the WTO have implemented: a uniform, worldwide intellectual property rights regime that protects the information monopolies of advanced countries. In effect, GATT and WTO lay the foundation for a new type of colonial relationship, one that gives information economies like the U.S. the means to easily draw wealth out of agricultural, industrializing, and newly industrialized economies.

## Phils 2000: Strategy #1

It is the government's policy to embrace globalization and integrate into the global economy. Its Philippines 2000 program is the vehicle for doing so. Here is the basic approach of this program:

"Our highest priority is the growth of national income. It is useless to divide a cake if it is too small. Increase the national income first; distribute it later. National income depends on two factors: the production cost of our products and services and their selling price. Bigger national income comes from higher prices and lower costs. Prices can be increased if we sell not to Filipinos, who are poor, but to the affluent of rich countries. The cost can be reduced if we stick to industries where we enjoy a comparative advantage."

Let us explore the consequences of these strategies:

<b>World market</b>	Luxuries for the affluent of rich countries; a choosy and demanding market; fickle tastes
<b>Demand for best quality</b>	High rejection rates; high waste
<b>Shift to high-tech</b>	Mechanization, automation, computerization; must be imported; few new jobs; displaces workers;
<b>High capitalization</b>	Only for the capital-rich; most capital-poor soon lose; foreign investments (usually polluters) or loans; high government taxes and fees; high prices
<b>High production rates</b>	High rates of resource extraction; natural wealth quickly used up; serious damage to environment
<b>OVER-PRODUCTION</b>	Other developing countries pursue the same export-oriented strategy
<b>Falling prices</b>	Tough competition; few large firms can compete; depressed prices for raw materials; depressed or stagnant wages; recession; bankruptcies; layoffs; unemployment; cheaper luxuries for the affluent

This is the result of restructuring the economy to serve the world market: the production of luxuries our people don't need; heavy reliance on expensive foreign technology and foreign loans and capital; high rates of resource exploitation in the countryside; and overproduction. In the end, our economy and environment are left to the mercy of profit-seeking forces beyond our borders and beyond our control, tuned to respond to the whimsical wants of a fickle market but unable to meet the basic needs of its own citizens.

The program's main beneficiaries are the capital-rich exporters, their foreign joint venture partners, foreign suppliers who sell them the machineries, foreign lenders who provide the capital, and foreign markets which are flooded with high-quality luxuries at lower prices. The main losers are the capital-poor, whose basic needs remain unmet and who lose access to resources which have been diverted to export production.

The income of the rich grows; there is very little to distribute to the poor.

## Phils 2000: Strategy #2

<b>Comparative advantage</b>	Concentrates production on areas where the country enjoys a natural advantage; gets out of those industries where other countries enjoy a natural advantage which our country does not have; this results in fewer local industries
<b>Fewer industries</b>	Fewer range of jobs available; fragmented skills developed by local workers; fewer technologies mastered; fewer types of local goods; this leads to more imports
<b>More imports</b>	Those goods we stop producing must be imported; foreign exchange needed to finance the purchase of imports; this is generated by increasing our exports
<b>More exports</b>	The type of our exports are determined by our present level of development (raw materials, labor, low value-added);
<b>Colonial trade pattern</b>	Export industries earn less than imports; negative balance of trade; export of labor becomes necessary; loss of skills from labor export and limited local industries
<b>\$\$\$-dependence</b>	A negative trade balance makes our economy extremely dependent on foreign exchange; the peso keeps losing value; we become easy victims of financial speculators; we need the borrow foreign exchange all the time to make up for the difference; foreign loans subject us to impositions and structural adjustments, such as liberalization, deregulation and privatization, that victimize us even further

This second strategy keeps us trapped in a colonial pattern of trade. Under this pattern, we are forever losing because our economists themselves restrict the range of industries we go into and the range of products and services we produce. We end up exporting either low-price raw materials or top-price top-quality luxuries and relying on imports for many of our needs. Our entire economy is thus restructured away from the production of the basic necessities of our own people. Instead, it gets chained to the global economy, importing a lot and exporting a lot under GATT and WTO rules that consign us to permanent disadvantage. These twin strategies trap us into engaging other developing countries in an unnecessary life-and-death contest under rules determined by rich countries.

A much better strategy is for Filipino producers to meet the needs of their own people, under protective rules set by our own government. Thus, we can easily ensure our own victory.

## Who Gets The Wealth?

Natural wealth comes from the natural world and the work of those who raise plants and animals. Those who work with their hands and with their minds to make material and non-material goods create additional wealth, which may be called synthetic or surrogate wealth to differentiate them from natural wealth, which is essentially a product of nature.

Looking at the flow of natural and synthetic wealth, we can see that those who spend most of their time enhancing or creating that wealth are also the most deprived of access to its benefits. These are the poor farmers and wage-earners, who are concentrated among developing countries, a significant majority of them women.

Where does the control of much of both natural and synthetic wealth actually lie?

**Global corporations.** Global corporations control the world's biggest financial institutions, information firms, industrial corporations and agricultural trading companies. They are engaged daily in profit-making, interest-earning, royalty-charging, buying and selling, fee collection, land acquisition, speculative investing, stock manipulation, fund-laundering, cheating, stealing and those other activities, legal or otherwise, by which they relentlessly accumulate and concentrate control of the world's total wealth in their hands. One major obstacle in this greed-driven process are uncooperative nation-states. So, global corporations and all their international instrumentalities are now engaged in a worldwide campaign to whittle down further the powers of these nation-states. In the process, they are also further consolidating and expanding their own reach and powers.

**Rich countries.** The richest countries in the world, which include the U.S., Europe, Japan, have

less than 20% of the world's population, but control more than 80% of its wealth. They consume the bulk of the world's resources and control much of the world's productive assets. With their power, they are able to impose on the rest of the world new international norms, which further increase their tremendous powers. At the core of these rich countries are the biggest of the world's global corporations.

**Local elites.** Countries like the Philippines have to make do scrambling to control the remaining resources which are not yet in the hands of rich countries and global corporations. These include what remains of the national patrimony, after centuries of plunder by colonial, neo-colonial and corporate exploiters. They also include the capital assets that their governments accumulated when these former colonies gained a measure of political independence. In these countries, the control of these remaining resources is also concentrated in the hands of a few local elites who managed to retain control by collaborating with foreign governments and corporations. These elites also control the government, which they use to further entrench themselves economically and politically.

**Men.** Even among the poor themselves, who have to make do with the remaining crumbs outside the hands of the local elites, rich countries and global corporations, wealth is also distributed unevenly. It is often the men who earn the bigger wage, and the women who do more work. The face of poverty usually belongs to a woman.

**The present generation.** By using up or destroying nature's wealth, the present generation is leaving little or nothing to future generations. Worse, we are leaving them a polluted, poisoned world on the verge of environmental collapse.

## Who Gets the Filth?

In his books *The Closing Circle* (1971) and *Making Peace with the Planet* (1992), biologist Barry Commoner traces the dramatic rise in U.S. pollution after the Second World War to three major factors: anomalous technologies (80%), population increase (15%), and greater affluence (5%).

Anomalous technologies realize greater profit margins but are more anti-ecological than those they replace. Because of the U.S. shift towards an information economy and our own open-door policy to foreign investments, these "smokestack" technologies are now moving into the Philippines and other developing countries, bringing with them the very technomalies that caused the post-war rise of pollutants in the U.S. Such technomalies include:

**Soap → synthetic detergent.** Soap easily degradable, but detergents contain phosphates that feed algae, which then grow so fast that the "algal bloom" kills the fish and other aquatic life.

**Natural fibre → synthetic fibre.** Synthetics are not biodegradable.

**Steel and lumber → aluminum, plastic and concrete.** Aluminum requires huge amounts of electricity to manufacture. Cement manufacture is extremely destructive environmentally. Most plastics are also non- biodegradable. Once released into the environment, they persist for thousands of years.

**Railroad → freight truck and private car.** Freight trucks and private cars use more fuel, emit more pollutants, and need more space for roads.

**Returnable glass bottle → disposable can.** The glass bottle can be used 30 to 40 times, before being recycled. The disposable can is used only once, and

recycling is more difficult because the cover is made of a different metal which acts as an impurity to steel or aluminum.

**Low-compression engine → high-compression engine.** Low-compression engines produce mostly water and carbon dioxide. High-compression engines operate at higher temperatures and pressures, and produce oxides of nitrogen and sulfur. They also need an additional anti-knock substance like lead (brain-damaging) or benzene (carcinogenic).

**Land fertility → chemical fertilizer.** Chemical fertilizers kill soil bacteria. They also leach into the local water system. Phosphates cause algal bloom, and nitrites are very bad for young children. Genetic engineering technologies pose even bigger threats by contaminating our world with potentially misdesigned and dangerous organisms that are impossible to recall.

**Traditional insect control → pesticide.** Pesticides persist in our food and water. Synthetic pesticides, many of them carcinogenic, will persist for a very long time and accumulate in our bodies through the food chain.

**Anti-weed cultivator → herbicide.** Same problems as pesticides.

**Range feeding → feedlot.** Raising animals in extremely cramped spaces makes them disease-prone. To prevent disease outbreak, they are fed a cocktail of antibiotics daily, which can lead to highly resistant 'supergerms'. To hasten growth, growth hormones are used, with potentially disastrous side-effects on human beings (babies, for example, have been born with well-developed sex organs).

## The Philippine Economy: In Transition

In the past, the Philippines could not develop its industries, due to its semi-colonial relationship with industrial economies such as the U.S. With the latter shifting from an industrial to an information economy, pressures against the emergence of an industrial sector in the Philippines have diminished. In fact, a number of formerly agricultural economies like Taiwan and South Korea have already made the transition to capitalism and are now considered newly-industrialized countries (NICs).

Philippine society today is a society in transition: the dominance of agriculture is giving way to an emerging semi-commercial, semi-industrial economy; feudal relations of production are giving way to capitalist relations of production; the semi-feudal society is giving way to a semi-capitalist society.

Here are some indications of this transition:

**Media penetration of the remotest rural areas.** As mass media penetrate even the remotest areas of the country, they prepare people for the entry of capitalist products, creating new markets that will further draw rural folks within the range of the expanding capitalist system.

**Capitalist intrusion into the countryside.** As various types of capitalist projects intrude into the countryside, they change social relations. Capitalist relations are emerging, replacing older feudal relations.

**Replacement of subsistence economies by the cash economy.** Slowly, production for family or community consumption, the mark of a subsistence

economy, is giving way to production for remote markets and to increasing dependence on distant sources for family and community needs. This makes communities totally dependent on cash for their needs, binding them even more tightly to the capitalist system.

**Land conversion to non-agricultural uses.** Agricultural lands are being filled up, asphalted, cemented or otherwise converted into industrial, commercial, tourist or residential uses, leading to further urbanization and social transformation towards capitalist relations.

**The shift by farmers to non-farming jobs.** More and more farmers are shifting to non-farming jobs, either pulled by the lure of urban employment or pushed by increasing instances of land conversion, leaving them with no agricultural land to work on. Their new jobs are often wage-earning, capitalist-based jobs.

**Urban migration.** Rural folk, particularly the youth, are increasingly migrating to urban areas. This interrupts the transfer of farming skills from one generation to the next, aggravating the pull of urban employment.

**The spread of corporate farming.** The very process of agricultural production, which lies at the core of feudal relations in the countryside, is also becoming a corporate project. Contract growing of various types is slowly replacing rent-based land relations, and capitalist farming is becoming more common.

## Basic Problems of Philippine Society

Because the Philippines is going through a transition process from semi-feudalism to semi-capitalism, it is beset with a complex web of old and new problems. The following basic problems are the key links in this complex web:

1. **Malgovernment.** The three aspects of malgovernment are concentration of power, oligarchic leadership, and corrupt bureaucracy. Concentration of power suppresses the voice of communities and ordinary people. Oligarchic leadership adopt policies that favor the rich and discriminate against the poor. The corrupt bureaucracy makes it doubly difficult for the poor to rely on the government for services and for redress.

2. **Concentration of wealth.** The concentration of land, capital and information in the hands of a small elite is growing more intense. Land concentration leads to widespread landlessness in both rural and urban areas. Capital concentration widens further the gap between rich and poor. Information concentration, often by the same elites who hold the most land and capital, speeds up the pace of land and capital concentration.

3. **Nature-abuse.** The abuse of nature through relentless exploitation of our natural resources has been going on since the beginnings of colonialism. It advances without let-up today, as logging, mining and quarrying keep on ravaging the land and destroying the very basis for our existence and livelihood.

4. **Toxic-capitalism.** We often hear about the good side of technologies first, from the profit-seeking corporations which are marketing them. Only later do we learn their dark side, when anomalies materialize and disasters strike. The worst of these technomalies is toxic-capitalism. In pursuit of profits, it releases into our air, water, soil and the rest of our living environment toxic, radioactive, or otherwise harmful substances. They disrupt normal human body

functions, cause cancers and other diseases, harm the unborn child, or induce mutations. The problem of toxic-capitalism is worsened by the government's unselective open-door policy on foreign investments.

5. **Chronic violence.** Violence is commonplace in Philippine society. In the home, it expresses itself as domestic violence, its most common victim being women and children. At work, farmers, fisherfolk, and workers who assert their rights are frequent targets of class violence. During elections, politicians often deploy private armies to ensure their victory. Among the police and the military, violent methods have become standard procedure against the powerless or underprivileged. Organized crime is on the rise. Chronic violence reflects an ideology of domination that targets women, the poor, and nature.

6. **Culture-aggression.** We are assailed daily by foreign icons that are supposed to represent the ideal lifestyle, but which are mostly cultural junk. The resulting miseducation and foreign-worship blinker us, make us vulnerable to the evils of foreign exploitation, and suppress the positive in local culture. The most aggressive promoter of junk culture is corporate advertising, made worse by the foreign control of media, the media's aggressive intrusion into the countryside, the convergence of entertainment, media, communications, and information technology, and the globalization of information economies.

7. **Globalization.** This is nothing but the relentless and ruthless transfer of wealth from poor countries to global elites. In the past, this was accomplished through direct conquest, colonialism and slavery. With the defeat of colonialism, this transfer of wealth then changed its shape, expressing itself in the worldwide spread of capital and markets. With the globalization of information economies, a third shape has emerged. Whatever the shape, the result is the same: global elites control our economy and transfer our wealth into their hands.

## Greed or Green?

If we study our basic problems carefully, we can see that the ideological root of many of them is greed.

We know that greed is a human frailty that many of us have suffered from at one time or another. In most of us, however, this problem is often tempered by other human feelings like love, compassion, charity, guilt, fear, and other emotions.

Greed, however, has undergone its own transformation. It has freed itself from its human form. It has taken on a new personality, one pure and unencumbered by other distracting human feelings. Behind this new personality, greed is free to pursue singlemindedly the one and only thing that motivates it: profit. This new personality is the for-profit corporation.

In the Philippines and most other countries, the corporation is considered a legal person. This personification of greed has taken on a life, a will, and powers of its own. It asserts rights which are acknowledged by governments and often more favorably recognized than the rights of real persons. The corporation has learned how to nourish itself and to grow, by feeding on nature, people, and information. It has become increasingly successful in asserting its freedoms ("liberalization"), overcoming government controls ("deregulation") and in taking over government activities ("privatization").

Now, corporations even want to rule the world ("globalization").

By looking at how greed -- particularly its legal personification -- manifests itself in politics, in the economy,

in culture, in technology and in the environment, we discover that it results in precisely those problems which we have earlier identified as the basic problems of Philippine society:

Politics	Malgovernment; concentration of power; chronic violence; use of political power to serve its relentless pursuit of money and profit
Economy	Accumulation and concentration of wealth such as land, capital and information in the hands of a few elites; rule by global corporations; globalization
Culture	Culture-aggression; junk culture; saturation advertising by corporations
Environment	Nature-abuse; destruction of the environment
Technology	Technomalies; toxic-capitalism; the deadly combination of powerful technologies and profit-seeking

Knowing what lies at the core of profit-seeking corporations, we cannot allow them to become either our "engine of growth" or our "models of efficiency". Instead of expanding corporate rights, as GATT and the WTO have done and as the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) plans to do, we will regulate and restrict corporate rights. The institutional core of the Greens' development efforts will be the community: a web of relations between real human beings and their natural environment.

Against the ideology of greed, we advocate "enoughness" or "sapat".

## Basic Tasks of the Philippine Greens

The basic problems we identified are closely connected. They are key links in a complex set of problems, aspects of a single system that destroys both nature and human community. Hence, they must be solved together or they cannot be solved at all.

Here we identify the basic tasks to stop our slide towards environmental and economic disaster and to ensure for our people a future life of health, knowledge, happiness and full development:

**1. An accountable government.** We must build a government that is fully accountable to the public for its decisions and actions. Such a government must be truly democratic and honest, its power diffused among the various communities to whom it owes its existence and from whom it derives its powers. A crucial condition for accountability is the existence of strong independent social movements.

**2. Equitable wealth distribution.** We must quickly narrow the gap between the rich and the poor and break up the concentration of wealth -- the concentration of land, capital and information -- in hands of a few families or corporations. We must make sure that those with the least wealth will nevertheless have enough opportunities and access to land, capital, information and other resources they need to live a decent life. The State must recognize the ancestral domain of indigenous peoples.

**3. Environmental defense and restoration.** We must defend the world of nature from further abuse, particularly from profit-seeking corporations which remain its worst abuser. We must restore the richness and diversity of life in our mountains, forests,

rivers, lakes, seas, and other ecosystems.

**4. Clean production and toxic cleanup.** We must switch to clean production and start a massive cleanup to remove the poisons and other harmful substances that decades of toxic-capitalism have unleashed on the Philippine environment. We should stop importing toxic wastes and toxic substances, technologies, and industries into the country.

**5. Peaceful and democratic resolution of conflicts.** We must transform conflicts and resolve them through peaceful dialogue, negotiations and democratic decision-making. We must put an end to illegal detentions, tortures, and summary executions. We must remove the causes of domestic violence and launch an earnest community campaign to end violence within the home.

**6. A national culture that respects diversity.** We must develop a culture that promotes national cohesiveness and positive values, at the same time preserving the diversity of local cultures. By gathering the best aspects of indigenous, local and other cultures, we can offer to the next generation of Filipinos the best lessons of our era.

**7. Assertion of national sovereignty.** We must assert our national sovereignty and strive for self-sufficiency, self-reliance and sustainability in the face of colonial and corporate impositions masquerading as "globalization." Then, local communities can gain power and stop the continuing transfer of their economic and political power into the hands of global elites.

## Principles of Green Development

The following Green principles should be considered applicable at the national level, at the community level, and, as much as possible, even at the personal level.

1. **Sapat:** "Everyone should have enough." This has two aspects. For those who are not even meeting their basic needs, it means that they are entitled to have enough to meet these needs. For the affluent, it means they must learn to recognize when they have more than enough of the resources that are effectively denied others because they have so much of it.

2. **Self-sufficiency:** "Let us make what we need." Producing our basic needs ourselves is a core principle of the Greens. An important corollary of this principle is food security: "Let us grow our own food."

3. **Self-reliance:** "Let us use what we have" This principle also means "buying what we make". This principle pushes us to rely on our own resources, products and services for food, talent, capital and other necessities.

4. **Ecology:** "Let us work in harmony with nature." We must take into account the complexity of the processes of life and use natural approaches suited to living matter.

5. **Zero-waste:** "Reduce, reuse, recycle, rethink." The zero-waste principle ensures the maximum use of our limited resources, and avoids the accumulation of wastes and dead matter that will eventually unbalance our ecology. We must rethink production technologies to incorporate zero-waste principles.

6. **Information-sharing:** "Let us share knowledge freely." It means working in harmony with the nature of information, which is not lost but even enriched when shared. This principle also ensures our access to knowledge and various useful technologies at the least cost.

7. **Self-immunization:** "Let us say NO to junk culture." We should immunize ourselves from the consumerist culture peddled by corporate advertising and Hollywood marketing. This will prevent the cultural malaise brought in by globalization from afflicting us.

8. **Social justice:** "Let us help the small more than the big." This is a "bubble-up" approach of providing direct benefits to low-income sectors as a centerpiece of government policy. These benefits will eventually bubble up to the higher income sectors, as the direct beneficiaries use their increasing purchasing power.

9. **Purchasing power:** "Let us make each purchase an act of protest." When we buy, we are casting a vote to choose one among several economic alternatives. We should use this purchasing power to support the essential against the junk, the local against the foreign, and the small against the big.

10. **Local action:** "Let us first win over local political power." This reflects the Greens' bottom-up approach to politics. It gives us the means to win genuine benefits for the people, meet realistic goals in the near future, hone our skills in governance and fine-tune our alternative policies. It will build an expanding base of Green communities from which we can launch future regional and national efforts to win nationwide victory.

## Ecological Agriculture and Fisheries

Ideal ecological practice will contain all the elements below. We may not attain all of them immediately, but we should try to realize all of them eventually.

**Full access to land and to farm and fishery resources.** Farmers and fisherfolk must have full access to the land, to the sea and to related resources, to realize their unity and harmony with nature. In doing so, they can ensure their survival, raise surpluses for the use of other sectors of the economy, and deepen their spiritual relationship with the nature. To ensure full access, the government must prevent the concentration of land in a few families and corporations, implement ecological land and aquatic reform, and recognize the ancestral domain rights of indigenous peoples.

**Strong community.** Farming and fishing are a family as well as a community effort. Farmers and fisherfolk support each other, enrich their knowledge by sharing it with others and share community resources such as forests, springs, rivers, lakes and the sea. A strong organization and cooperative spirit also help them cope with external forces such as monopolistic middlemen, natural disasters, or intruding corporations.

**No chemicals.** Chemical fertilizers, herbicides, and pesticides kill soil bacteria and other beneficial life in the soil. Over the long run, they rob the soil of its fertility and make the farmer more and more dependent on chemicals. Many pesticides persist for a long time and find their way through the food chain to our bodies, where they accumulate and can cause cancers and other diseases. The use of antibiotics and growth hormones in chicken, hog, cattle and aquatic products can lead to similar problems. Cyanide and dynamite fishing, on the other hand, devastate aquatic ecosystems, making them unproductive very quickly. Ecological agriculture relies on the natural fertility of the soil, and enhances

it through organic methods and the proper choice of crops.

**Low cash costs.** Ecological agriculture and aquaculture do not need much cash, because they do not rely on chemical inputs or corporate-owned high-yielding varieties of seeds. They avoid monoculture and prefer multi-cropping, limiting the benefits of large-scale mechanization. So they do not need huge cash outlays for large machines either. The low cash costs make the ecological farmers and fisherfolk resistant to the ups and downs of the market.

**Enough food crops.** Ecological farmers always grow and raise enough food for their families and fisherfolk also plant vegetables and other food crops. For both, food security is assured and both are less vulnerable to disasters, shortages or inflation. Both can also ensure the high quality of their own food supply. Furthermore, their food surplus command premium prices because these are chemical-free, organically-grown, and healthy. The key to healthy foods is to buy them from those who grow food or catch fish to feed their own families.

**High diversity.** Ecological farmers grow a wide variety of crops: food crops, vegetables, spices, fruit trees, medicinal herbs, and other plants. They may also raise chickens and other animal, or raise fish on ponds. The diversity is as much a source of security as it is a source of cash for their other needs.

**Deep knowledge and respect.** Ecological agriculture is based on an intimate and spiritual relationship with nature. To know the land intimately means to be familiar with all its flora and fauna, the sources of water, the local weather and other features of the land. To treat nature with respect means to return what we borrow by replenishing the natural wealth of the land, to prefer renewable resources and to use non-renewables ones sparingly.

## Industrial Greening

Industrial greening means a fundamental shift in emphasis of the government's industrial policies. The shift in priorities include:

**Basic needs.** Instead of luxury goods, emphasis will shift to basic needs: food, health, clothing, shelter, education and basic consumer items. Let those who want to produce non-essentials and luxuries persist with their projects, but the government's support should be directed towards the basic-needs industries.

**Local market.** This means our own people, not the affluent of other countries. In answer to the economists's complaint that Filipinos have little purchasing power, the government should adopt a "bubble-up" approach and provide direct benefits to low-income sectors, to make them an increasingly viable market for local producers. For farmers, direct benefit means a land reform program that will transfer to them ownership and full control of their land and its produce. For fisherfolk, it means government support and protection against corporate fishing fleets. For workers, it means more jobs, better job security, better skills, a decent minimum wage, decent working conditions and improved negotiating power. For the small entrepreneur, it means better access to capital and technology and more protection against global competitors.

**Domestic labor and capital.** Filipino labor and capital must continue to receive from the government protection against competition from their foreign counterparts. Government purchasing and contracting policies should favor Filipinos. Within the

context of protected local industries, the government should encourage local competition by providing easy credit and ensuring everyone's access to technologies.

**Worker welfare.** The well-being and safety of the worker must receive foremost attention. Tool and machine design should be worker-friendly, adapting to the worker, instead of the other way around. We will adopt clean production, minimizing dangerous situations or hazardous substances in the production process. We will protect job security, ensure decent wages and working conditions and improve the worker's negotiating position through pro-labor policies.

**Appropriate technology.** Appropriate technology is technology that suits our level of development. It is often an intermediate rather than state-of-the-art technology, small- or medium-scale rather than large-scale, job-creating rather than job-cutting. Because it usually costs less per job created, it will not push us to borrow from abroad.

**Renewable resources and energy.** Green industries will rely increasingly on renewable resources and energy. Non-renewables will be used sparingly.

**Harmony with the agriculture and information sectors.** We must have a well-balanced economy where the agriculture, industrial and information sectors develop in full harmony with each other. Special attention must be paid to agriculture, to shield it from the disruptive impact of industrial approaches.

## A Non-Monopolistic Information Sector

The Greens see the information sector as very important because of its special nature: information is a social good and it can be shared freely once it is created; and since information is a non-material good, the limits to material growth do not apply to information growth.

The Greens will adopt information policies which are in harmony with this nature of information. These include:

1. **The right to know.** It is the government's duty to inform its citizens about matters that directly affect them, their families or their communities. Citizens have the right to access these information. Neither the State nor private corporations may use "national security", "confidentiality of commercial transactions", or "trade secret" as reasons to curtail this right.

2. **The right to privacy.** The government must not probe the private life of its citizens. Citizens have the right to access information about themselves which have been collected by government agencies. The government must not centralize these separate databases by building a central database or by adopting a unified access key to the separate databases. Nobody should be forced against their will to reveal any information they do not want to make public.

3. **No patenting of life.** The following, whether or not modified by human intervention, may not be patented: life forms, biological and microbiological materials, biological and microbiological processes, genetic information.

4. **The moral rights of intellectuals.** Those who actually create an intellectual work or originate an idea have the right to be recognized that they did so. Nobody may claim authorship of works or ideas they did not originate. No one can be forced to release or modify a work or idea if he or she is not willing to do so. These and other moral rights of intellectuals will be respected and protected.

5. **The freedom to share.** The freedom to share and exchange information and knowledge must be recognized and protected. This freedom must take precedence over information monopolies such as intellectual property rights (IPR) that the State grants to intellectuals.

6. **Universal access.** The government will facilitate universal access by its citizens to the world's storehouse of knowledge. Every community needs access to books, cassettes, videos, tapes, radio and TV programs, software, etc. The government will set up a wide range of training and educational facilities to enable community members to continually expand their know-how and knowledge.

7. **Compulsory licensing.** Universal access to information content is best achieved through compulsory licensing. Under this internationally-practiced mechanism, the government itself licenses others to copy patented or copyrighted material for sale to the public, but compels the licensees to pay the patent or copyright holder a government-set royalty fee. This mechanism is a transition step towards non-monopolistic payments for intellectual activity.

8. **Public stations.** Universal access to information infrastructure is best achieved through public access stations, charging subsidized rates. These can include well-stocked public libraries; public telephone booths; community facilities for listening to or viewing training videos, documentaries, and the classics; public facilities for telegraph and electronic mail; educational radio and TV programs; and public stations for accessing computer networks.

9. **The best lessons of our era.** While all knowledge and culture should be preserved and stored for posterity, we also need to distil the best lessons of our era, to be taught -- not sold -- to the next generations. There should be a socially-guided, diversity-conscious selection, undertaken with the greatest sensitivity and wisdom. It is not something that can be left to a profit-oriented education system, to circulation- or ratings-driven media, or to consumption-pushing advertising.

## The Green Political Agenda

The Green political agenda is basically a process of building a mass constituency and winning political power through mass movements. The first task is the most crucial and becomes more so, as the Green movement undertakes, at the proper time, its second and third political tasks.

### **1. Build a majority Green constituency through mass mobilization, organizing, and education.**

The first stage of the Green movement concerns the building of a mass constituency and eventually a majority constituency. This political base will be built through mass mobilization, organizing and education.

We will mobilize people across society behind issues which affect them directly, taking positions consistent with our Green principles. We will turn these gains into organizational gains by making sure that every mass action results in new contacts, new supporters and new members for Green organizations. Then we can launch even bigger mass actions. We will consolidate our organizational gains and strengthen our constituency through intensive educational efforts, to bring the people a deep understanding of the principles of the Green movement.

As we do all these things nationwide, we to work towards building a majority constituency in communities and work places, to set the conditions for the second stage of the Green movement.

### **2. Win over local political power to build robust Green communities.**

At the proper time, when our mass base is ready, we

will launch an electoral effort to win local political power.

Once Green governance is in place at the local level, we will have to learn new ways of doing things, but without abandoning the mass movement that built our majority constituency. A local political victory means two new capacities: access to government resources and public funds, and access to local police power. We must learn to wield these powers sensitively and effectively, to bring more benefits to the people, to strengthen our ties with them, and to expand and consolidate our mass constituency into a solid and robust base of Green political power.

Our success nationwide over the first two stages will set the conditions for the third stage of the Green movement.

### **3. Fight for nationwide Green governance.**

At the proper time, we will enter national politics. By this time, we will have prepared a comprehensive and fully-tested program of action that can mobilize millions of people in struggle over local and national issues. We will have built a national organization of political workers capable of waging local and national campaigns and winning them. We will have developed huge local constituencies intensely loyal to Green principles and governance because we have served them faithfully and well.

We will then be ready to fight for nationwide Green governance. The majority of Filipinos should then be looking forward to the day when Green principles become the guideposts for national development.

## Green Tactics

The Philippine Greens will adopt a wide range of tactics in our advocacy of ecological and socially-just principles. The Greens will pursue the two-pronged strategy of exposing and opposing the evils of the present system on the one hand, and of planning and building alternative Green communities, on the other hand. To do these, the Greens will work inside as well as outside the present political system, keeping in mind our long-term goal of winning political power, to be in a position to guide the State and the bureaucracy according to Green principles.

The Greens advocate non-violence as a matter of principle. But even while we call for the peaceful and democratic resolution of conflicts, we also support the right of communities to defend themselves from external attack and to fight for survival with all the means at their disposal. We cite below some of the forms, sometimes undertaken in combinations, that Greens worldwide have found effective in their mobilization and advocacy:

**Organizing.** People gain strength when they band together. One of our basic task is to initiate the formation of organizations at every level that facilitate collective decision-making and action.

**Mass actions.** Mass actions are needed for most Green advocacies, to educate a wider range of the public or to exert pressure on the authorities about an important issue. These can take the form of petitions, pickets, rallies, marches, and so on. Mass movements have developed a rich variety of actions, among which we can choose the most appropriate to the situation.

**Media-oriented actions.** Such actions are meant to gain media coverage more than encourage public participation. They can be very effective in calling public attention on issues which are otherwise sidelined and overlooked by the public and the

authorities. Many Green groups are known for their skills in catching the attention of the media.

**Lobbying.** This is a necessary task whenever we want to advocate certain policies within a bureaucracy that we don't control. It requires patience, diplomacy, technical knowledge and an array of powerful arguments.

**Training.** Our intention here is to impart additional skills, know-how and knowledge. This is an important activity in consolidating our constituencies and expanding their capacities.

**Electoral candidacy.** The long-term political goal of the Greens is to win political power. We will therefore join the electoral contest at the proper time. Even if we fail to win positions, we should succeed in mobilizing more people and educating the public about ecology and social justice.

**Community-building.** We need not wait for nationwide victory to build Green communities. We can do it today, through the organizations that we form and in the communities where we win political power. Some Greens abroad do it by setting up "communes" which are completely separate from existing communities.

**Barricades.** Some Greens have found barricades effective in blocking the transport of illegally-cut logs, extremely dangerous toxic substances, or radioactive material. Where there is strong public support, this may be the quickest way to stop the ongoing nature-abuse.

**Monkey-wrenching.** In some areas, Greens have found monkey-wrenching effective. This stops destructive corporate projects through individual or widespread civil resistance.

## Setting Up a Green Organization

**Form a core group.** Gather friends, neighbors, classmates or colleagues who want to do something for others and for the environment. The core group should be willing to give time for the activities of the organization.

**Define your organization.** Pick a name, list down your objectives, and choose a coordinator. Coordination may be rotated among members, if you think this better. With more members, you can create committees for different activities like research, publication, campaigns, recruitment, fundraising, etc.

**Study the issues.** Solid knowledge is one key to effective activism. Remember that an environmental or social problem is never an isolated one, but is linked to other environmental, economic and social issues. It will also have political ramifications. Keep studying; keep abreast of recent developments.

**Choose an activity.** Action galvanizes a group, triggering a round of activities that should lead to consolidation and expansion of your group. Choose your activities well. Here are some possibilities:

**Conduct study sessions** among your members to deepen your understanding of environmental and social issues. Write a paper on a local problem. Reproduce it, share it with other groups, or submit it to a publication. Inform your immediate public about the issue you have studied by distributing a pamphlet or holding a symposium. Petition the proper authorities about a local problem. Request a meeting. Follow up your petition until action is done, or raise the issue with higher authorities.

**Gather greater public support and consider launching a picket or rally.** Go on a field trip to an environmentally- critical or economically-depressed area. Discuss the experience among your members afterwards. Launch a fund-raising activity.

**Keep others informed.** Keep your immediate public (i.e., your school, your neighborhood, your community or your workplace) informed of your activities and the results of your studies. You can do this through posters, wall newsletters and other forms of announcements.

**Network with other Greens.** Keep in touch with other environmentally- or socially-oriented groups. One group is the Philippine Greens, an organization of Green activists whose members have made a lifetime commitment to Green socio-ecological advocacy and political activism. If you want to deepen your commitment, you might even join the Philippine Greens. Your group can also affiliate with coalitions of environmental groups. Networking is very important because Greens will often need to launch nationwide actions for maximum impact.

**Strive for results.** Try to be results-oriented, to keep your group active and enthusiastic. You know that you are getting results if: you are covered or published in the local media; your meetings are well-attended; your positions are well-supported by others; you receive invitations from others to present your views; more members join your group; authorities respond to your petitions positively; or if you receive citations or awards from others.

## **A Manifesto of Philippine Greens**

We are activists who have decided to form ourselves into an organization and devote ourselves towards reforming our society as a lifetime commitment.

In this work, we shall be guided by the following principles:

1. In our relationship with nature, rejecting the concept of conquest and domination of nature that is characteristic of prevailing worldviews, and advancing instead the concept of living as an integral part of, and in harmony with, nature;
2. In human societies, continuing the heritage of struggle against all forms of exploitation, oppression and corruption, uniting with the oppressed and the exploited in their struggles, and paying special attention to the interest of farmers, women, indigenous peoples, workers, fisherfolk and urban poor;
3. In our national life, rejecting globalization and joining our peoples' struggle against the intrusion of destructive global forces;
4. In our communities, preferring participatory, equitable, decentralized, human-scale, local, cooperative, gender-sensitive and voluntary mechanisms and processes in livelihood and governance;
5. In our cultural life, recognizing the spiritual as much as the material dimensions of reality, and respecting and defending the diversity of cultures;
6. Within ourselves, consciously shifting in human values from competition and monopolistic control to cooperation and sharing, and -- aware of the limits of the carrying capacity of our environment -- advocating a simple but spiritually-rich style of living against

materialist acquisitiveness and wasteful patterns of consumption;

The above principles comprise our worldview and our basis of unity. This worldview, which is rooted in our peoples' history and which remains dominant among many indigenous peoples, is giving rise to alternative paradigms in many parts of the world, to challenge the profit-driven corporate-led capitalist models as well as the centrally-planned socialist models of development.

This worldview puts the highest value on natural and human ecology, and the lessons we derive from our harmonious interaction with nature. Thus, it is also called the Green worldview, and we call ourselves Greens.

### **OUR CALL TO ACTION**

We firmly believe that by applying the above Green principles to our relationship with our natural and social environment, we can reform society towards one where people live happily and harmoniously with nature, with each other and with themselves.

We intend to launch an all-round, comprehensive movement to make these principles the main guideposts in Philippine culture, economy and governance.

We call on all Filipinos who adhere to these Green principles and who intend to undertake the mission of propagating them, to join us.

Together, we will change ourselves, our society, and our world.

First General Assembly of the Philippine Greens  
November 29-30, 1997, Quezon City

## **Organizational Rules of the Philippines Greens**

### **A. Becoming a member**

1. All prospective members must accept the contents of the Manifesto of Philippine Greens in full, and are expected to follow its principles. They will also undergo a period of trial as a candidate member. The trial period should not be shorter than three months or longer than twelve months. Candidate members cannot vote or occupy elective positions outside their cell.

2. To be accepted by a cell as a full member, a candidate member must: a) become active in at least one Green cell, and do satisfactory political and organizational work, b) attend a workshop for incoming members, and c) take the membership oath.

### **B. Our basic unit**

1. The basic organizational structure of the Greens is the cell. A cell should consist of two or more Green members who can meet, work and study regularly and as a group.

2. A cell must propagate the Green worldview, conduct study sessions, launch or participate in mass actions, recruit new members, and raise resources for itself and the organization.

### **C. Decisions and statements for the organization**

1. Each cell will appoint one of its members to represent it in a National Council. Only the National Council or entities it authorizes can make decisions or issue statements for the entire organization.

2. The National Council will select a Chair, who will call and preside over meetings.

3. The National Council will meet at least four times a year.

### **D. Decision-making in Green bodies**

1. Decisions shall be arrived at by consensus. If a consensus is not possible, and a decision is necessary, simple majority rule will be followed. If at least one-fourth of the body ask for secret balloting, it will be followed.

2. The National Council will be fully accountable to the cells; the cells will be transparent to the National Council.

### **E. General Assembly**

1. The Greens will hold a General Assembly every November 29-30.

## **Constitution of the Philippine Greens**

[Note: this draft was submitted to the First General Assembly of the Philippine Greens on November 29-30, 1997, which decided to keep it in draft form for further discussions.]

### **Article I. Vision**

Section 1. We are a political organization advocating comprehensive reforms, to build a Green society based on ecological and social justice principles.

Section 2. The Manifesto of Philippine Greens lays down the vision of the organization. It is our basis of unity. Only those who accept its contents in full may become or remain members of the Greens. No decision or action by the Greens may go against this vision.

### **Article II. Name**

Section 1. The organization shall be known as the Philippine Greens, or simply the Greens.

Section 2. Second name. The organization may adopt a second name in a local context, upon the suggestion of a local body. The second name shall take effect upon approval of the National Council. When the second name is used, the name Philippine Greens should be appended in parentheses after the local name.

### **Article III. Members**

Section 1. Full member. A full member of the Philippine Greens is one who was registered as a member before this Constitution was adopted and takes the membership oath, or one who has undergone candidate membership, and has subsequently been accepted as a full member. A full member can vote or stand for an elective position in the organization.

Section 2. Candidate member. All prospective members will undergo a period of trial as a candidate member, during which the prospective member, as well as the organization, can both decide if the prospective member is suited for full membership. The trial period should not be shorter than three months or longer than six months, after which the candidate's application for membership is either accepted or rejected by the cell where he/she is active. Candidate members enjoy all the rights and duties of full members, except the right to stand for elective positions or vote in membership assemblies beyond their cells.

Section 3. Membership requirements. Members must accept the contents of the Manifesto of Philippine Greens in full, and are expected to follow its principles. They must also become active in at least one Green cell, to do organizational and political work. All new candidate members and full members must attend an educational workshop for incoming members, and take a membership oath, administered by two full members, to formalize their membership. The next higher body of the organization must be notified prior to the oath-taking.

Section 4. Resignation. A member may resign from the organization at any time by formally notifying the cell coordinator of his/her resignation.

Section 5. Disciplinary action. A member may be disciplined by his/her cell for acts which violate the Green vision or which are inimical to the organization. Disciplinary action may involve a reprimand, suspension, or

withdrawal of membership, depending on the nature of the act. The next higher body must be notified of any disciplinary action, before it can take effect.

#### **Article IV. The cell**

Section 1. Composition. The basic organizational structure of the Greens is the cell. A cell should consist of two or more Green members who can meet, work, and study regularly and as a group.

Section 2. Cell coordinator. Members shall elect among themselves a coordinator, who will call and preside over meetings. The minutes of cell meetings should be taken down, for purposes of documentation and reporting.

Section 3. Election. An election for coordinator will be held everytime a member joins or leaves the cell, or before a General Assembly, or once a year, whichever comes first.

#### **Article IV. The General Assembly**

Section 1. Role. The highest decision-making body of the Greens is the General Assembly.

Section 2. Frequency of meetings. The Executive Committee shall convene a General Assembly at least once every two years.

Section 3. Participation. To ensure a fresh mandate, an election for coordinator will be held by every cell before a General Assembly is convened. All members of the organization are entitled to receive notification and to participate in the General Assembly. Members who will be on official missions during the General Assembly may register in advance and be considered present, except that they will be excluded in determining a quorum.

Section 4. Quorum. A simple majority of all coordinators of every cell in the organization and all members of the National Council, taken together, is sufficient and necessary to declare a quorum.

Section 5. Decisions. After a quorum is declared, the total number of members registered will be used for subsequent computations of majority. The General Assembly needs a simple majority of those registered to make decisions.

Section 6. Absence of quorum. If no quorum is present, the General Assembly may not elect a new National Council. However, it may still propose decisions if a simple majority of those who registered for the General Assembly vote in favor of the proposals. The proposals must then be submitted in a written referendum to all full members, who will vote on each proposal individually. Approval by a simple majority of all members will ratify a proposed decision as if it had been approved in a General Assembly.

Section 7. Reports. The Executive Committee shall submit the following written reports to the General Assembly:

- a.) A detailed organizational report;
- b.) A report on the national situation;
- c.) A financial report; and
- d.) A two-year program.

## **Article V. The National Council**

Section 1. Role. The highest decision-making body of the Greens in between General Assemblies is the National Council.

Section 2. Composition. A General Assembly shall elect a National Council of 15 members, from among those present. The members shall as much as possible be evenly distributed geographically and by gender.

Section 3. Frequency of meetings. The Chair shall convene the National Council at least twice a year. A simple majority is needed to establish a quorum. The National Council may adopt a procedure for making decisions in between its meetings.

## **Article VI. The Executive Committee**

Section 1. Role. As soon as it is elected, the National Council will meet to elect its Chair and four others who will compose the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee will run the day-to-day affairs of the organization. Its meetings will be presided by the Chair. If the Chair is absent, the Executive Committee members will select a temporary Chair.

Section 2. Quorum. At least three of the five Executive Committee members must be present to establish a quorum. National Council members are entitled to attend Executive Committee meetings and participate in its decision-making, but they will not be counted in establishing a quorum.

Section 3. Secretariat. The Executive Committee shall establish a Secretariat to assist it in implementing its decisions as well as the decisions of the National Council and the General Assembly. It will appoint a Secretary-General to coordinate the Secretariat.

## **Article VII. Intermediate Bodies**

Section 1. The National Council may form intermediate bodies between the cells and the national organs, as necessary.

Section 2. The powers and duties of these bodies will be defined by the National Council, after consultations with the lower units which will be administered by the body to be formed.

## **Article VIII. Decision-making**

Section 1. Consistency with the Vision. All decisions at every level must be consistent with the vision of the organization, as expressed in the Manifesto of Philippine Greens.

Section 2. Written decisions. All decisions of the General Assembly and the National Council and major decisions of the Executive Committee must be put in writing and circulated.

Section 3. Decision-making bodies. Only the Executive Committee, the National Council or the General Assembly may make decisions for the entire organization and the entire membership. Members of the National Council may speak for the Philippine Greens, making sure that their statements are consistent with decisions of the Executive Committee, the National Council, and the General Assembly.

Section 4. Process. Within each body, decisions shall be arrived at by consensus. If consensus is not possible and a decision is necessary, majority rule will be followed, after sufficient discussions. The minority should respect the majority decision and abide by it. On important issues, the minority will be allowed to reserve its opinion but they should not oppose the decision publicly. The next higher body must be notified of all major decisions.

Section 5. Reserving opinions. Lower bodies should abide by decisions of higher bodies. On important issues, they will be allowed to reserve their opinion, but they should not oppose the decision publicly.

Section 6. Appeals. All decisions may be appealed by submitting the appeal to the same body that made the decision, and, if the appeal is rejected, to the next higher body, up to the National Council or the General Assembly, whose decisions are final.

Section 7. Dissenting opinions. All dissenting opinions shall be respected and noted down, as long as they are consistent with our vision. This is important because better ideas often start as minority opinions.

Section 8. Trying minority views. On major and recurring internal debates within the organization, the majority can allow the minority view to be tried out in a limited area, to clarify the issues and facilitate the resolution of the debate based on actual experience.

## **Article IX. Amendments**

Section 1. Amendments to the Constitution. Except for the Vision and Article I, this Constitution may be amended by the General Assembly if two-thirds or more of those who registered in the General Assembly vote in favor of the amendment, or if two-thirds or more of the general membership approve the proposed amendment in a referendum called by the National Council.

Section 2. Amendments to the Vision. Article I and the Vision, as expressed in the Manifesto of Philippine Greens, may be amended if three-fourths or more of those who registered in the General Assembly vote in favor of the amendment, or if three-fourths or more of the general membership approve the proposed amendment in a referendum called by the National Council.

## Readings for Philippine Greens

[Most of the articles cited here appear in Andrew Dobson's *The Green Reader*. The articles represent a very diverse range of views, and not all necessarily reflect the position of the Philippine Greens. Nevertheless, they have been included to show the range of positions among Greens worldwide.]

### Part I: The Green Critique

#### ECONOMICS OF GROWTH

*The Limits to Growth*, Donella Meadows. If present growth trends continue, the world faces a major global disaster. Infinite growth is not possible in a finite world.

*The Problem of Production*, E.F.Schumacher. Present society perpetuates the illusion that the problem of production has been solved. Actually, we have been using up, at an increase rate, our natural capital, most of which will eventually be exhausted.

*Third World Poverty*, Ted Trainer. Developed countries, with their very high living standards, consume the bulk of the world's resources. This is the cause of many of our problems. Poor countries remain in poverty, because the resources they need flow into the rich countries instead, often to produce frivolous luxuries.

*The Problems with GNP*, Paul Ekins. GNP is a defective measure of development it does not differentiate between beneficial and harmful activities; it does not show how the growth is distributed among various social sectors; it does not show how we are enhancing the natural world, which is the material base for our very survival.

*Population Growth* (from **The Impasse of Economics**), Fritjof Capra. According to demographers, human populations increase rapidly as a result of major improvements in living and health conditions. This rapid growth slows down, however, as families reach a certain level of wealth and social well-being, and the population eventually stabilizes. Many developing countries have reached the first

stage of improved conditions that result in higher population growths. However, they have been unable to reach the second stage of social well-being, that should stabilize their populations, because of the large-scale transfer of their wealths to the developed countries.

#### INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

*Industrialism*, Jonathon Porritt. While capitalism and socialism have major differences, they are both dedicated to industrial growth, to the expansion of the means of production, and to unimpeded technological development. They both rely on increasing centralization and large-scale bureaucratic control. They are opposite aspects of the same super-ideology of industrialism.

*Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson. The proliferation of toxic chemicals is now so widespread that they are found in virtually anywhere, including the remotest places on earth. Every human being is now subjected to contact with these chemicals.

*The Real and Surrogate World*, Edward Goldsmith. Modern industrial society expands the 'man-made' (ie surrogate) world and contracts the natural (ie real) world. But we are really part of the natural world. Thus, its destruction also threatens the very basis of human life.

*The Technological Fix*, Ted Trainer. It is widely believed that our problems can be solved by further advances in science and technology. Unfortunately, technological solutions invariably bring about new problems, which perhaps will require more science and technology. In our experience, the new problems are even more intractable than the earlier ones. The other approach is to look at our problems not as technical problems but as social ones, which require us to change social values and social structures.

*The Impasse of Economics*, Fritjof Capra. The corporation is a very inhuman organization. Large corporations have acquired so much power that they often control the political institutions, mass media and other information sources, as well as the educational

system of many countries. They are harmful even in their own homegrounds, and are entirely disastrous to poor countries, where they ruthlessly extract Third World wealth, use destructive technologies, and cause environmental disasters.

## PHILOSOPHY OF DOMINATION

*The Turning Point*, Fritjof Capra. The shift from the old organic view of the world to the newer mechanistic view (the universe as a machine) is the root of today's anti-ecological thinking. Modern physics is going away from this mechanistic view towards a holistic view which sees the universe not as a collection of 'things' but as 'interconnections' between things which are themselves interconnections. The universe is therefore seen as an organic unified whole.

*The Arrogance of Humanism*, David Ehrenfeld. The supreme faith in human reason and its capability to solve problems, brought about by the triumphs of science and technology, has given humanity the illusion that it has the power and the right to remold and exploit nature to heighten human enjoyment of life.

*Problems with the Enlightenment*, Vandana Shiva. The Age of Enlightenment that began in the 16th century changed our conception of nature from 'Mother Earth' to a machine and a source of raw materials.

## Part II: Green Alternatives

### KNOWING NATURE

*Humbling the Human*, Rachel Carson. The thin layer of soil actually controls the existence of every other animal on the land. The soil consists of bacteria, fungi, algae, mites, and other insects. Each of these millions of creatures have a special and specific role to play in various life cycles that take place in the soil.

*The Science of Ecology*, Denis Owen. Ecology is the scientific study of extremely complex living systems, taken as a whole. Many of these systems are largely self-regulating as long as they are not seriously tampered with.

The Gaia Hypothesis, James Lovelock. The earth itself can be considered a living organism, that makes the atmosphere, the oceans, and the physical and chemical conditions of the earth surface conducive to life. By looking at the whole earth as if it were alive, we can develop a more respectful and caring attitude towards it.

*Green Conservatism*, Arne Naess. Since the science of ecology shows that we know very little of the complex interrelationships that comprise the web of life, our policy should err on the side of caution. That is, the burden of proof should lie on those who intend to disrupt this complex web, and not on those who oppose this disruption.

### ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

*Abandon Affluence*, Ted Trainer. A sustainable society will live a materially frugal life. It will emphasize conservation, reuse, and self-sufficiency. It will use simpler, more ecologically-friendly technologies and more cooperative ways.

*Organic Farming*, Lady Balfour. The organic farmer sees the living world, including so-called pests and weeds, as part of a whole. He achieves his objectives by cooperating with natural processes instead of relying on man-made substitutes. He studies nature's rules instead of flouting them. He tried to attain balance and stability, instead of total elimination of so-called pests.

*Soft Energy Paths*, Amory Lovins. Renewable energy sources (such as solar, wind, biomass, etc) use up energy 'income' instead of 'capital'. They tend to be more diverse, flexible, low technology, decentralized, and also freely available. They are also more compatible with social structures which are decentralized, participatory, and democratic.

*Intermediate Technology*, E.F.Schumacher. Using intermediate technology, i.e., one which greatly improves on present ways of doing things but which avoids the latest and most expensive approaches, is the best approach for a developing country. This approach is more affordable, within their capacity to manufacture, repair and maintain, and creates more job opportunities.

*Buddhist Economics*, E.F.Schumacher. Work should allow us to use and develop our faculties; overcome our self-centeredness by working with others on a common task; and bring forth the goods and services needed for a becoming existence. Thus we should avoid organizing work to make it meaningless, boring stultifying or nerve-racking. We should strive to produce a high degree of human satisfaction with a low rate of material consumption. We should produce from local resources, for local needs.

*Local Money*, Guy Dauncy. Local money schemes have the following advantages: they de-commodify money; they highlight personal transactions (the 'gift' economy); they encourage initiative and self-reliance; they keep wealth within the local economy; they don't rely on highly centralized structures.

*Depletion Quotas vs. Pollution Taxes*, Herman Daly. Two approaches to environmental regulation are depletion quotas and pollution charges. Depletion quotas are better because they regulate at the input side (the raw materials), rather than the output side (the production wastes). The implementation is also easier because there are fewer sources of raw materials than production sites which emit pollution.

## **SOCIAL DIMENSIONS**

*Social Ecology*, Murray Bookchin. We should watch out against 'environmentalism' that is based on fine-tuning existing institutions, technologies and values instead of changing them. We should extend our quest for freedom beyond the factory, the economy, and the material conditions of life, to the family, the psyche, and the spiritual conditions of life. Otherwise, hierarchies and domination will persist, and so will the idea of dominating nature.

*Ecosocialism*, Martin Ryle. Ecology can also lead to an elite structure where the rich can afford to pay for 'ecological' surroundings, while the poor continue to suffer from environmental problems. To be just, ecology must incorporate social justice issues identify not only social relations which are ecologically viable, but also social relations which are just and good.

*Green Defence*, Brian Tokar. Green defense should avoid militaristic violence and concentrate on developing a high capacity for non-cooperation, civil

disobedience, and sabotage to render a country sufficiently ungovernable by an invader.

*A Possible Utopia*, Andre Gorz. Some features of Gorz' utopia: highly efficient public transport; more bicycles; citizens are entitled to meet needs, whether they have jobs or not; products will be more durable, easier to repair, pleasant to manufacture, and non-polluting; more socialized enterprises; emphasis on essential goods; decentralized, scaled-down production; 50% self-sufficiency for each community; community workshops for creative production; grow their own food; no TV Fridays and Saturdays .

*Green Education*, Aldous Huxley. Green education should start early in life, and with ecology. We should teach the basic science of relationships, together with its ethics: balance, give and take, no excesses. "Do as you would be done by." Let us teach children the Golden Rule in relation to plants and animals, and it will be easy for them to extend it to human beings.

## **WOMEN'S ISSUES**

*Women and Nature*, Carolyn Merchant. Nature has been identified with women (and vice versa) for a long time. Thus, the plight of women is tightly bound with the plight of nature. This forms the basis of unity between the women's movement and the ecology movement, which are both critical of the ideology of competition, aggression, and domination arising from the market economy's modus operandi in nature and society.

*Ecofeminism*, Judith Plant. Women and nature have a common plight: both are considered subordinate to man/men. In the same way that nature's role is now being elevated, women's values, centered around life-giving, must be revalued and elevated from their subordinate role.

## **ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSIONS**

*Small or Appropriate*, E.F.Schumacher. We suffer today from an almost universal idolatry of giantism. Very often, the large-scale solution, goes beyond what is necessary. Thus we must insist on the virtues of smallness--where this applies.

*Decentralization*, The Ecologist. The new social system will be decentralized. Smaller communities encourage social responsibility, reduce environmental impact, make democracy more attainable, and are more congenial to human development.

*Bioregionalism*, Kirkpatrick Sale. We should organize our societies around natural features (flora, fauna, water, climate, soil type, landforms, etc). Our economy should derive its character from the specific features of our bioregion. Such a social system will tend to revolve around sustenance, self-sufficiency, decentralized and diverse.

### PHILOSOPHICAL DIMENSIONS

*The Spiritual Dimension*, Walter and Dorothy Schwartz. Our awareness of the natural environment must be further deepened, until it takes spiritual content. A spiritual appreciation of nature provides the best foundation for a relationship that is respectful and non-dominating.

*A Land Ethic*, Aldo Leopold. A land ethic extends ethical treatment beyond the community and its members, to the soils, waters, plants, and animals (or collectively, the land) of the community. This ethical relation cannot exist without love, respect and admiration for land, and a high regard for its value (not in the economic but in the philosophical sense). The evolution of this ethic is an intellectual as well as an emotional process.

*Deep Ecology*, Arne Naess. Shallow ecology is mostly about anti-pollution and resource conservation. Deep ecology includes these but goes beyond them and encompasses: rejects man-in-environment idea in favor of living-things-in-milieu; biospherical egalitarianism (equal rights among living things to live and blossom); diversity and symbiosis; anti-class posture; complexity, not complications; local autonomy and decentralization.

*Touch the Earth*, North American Indians. Beautiful quotations from American Indians reflecting their highly ecological worldview: "The White people plough up the ground, pull down the trees, kill everything. The tree says, 'Don't. I am sore. Don't hurt me.' But they chop it down and cut it up. The spirit of the land hates them." "The Lokota [Indian] was a true

naturalist--a lover of nature. He loved the earth and all things of the earth, the attachment growing with age."

### Part III: Green Strategy and Tactics

#### POLITICAL STRATEGY

*Changing to Green*, Brian Tokar. The various strategies for initiating change include: curbing the excesses of industrialism, creating living alternatives, local-level activism, monkey-wrenching tactics, and electoral politics

*The Parliamentary Road? (1)*, Petra Kelly. The Green Party should be an anti-party party, ie, half party and half local action group. It should carry into the parliament the learning process that takes place on the streets, on factory and construction sites, and other arenas of local protest.

*The Parliamentary Road? (2)*, Rudolf Bahro. The party is a counterproductive tool, concerned mainly about getting reelected to the parliament. The political space that is given us is a trap, into which our energy disappears. We have become a normal party along with all the others. We have become bankrupt.

*Communes*, Rudolf Bahro. We should set up a relatively autonomous basic unit of social life to allow us a much deeper reorganization than what is possible via the state. This is the commune, which will subordinate economic efficiency to ecological and social demands. In the preparatory phase, while we are crystallizing the model, separation or dissociation from the remainder of society will outweigh association with it, and internal contact will outweigh external. We will be like a new Benedictine order, developing a new social organization and spiritual culture.

*Earth First!*, Dave Foreman and T.O.Hellenbach. Monkeywrenching is based on the observation that capitalist projects expect a minimum rate of return, and that if higher costs make this minimum improbable, the proponents will pull out of the project, of their own volition. Monkeywrenching activities are meant to raise project costs, and help the proponent arrive at a decision to pull out. Monkeywrenching is: non-violent (against machines,

not people); not centrally organized (to avoid deep penetration); carefully selective in its targets (not mindless vandalism); not anti-system (it is not meant to overthrow a system, but to stop a specific project); deliberate and ethical (they target expensive or irreplaceable pieces of equipment, not persons).

*The Monkey Wrench Gang*, Edward Abbey. This is a fictional story of a group of monkeywrenchers who destroy a piece of earthmoving equipment.

## **SECTORAL POLICIES**

*Green Consumerism*, John Elkington and Julia Hailes. Everytime we buy we are making a choice. We can use this purchasing power to express our political stand. To be able to do this, however, we must be well

informed.

*Against Green Consumerism*, Sandy Irvine. By changing their tastes, green consumers can shift consumption towards more ecologically-friendly directions, help the poor, pressure the government, and personally express their environmental commitment. However, it is very difficult to exercise choice unless sufficient information is available; frequently it is not available. Often, too, the affluent can easily express their choice, but the poor hardly have choices at all. Therefore green consumerism should focus on reducing and not just changing consumption patterns; it should also question inequitable economic structures as well as crude materialism.

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