

## *List of options*

### *(titles and short wordings)*

This complementary table of contents is different from the one at the beginning of the book; it presents a detailed list of all the options proposed in this manifesto.

Remember what has been explained in the introduction: this book has proposed a range of successive key statements that represent proposed patterns for a change of behaviours. These patterns are the expressions of an alternative understanding of our society and, as such, provide powerful incentives for change. As they open to new choices, they represent many options that consist in a personal or collective choice (or commitment) that depends on us alone and the way we want to interact with the world.

Each option is made of a title and a short summary in two or three lines. They are organised here by chapters and sub-chapters, in the same order they have been presented; with the page number as reference.

# **PART 1: THE BASICS**

---

## ***CHAPTER 1: MANY CONTRASTING CULTURES***

---

### **Common humanity – diversity of cultures**

**North (West) – South (East) contrast** 29

The contrast between rich and poor (in material terms) is observable between North and South, according to latitude, principally in cultural terms.

**Different relationships with the land** 30

Peoples in the South have developed a different relationship with the land to which they belong; it is more than ownership. Territories are more inclusive of diversity than nation-states.

**Different ways of thinking and being** 32

Different living conditions have fostered different behaviours and ways of thinking that are the result of rich experience and interpretation.

### **Races, languages, meaning**

**How race takes form** 35

Each race develops in the interactions inside a smaller pool of genetic characters. Not clearly delimited as such, race varies under external influences.

**Racism as a social construct** 38

The social interpretation of racial differences in terms of hierarchy creates a fiction that soon reinforces existing forms of oppression.

**Diversity of languages** 41

Languages express the differences of perception by diverse cultures, showing different ways of thinking and behaving.

**Different understandings of life** 43

Different cultures handle life in contrasting ways, although life is common to all. Do we favour pragmatism, intellectualism or a spiritual approach?

## **Religions as worldviews**

- Religions as differences of perception** 45  
Reality is complex. Our perception depends on our diverse (physical) points of observation, which become points of view, and the diversity of religions expresses these differences.
- Non-dualistic vs prophetic religions** 48  
The Eastern religions are non-dualistic, searching for wisdom in experiential ways. Western religions are prophetic, based on a revelation that tries to describe the essence of life.
- Non-dualistic religions** 50  
They focus on the path of personal experience as a means for transformation (breakthrough) that brings us beyond appearances.
- Prophetic religions** 51  
They teach us about the essence of the Ground of Being and His/Her will. They intend to enhance our personal relationship with the divine as the source of all that is. 51

## **Composed differences**

- The cumulative effect of differences** 55  
Contextual, physical, cultural and spiritual differences cumulate and accelerate the process of differentiation that increases contrasts between cultures.

## ***CHAPTER 2: CULTURE AND THE POWER OF CHOICE***

---

### **Culture and civilisation**

- Culture and civilisation** 60  
Culture represents what matters most in terms of values and priorities. Civilisation is the social construct of these preferences into concrete and institutional forms.
- The traps of civilisation** 66  
“Civilisation” is caught in two false premises: 1) an inexorable linear development towards complexity, and 2) a trend towards social stratification and a quest for power (the empire).

## **Circular and linear**

### **The chain bands–tribes–chiefdoms–states**

67

We believe that our society is meant to evolve towards more growth and complexity (especially in terms of quantities), evolving from bands to tribes to chiefdoms to states.

### **The trend towards materialism**

70

As a materialisation of culture, civilisation tends to become ever more materialistic – unless culture, which inspires it, retrains it in this trend and keeps it focused on values.

### **The glory of civilisation**

73

Civilisations have contributed to major discoveries concerning social harmony, science, art, knowledge and even wisdom. How far is this also a contribution to culture?

## **Culture as the search for truth**

### **Culture as the power of choice.**

74

Culture is built on choices. It remains alive when it is animated by our freedom of spirit and our freedom to remain coherent to what matters most for us.

### **The right to remain simple**

76

The model of linear evolution, towards stratification and “civilisation”, denies hunter-gatherers a basic right to remain simple and be yet wise and evolved. Who is truly the “savage”?

### **The indigenous critic of Western ways of living**

79

When the indigenous people met the European conquerors of their land, they were shocked by the priorities that were leading their behaviours – especially money and domination.

### **The search for truth**

83

Culture is a living process that transmits to us the teaching resulting out of the experience of our ancestors. It sustains our search for truth and feeds our life choices.

## ***CHAPTER 3: LIVING WITHIN THE TRUTH***

---

### **The hidden sphere**

- The home as the cradle of our social behaviours** 89  
We first experience life in our “original home” and learn what is possible (e.g. that male dominance and violence, at the expense of recessive feminine values, inhibit life).
- Living within the truth and the hidden sphere** 94  
Culture is not given by the community. It arises in the hidden sphere, which is the field of our search and attempt to live within the truth.
- The hidden sphere and our capacity for choice** 99  
It is in the hidden sphere (our personal culture) that we find the resources to make fundamental choices concerning the values and behaviours we want to prioritise.

### **Freedom and search for identity**

- The five forms of freedom** 103  
The five basic forms of freedom are: freedom to move, freedom to disobey, freedom to create new social settings, freedom to be enriched by wisdom teaching, and freedom to care and be cared for.
- Freedom to be rooted in the hidden sphere** 108  
It is our choice either to follow the old patterns (generally egocentric patterns of domination) or to develop our own path, rooted in our natural human predisposition for truth.
- Reactive struggle against vs progressive hope for** 111  
When we struggle to implement essential changes in our society (social justice, climate change, democracy), we have to fight against the status quo, yet we need to foster unity.
- Linear–dialectical or circular–dialogical** 113  
Dialogue can be linear and dialectical or circular and dialogical. The first increases division and is selective, while the second generates union and is inclusive.

## **Circular and linear**

### **Dialogue as inclusiveness**

**115**

When a community debates change, transformation should not be perceived in terms of polarisation (for/against) but in terms of the inclusiveness of all contributions.

### **The search for identity**

**120**

Identity is not composed of individual characteristics that distinguish us from others; instead, it takes shape through the ways we have to belong and the art we have to relate to many others.

## **The energy of Life**

### **Our common humanity**

**124**

Our mind has difficulties grasping the general picture. It gets hooked on small disturbances and misses the opportunity to perceive what links us: our common humanity.

124

### **The smooth all-encompassing and the smooth hard, recalcitrant**

**127**

The smooth of natural harmony (metaphor: the pond) is very different from the smooth of harsh, artificial pretence (metaphor: the office building in the CBD).

### **Life as a process**

**128**

Materialism and domination call for a manipulation of the world. Yet the world is driven by the energy of Life, which has its own dynamic and laws.

### **The essence of Life**

**130**

If Life is the leading energy of the universe, it is fundamental. And we have to adapt to its coherence and its laws as a permanent creation process.

### **At the beginning was the Word**

**133**

In the Bible, Life is described as the Word, an energy that is the active principle that leads the evolution of the world. The Verb (Logos) is the principle that overrules all processes.

## **PART 2: WHITE SUPREMACY**

### **CHAPTER 4: THE POWER OF WHITE SUPREMACY**

#### **The Northern obsession with supremacy**

- 1) The discovery of agriculture** **139**

When humankind learned to cultivate the soil, it abandoned nomadism and started to control nature and accumulate some wealth. This is at least what we are usually told.
- 2) Greek philosophy as world view** **142**

The fifth century BC, with Plato, Buddha, Zoroaster and Confucius, was a rich time that saw a deep change of mind take place that considered the world as an external phenomenon.
- 3) Christianity as a state religion** **144**

From an inner intimate experience that favoured an egalitarian way of life based on sharing, Christianity turned into a top-down structure based on authority.
- 4) Gothic, Scholastic and early technology** **145**

The rediscovery of Aristotle (rather than Plato) nourished analytical or rational thinking at the root of the Gothic and Scholastic era.
- 5) Renaissance and the Demiurge** **147**

Science, as a new way of observing the world, allowed new knowledge to arise, such as astronomy, anatomy, perspective and technology. The observer translated into the demiurge.
- 6) Perspective as a self-centred perception** **148**

The discovery of perspective shifts human perception from a mythical, sacred overview to a self-centred but efficient point of view (i.e. from a heterocentric to an egocentric perception). 148
- 7) Reformation and free conscience** **149**

The new human-centred perception allowed individuals to challenge religion as imposed from above. It revived the personal free conscience as a central faculty for choice and responsibility.

## **Circular and linear**

- 8) Colonisation** 151  
Geography and better ships and better weapons allowed the development of navigation, which led to the discovery, conquest and exploitation of unknown lands.
- 9) Banknotes** 154  
The frequent use of banknotes partly disconnects money from gold. It relies on trust that the banknote has value despite it being only paper.
- 10) Industrial Revolution** 155  
New sources of energy (steam, electricity) and the invention of new machines allowed society to (over-)produce more than needed, for profit. Accumulation fostered social stratification.
- 11) French Revolution** 158  
With the French Revolution, the bourgeoisie became the new elite, formed on the basis of wealth (not nobility), at the expense of the empowerment of the people.
- 12) The nation-state** 159  
The function of the nation-state is to administrate the society of a population living on a given territory where all citizens are considered equal.
- 13) Imperialism** 160  
The exploitation of the colonies provided an extreme wealth, which fed a further growth and increase in might for the mother country, as well as a shift in ways of domination.
- 14) Marxism and the Russian Revolution** 162  
A strict critique of capitalism based on an ideological interpretation of history proposed a strategy for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which translated later into the Russian Revolution.
- 15) Decolonisation and Bandung** 166  
The decolonisation brought hope that the Southern countries might follow their own path of emancipation, conceived in terms of innovation, thanks to many new forms of development.
- 16) International trade and neoliberalism** 167  
Trade and interventions in Southern countries shaped a relationship of domination, North over South, based on power. Globalisation is the expression of economic neoliberalism.



## **The loss of the essential**

- Supremacy as destruction of life** **169**  
Supremacy (exploitation of nature, repression of femininity, exploitation of the weaker) tends to destroy life and relationships.
- The loss of wisdom** **170**  
Each stage of evolution has proved incapable of generating a synthesis between past heritage and the new paradigm of progress.
- The cumulative effect of wealth and power** **174**  
Initial extraction and exploitation of the poor by the rich have generated an ever-growing gap that never stops reinforcing the trend of domination.
- The essential issue of choice** **176**  
At each stage of this evolution, and for all the dichotomies it created between the new gains and the lost values, resides a deep and existential challenge: the urgency for choice.

## ***CHAPTER 5: OPPOSED WAYS OF PERCEPTION***

---

### **What is whiteness?**

- The essence of whiteness** **180**  
This long evolution that consolidated the dominating power of whiteness asks the question, What does it mean to be white?
- Identification with whiteness** **184**  
The violence and lies of white supremacy challenge white people to search for a white identity that does not necessarily identify with whiteness.
- The privilege of whiteness** **187**  
I am free to choose how I relate to my own white culture. But, even if I prefer the wisdom of perennial philosophy, I cannot abolish my real privileges.
- And what about blackness?** **191**  
If whiteness is a fiction, blackness is a fiction too. How can a fiction become so powerfully destructive? Why does it have the power to humiliate if it is based not on reality but on a lie?

## **Circular and linear**

### **Why is racism so powerful?**

**194**

Although racism is a fiction, it is very destructive. Its victims are shaken in their deeper being. Its complacent spectators are too unaware, lazy or timid to challenge it. They doubt.

## **Otherness and the image of the Other**

### **Otherness: Us and Them**

**198**

When there is oppression, the dominator is distinct from the victim. This essential distinction is necessary to allow the victim to resist, but it generates the false concept of “Us” and “Them”.

### **The experience of otherness**

**200**

Our feeling of being frightened by otherness generates a feeling of being threatened. This is often more in our heads, because of objective deep differences, than in reality.

### **Monolithic Other and monolithic self**

**203**

In conflict, we tend to build a monolithic image of the Other. But this image has to evolve towards a more complex image that differentiates these Others from one another.

### **Narrative as a means of conciliation**

**205**

When victims and oppressors attempt to achieve (re)conciliation, it is helpful for each one to tell their story in order to be seen, in more nuanced terms, for who they are.

## **Linear or circular – rational or vernacular**

### **Linear and circular**

**209**

The North thinks in linear and rational ways, progressing deductively from one premise to the next. The South thinks in circular and symbolic terms, circling many times over the same topic.

### **A-1) Linear thinking: the entrepreneurial project**

**209**

The Northern culture thinks in linear and rational ways, from A to B to C, from premises to conclusion. It adopts the same approach for its grasp of time and space.

### **A-2) Linear thinking: the takers – exhaustion and destruction**

**213**

The linear approach is based on the exploitation of the context (resources, people). We behave as takers. We do not return to the context what we owe to it, in a cycle that would nourish it.

## List of options (short wording)

- A-3) Linear thinking: the betrayal of the mind** 215  
When we let our minds produce ideas that direct our lives, we get into conflict with reality. We suffer. Let's learn to love what is, as it is.
- A-4) Linear thinking: ideas and judgement** 218  
Ideas may arise 1) from our intentions, 2) from our observations or 3) from our ethical standpoints. They have, then, different qualities or potentials of impacts.
- B-1) Circular thinking: dialogical process** 222  
Southern cultures have developed a dialogical process to interact with complexity in which different forces compose a dynamic dialogue.
- B-2) Circular thinking: cycles and circles** 224  
The circular approach is based on an imitation of natural cycles, including all the parts. It does not exclude circling or repetition.
- B-3) Circular thinking: the vernacular model** 226  
The vernacular world proceeds in a circular way: fragility, dependence on nature, interdependency, plurality, reciprocity, relationships.
- C) The balance: linear and circular** 228  
Although both ways are antagonistic and incompatible, linear (rational) and circular (symbolic) thinking have to cohabit.

## ***CHAPTER 6: THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS***

---

### **Mobility: the road to elsewhere**

- The practice of mobility** 231  
Mobility has been constant in history, from migrations to travel, trade and pilgrimage.
- Nomadism and migrations** 232  
The mobility of whole ethnic groups has allowed important migrations to be sown as seeds of the present different races or cultures.
- Pilgrimages** 234  
Spiritual travels are an early practice that moved important crowds at certain season to places of high energies.

## **Circular and linear**

### **The seashore**

**235**

The seashore is often perceived as a limit to mobility, but it opens to vast horizons, as a call for trade and travel. The shore was the link to the other side.

### **The shore and the continent**

**236**

1) Seashore cultures turn to the sea, trade, exchanges and negotiation; 2) Continental centralised cultures turn to the land.

### **What is mobility?**

**240**

Mobility seems to be the fluidity that brings me to the resources or the resources to me, in order to satisfy my needs, whether these needs are material or immaterial.

## **The game of mobility and sedentariness**

### **A hypothesis for an interpretation of history**

**243**

More than the evolution from mobile hunter-gatherers to complex sedentary states, it is rather an alternation between trends of mobility or sedentariness that leads history.

### **Different forms of mobility**

**245**

Mobility can take many forms: nomadism, discovery, trade, conquest, exploitation, travel; or social change, revolution, war, migration, mental mobility.

### **Alternation of stability and mobility**

**249**

All empires, as powerful they have been, have collapsed and left behind them an empty space that has soon been occupied by newcomers (mobile people).

### **Cohabitation of mobility and sedentariness**

**251**

Traditionally mobile and sedentary societies have cohabited, or alternated, on the same land. Often, the sedentary body has tried to stabilise the other because nomadism escapes control.

### **The key factor: our relationship with the land**

**252**

Mobility is narrowly linked with the meaning of land. Does the land where we live or the land we “discover” become a place we belong to or a place we conquer and try to possess?

## **Terra nullius**

**“Discovery”** 257

“Newfoundland” was the apparition of the unknown, to be conquered, settled and exploited, as if it were Europe’s back garden.

**Conquest under “ethical” conditions** 259

The international law used to define the conditions under which a newfound land could be taken possession of. However, the practice remained in deep contradiction of the rules.

**Terra nullius** 261

When Northern invaders conquered “new lands”, they denied indigenous people any right to be recognised or to defend their lands.

**Settlers vs the Crown** 261

Although instructions from the mother country always stipulated that Indigenous people should give their consent, the mere nature of the project of settlement made this impossible.

**Military occupation/trade** 264

Continental societies occupied “new” lands. Seashore societies practised trade, even on the lands they did not occupy.

**Charles 5<sup>th</sup> Habsburg: the continent against the shore** 265

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Spain was at war with Muslims, Jews and Christians, and the seashore societies, to preserve its crumbling feudal power against rising capitalism.

**Sovereignty** 268

The British invaders imposed their law on a territory that was declared under the authority of the British Crown. The settler law was meant to replace the traditional indigenous law.

## **The great contradictions of colonisation**

**The British Museum: where is culture?** 270

In the name of civilisation, the invaders looted cultural goods they stored in national museums: culture had travelled north, not south.

**Missionaries** 271

The participation of missionaries in colonisation is shocking. It helped establish domination in the name of “righteousness”, using a claimed authority to speak in the name of the divine.

## Circular and linear

- And the railways?** 273  
This question is often asked in an attempt to show that colonisation also brought positive lasting contributions to Southern countries.
- 1) The great contradiction: war is peace** 275  
Under the cover of terra nullius, the invaders hoped to carry out their entrepreneurial project in peaceful conditions ... if indigenous people would submit.
- 2) The great inversion: resistance is guilt** 277  
Because they prevent the colonists from bringing about their projects, indigenous people are made guilty of resisting, of fighting.
- 3) The great provocation: the so-called light is the great Satan** 279  
The great contradiction destroys the lives of all: colonised people are deprived of their identity, and colonists are humiliated as the perpetrators.

# **PART 3: THE CONFLICT**

## **CHAPTER 7: NORTH–SOUTH CLASHING MODELS**

### **27 forms of de-structuration of local cultures**

- De-structuration and disarticulation of local cultures** 288  
De-structuration, acculturation, extraction, externalisation, monetisation, segregation, oppression, monopoly, fashions, elites ... Colonisation takes many shapes.

### **Clashing models**

- Nations and corporations against culture** 299  
The colonists introduce in the South the specific forms of state and corporation, with their own respective logics, which are unknown in the South.
- A-1) The state: nation-state as main vector** 299  
Northern nation-states were the first protagonists and supports for colonisation in a form that was unknown in the Southern countries.

## List of options (short wording)

- A-2) The state: top–down or bottom–up** 302  
The nation-state structure allows its institutions (governor, army) to better impose the authority of the king because the form of expression is monolithic.
- B) Corporations: traders as exploiters** 303  
Colonists were motivated by the will to exploit natural resources and the local workforce, not for subsistence but for private profit.
- C) Interpretation: a conflict of criteria** 305  
Northern cultures judge Southern cultures according to two main criteria: 1) material growth and 2) linear progress in time.
- C-1) Interpretation: material growth** 306  
Our Northern yardstick principally measures development according to material components; measurable growth is thought necessary.
- C-2) Interpretation: linear time** 309  
There is only one path of materialist development. It is linear in time; you are either behind or in front. Other cultures are generally behind us.
- C-3) Interpretation: many other twists of perception** 311  
There are many more factors that falsify the way we look at Southern cultures: aspect, customs, history, writing, technology.
- C-4) Interpretation: monopoly of humanity/humanism** 313  
Northern nations have taken control of what it means to be human by defining an ethical order that fits European culture.

## The pretence of universality

- Universality of human values** 314  
Northern nations have established a program of civilisation based on human values they pretend are universal. But they are not!
- Counterexample 1: Growth and supremacy** 319  
The obsession with growth generates inequity and inequality, as well as supremacy. These forms of domination are then justified by a discriminatory and racist discourse.
- Counterexample 2: Conformism and marginality** 320  
The clear definition of Northern values (humanism) fosters conformism and therefore also marginality through a process of hierarchy and exclusion.

## Circular and linear

- Counterexample 3: Institutions aid or social solidarity** 321  
Northern institutions are in charge of “social cases” whose identity is defined by their “fault”, instead of social solidarity as a network.
- Counterexample 4: Decision by numbers or consensus** 322  
Northerners practise a form of democracy based on numbers (majority). Elders discuss issues and ethics and come to a consensus.
- Counterexample 5: Nonviolence** 323  
Colonisation has been based on violence. The best form of resistance was generally to practise nonviolence and civil disobedience, as Gandhi did in India.
- Counterexample 6: Retributive or restorative justice** 324  
Northern justice is repressive (retributive), while other forms of justice are restorative, reinstating trust and freedom for the culprit.
- Counterexample 7: Truth and Reconciliation** 325  
Northern nations solve conflict through domination and repression. The truth and reconciliation process offers true solutions that bring peace.
- Counterexample 8: Nationalism or international solidarity** 326  
Resistance to supremacy goes beyond borders through international solidarity: workers, feminism, decolonisation, racism, multiculturalism.

## Beyond the “*limes*”

- No-man’s land** 328  
The world of the Other is often perceived as a desert, an empty land, void of culture. We cannot imagine how we would survive in such harsh conditions.
- The “limes”** 329  
In Roman times, the “limes” was the border of the empire. What was beyond was unknown and considered as the threat or enemy.
- Us and Them – beyond the limes** 330  
Each social group tends to think in terms of Us and Them, defining its superiority according to a monolithic identity.



## **CHAPTER 8: THE TOOLS**

---

### **The use of weapons**

**The fleet in being** 335

The power of the fleet relies more on its potential ubiquity than on its factual domination, more on the way its presence or absence is managed than on the losses it inflicts.

**Weapons for power** 336

The most important weapon producers and exporters are the five permanent members of the UNO Security Council. Weapons are, by nature, offensive tools of power.

**The contradictions of weapons** 341

Weapons generate conflict and destroy what has value. They are ill-adapted to what they are meant to do. Most powerful armies are held in check by a few freedom fighters.

**The alternative to armament** 347

We live in a dangerous world, because there are always mad leaders or ideologies that lead whole populations to go to war ... and to regret it later. How can we resist?

**An international open debate about truth** 354

The international community must be the guarantor of truth. This process consists principally of a common search for justice and peace as a ruling principle.

### **Rewriting history**

**White myths for an old continent** 358

The conqueror has rewritten the history of Australia in celebrating his own people (the invaders), “forgetting” to mention the Indigenous people who lived here for 60,000 years.

**Courage and determination in resistance** 361

We know the names of the white conquerors but almost none of the indigenous resistance fighters. This is due to the white twist that is put on history, still today, despite a rising awareness.

## **Circular and linear**

### **Many versions of history**

**362**

History has many faces because it is lived differently by its diverse actors or witnesses. Let's tell it as it has been experienced, in its many versions.

### **Truth-telling in four stages**

**367**

1) Storytelling, 2) identifying/understanding processes, 3) identifying perpetrators, applying retribution or forgiveness and 4) inventing a better future.

### **Forgiveness**

**371**

The victim may forgive their perpetrator or not. It can be done unilaterally, without the perpetrator being sorry or asking for forgiveness. But reconciliation needs contrition.

## **Cartography**

### **Geography**

**376**

Geography is used for waging war. Cartography allows the conqueror to plan domination over other nations and the exploitation of their resources.

### **Projection of our greed**

**377**

When the Earth is perceived as a heap of resources, maps become the tools for accessing these resources.

### **Mercator and Peters**

**378**

The Mercator projection of the sphere onto the plan deforms the proportions between South and North countries; the Northern countries look much bigger than they actually are.

### **Other scales, other proportions**

**382**

Cartography can also represent countries, not as surfaces of land but as surfaces proportional to other data, such as population or wealth.

## **Ecological footprint**

### **Our footprint on the Earth**

**385**

The footprint represents the surface of the Earth each of us is using for necessary resources.

## List of options (short wording)

### **The footprint understood as mode of colonisation** 386

As an expression of the level of consumption and the surface of Earth needed for it, the footprint can be understood as a form of colonisation of the resources of the Earth.

## **Debt and exchanges** 390

### **Debt as an artificial creation** 390

The poor countries have an enormous financial debt to the rich countries. But it is an artificial consequence of (creation by) the dominance of colonisers and market forces.

### **Inversion: the real debt** 394

The countries that are truly indebted are in fact the Northern countries, which extracted their wealth from Southern nations without repaying it at its just value, or even not at all.

### **The nine dimensions of the hidden debt** 398

The debt of rich countries to ex-colonised nations consists of the many diverse dimensions of the relationships we establish with the land, the resources, the inhabitants, etc.

### **The bancor for balanced exchanges** 401

A self-regulating system intended to maintain the best possible equilibrium in international exchanges and prevent wealth accumulating on one side.

## **Statistics**

### **Statistics as an ideology** 403

Statistics seem to be an objective science of collecting data, but they facilitate a way of looking at the world (an ideology) that defines how they will be used.

### **Deficit data** 405

Deficit data are the data that try to demonstrate that the colonised are the problem; they refuse to recognise that the white settler society is indeed the real cause.

***CHAPTER 9: THE SELF-HARM OF COLONISATION***

---

**The constructs of slavery and racism**

**The reign of fear** **410**

When newcomers discovered Africa, a continent inhabited by black people, they were first frightened by the different look of indigenous people, and so were the inhabitants by the newcomers.

**Racism as a construct** **411**

Races exist as genetic poles of formation of physical differences, but the interpretation of what they mean in terms of identity and comparison is a social construct.

**The scientific construct** **415**

Natural sciences are artificially used as “rational support” to the social construct, establishing racial biological differences (i.e. hierarchy) as observable and measurable, they say.

**The racial theory** **417**

The social construct of racial superiority developed even into racial theories that were composite constructions whose hidden motivations were to justify supremacy.

**Orientalism** **419**

Northerners (Europeans) have created a romantic and exotic image of Oriental people: a “science” called Orientalism, fitting their idea of supremacy.

**The myth of white supremacy** **421**

White supremacy is also based on know-how and power, and it has nothing real in itself, except its will for domination and hindrance of lower castes to reach empowerment and wealth.

**The end of slavery as a conversion of mode of production** **424**

Rather than to end exploitation for ethical reasons, slavery was abolished to allow more stable forms of cheap production (indentured work for small wages).

## **The boomerang effect**

**The necessity of endless expansion as a process of destruction** 428

Imperialism is motivated by the need for expansion in order to export superfluous capital, superfluous goods and superfluous people. This leads to the destruction of everything valuable.

**The ambiguity of liberalism** 433

The word “liberal” has an ambiguous meaning. It means at the same time “freedom for trade and enterprise” and also “commitment for defending the victims of what is called (neo)liberalism”.

**The boomerang effect** 435

Imperialism is not only a process of the external exploitation of Southern countries. It also powerfully impacts the spirit and culture of the Northern countries, in a detrimental way (destruction).

**The impact on home culture** 440

We are all whole human beings, and we cannot ignore one part of our own being. Similarly, wealth cannot be separated from the feelings attached to how it has been acquired.

## **The loss of identity – knowing the lie**

**The loss of self-esteem** 443

Once the dominant discourse has lost its power, simple humanity remains. Through the lie, the White has lost his identity and self-esteem.

**Recovery from the disease** 446

The recognition of the lie allows the White to recognise his illness and the Black to join the process of Truth and (Re)conciliation. This is the start of a deep social reconversion.

**The unknown knowledge** 449

If Whites recognise their loss of identity and self-esteem, and if Blacks are given true opportunities to live fully, a new future opens.

**The great inversion revisited: mere being is guilt** 451

The White wishes that the Black would disappear because his presence makes him feel guilty; the Black stands between him and his life.

## Circular and linear

### **Racism and contempt as a habit**

453

The tragedy is that we are accustomed to racism: it seems normal that a White oppresses a Black – more normal than the contrary, although this exists too.

### **The psychotherapy of white supremacy**

455

The solution for racism is not to be found in better conditions for the victim (filling the gap) but in psychotherapy for the oppressor.

### **The awakening of new conscience**

458

From the end of slavery to Nazism to decolonisation to Apartheid, the colour line has fostered a deep awakening. Yet many attempts of liberation often turn into other forms of oppression.

## **PART 4: THE KNOTS**

### **CHAPTER 10: BY LAW OR BY DECREE**

#### **Which law?**

##### **Three antagonistic ways of thinking**

464

Indigenous people, the local governor and the settlers had three very different sets of laws they abided by – the land, the Crown and the conquest – which came into conflict with one another.

##### **The law of the sword**

466

The mighty has always attempted to justify or consolidate his power with the help of the law that tried to demonstrate his domination was legal. Law is power.

##### **The idea of nation-state**

470

Taking possession of these faraway lands would mean integrating them into the vast empire and forcing their traditional structure into the pattern of a nation.

##### **By decree or by law**

472

In the mother country, decisions are taken by law; in the colonies, this occurs by decree. Many aspects of democracy in ex-colonies are still impregnated by this dissonance.

## List of options (short wording)

### **Absolutism** 476

Britain has established an absolute power over its colonies, based on race domination (supremacy) and arbitrary decisions made by the local bureaucracy that served the power of Britain.

### **Power and control or transparency and service** 478

This trend of total power over an underclass of despised people (the whole population of India or South Africa) translates into a government system that acts in autocratic ways, at home too.

## **A democratic system**

### **Bipolarity of the Westminster model** 481

Colonisation imposed on the colonies a parliamentary system that triggers black–white polarisation. This system prevents true dialogue and consensus.

### **The winner takes all** 483

The electoral system in Australia is falsified by the fact only one candidate can be elected, collecting 50% of the vote using preferences = votes given to other candidates.

### **The three independent powers** 489

As the government is composed of members of parliament, there is no sharp separation between executive and legislative powers. These are the same people (for almost one half).

### **A counter-example of grassroots democracy** 492

Although I do not believe the Swiss model is perfect, I think it would be helpful to describe it here as a counter-example and feed, in this way, our reflection on democracy.

### **An alternative model to the empire** 497

Democracy is nowadays in a sharp crisis triggered by polarisation, individualism and loss of the sense of truth. We need urgently to develop new forms of together-living.

### **Another practice of democracy** 499

As an independent nation, we are able to design our democratic system as we see fit. To create something new, we need to be free from past patterns.

## **Circular and linear**

### **Two councils for being rooted in truth** **503**

The institution is not sufficient to maintain the right spirit. Democracy is a dynamic that is fed by the maturity and awareness of its citizens.

### **The Uluru Statement from the Heart** **506**

Australian Indigenous people have designed a generous path for how to come together and rebuild our nation in cooperation: a Voice to Parliament, truth-telling, treaty.

### **Rejection of reconciliation** **508**

This inspiring call for inclusiveness was rejected by the Australian people. The teaching of this result reveals a country still deeply divided and marked by the ideology of colonisation and racism.

## ***CHAPTER 11: THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE***

---

## **Decolonisation as rebirth**

### **The Bandung Conference (1955)** **515**

The Bandung Conference attempted for colonial countries to unite and design a new strategy of empowerment; they would remain non-aligned (i.e. independent of the USA and USSR).

### **Alternative forms of power** **517**

Decolonisation invented creative paths of development and together-living that could open new perspectives of equality but were sadly repressed by Northern powers.

### **Decolonisation as rebirth** **524**

Decolonisation is mainly a deep transformation (liberation) in ways of feeling–thinking–living that restore the potential of original cultures to design new ways of life.

### **Indigenous vocation** **526**

Indigenous cultures are the guardians of a tradition that understands the universe as a whole led by an Intelligence whose general laws we have to adapt to.

### **Decolonisation in the mother country** **530**

The decolonisation process returns to the mother country (boomerang effect) and challenges the institutions or domination processes that have fostered colonisation.



## **Neocolonialism as repression**

- The attempts of rebellion** 534  
Structural injustice generates escalating rebellion. This can take many forms, from the coalition of developing nations on a world level to local guerrilla or nonviolent resistance by ordinary people.
- Reactive repression** 535  
The colonial powers never accepted that power and wealth could be redistributed, although this could have provided general conditions for all to thrive. Instead, they opted for repression.
- The shock doctrine** 537  
Neoliberalism became the main tool of repression to impose a new economic order based on free-market ideology. It dismantled/privatised social services. The price became king.
- Competition for private hunting grounds** 541  
As an inheritance from the colonial period, the main powers have kept their own zone of influence in which they feel entitled to intervene when “necessary”.
- Structure, hierarchy and domination** 542  
Life generates diversity and complementarity of the parts; these parts relate to one another according to a given hierarchy, which soon translates into relationships of domination.
- Neocolonialism and hegemony** 545  
Decolonisation did not bring about liberation for all but rather a transfer of power from the public arena to the private sphere, with an attempt to conserve the previous areas of influence.
- The power of choice** 547  
As workers–citizens–consumers, we are the main actors, because the choices we make in our lives are the tiny forces in great number that define what happens.

***CHAPTER 12: THE SECOND INVASION***

---

**“Development” aid as an imposed pattern**

**“Development” aid as a preconceived idea 551**

The concept of development aid says it all: it is about helping poor countries to follow the Northern pattern of development. This concept can yet have other, more subtle translations.

**An Indian example 552**

Although thoroughly planned as an economic process of development, this building strategy based on the production of simple elements did not provide the expected results.

**An Egyptian example 555**

Research into traditional techniques using natural materials allowed the architect Hassan Fathy to create a harmonious setting in tune with climate, culture and economy.

**Ten principles against failure 557**

Aid is very insidious and tends often to propagate the same diseases it wants to cure. The qualities that are most missing are reciprocity and a sense of complementarity between different cultures.

**Tourism as supremacy**

**Mobility as the flattening of distances and differences 560**

Easy accessibility (speed) destroys differences. Tourism transports its own comfort bubble and destroys the host country. It exploits its inhabitants as slaves.

**Consuming the left-over 564**

The traditional tools or features of the host country are re-interpreted as decorations, devoid of content, to artificially create an exotic setting that can be sold to the tourist.

**Living like an Inuit 569**

True visit to one another is possible as a form of friendship. This is then not tourism but only a form of visiting each other and participating in one another’s lives.

**The example of the Kogi people**

572

The Kogi people teach us how to relate to the universe, which is a whole in which every part is related to, and in interaction with, the others. Life is nothing but adaptation to these cycles.

## **PART 5: LIBERATION**

### **CHAPTER 13: THE “DUTY” OF INTERVENTION**

#### **The dehumanisation process**

**Palestine–Israel**

581

A story of dispossession and partition of an existing land into two entities between two parties, which are both entitled to this land but have conflicting narratives that tell true yet incompatible stories.

**Then, in 1973, there was the so-called Yom Kippur War, which saw the Egyptians resist Israeli attacks**

585

The two protagonists defended their own rights without any consideration for the rights of the other party, although the attitudes were very different from one another.

**Anti-Zionism, anti-Semitism or ethnic therapy**

589

When Israel is criticised for war crimes, they call it anti-Semitism; rather, it is because of anti-Zionism or simply anti-crime. “Therapy” is needed in Israel concerning the Holocaust.

**The damaging role of extremist wings**

595

When the conflict escalates, the most extremist wings become the leading forces of the conflict with increased polarisation, while the core of the population on both sides wishes for security and peace.

**The chains of injustice**

595

The narratives that justify oppression, slavery or colonisation are based on faulty links that transform a chain of deductions into a chain of genocide, exploitation or denial.

## **Circular and linear**

### **No longer a clear front**

**598**

In modern wars, there is no longer a clear front that separates the two enemies. Modern weapons can strike anywhere. Or the enemy can be in the crowd.

### **Two incompatible forms of fighting**

**601**

The armed forces form a rigid, anonymous machine that uses powerful weapons to adapt to guerrilla strategies. Soldiers are left to their own destiny, facing invisible mobile fighters.

### **1) Dehumanisation through the institution (armed forces)**

**606**

The invading forces use a form of dehumanisation of the act of war, which is very different from the dehumanisation practised by the resistance fighters.

### **2) Dehumanisation through the image (fighters)**

**610**

As the struggle of the freedom fighters involves them in a more direct and personal way, they “need” a very stereotypical (monolithic) image of the enemy to combat him.

## **The core: conflict or enemies**

### **Two mentalities opposed in a colonial pattern**

**612**

When a Northern power intervenes in, or invades, a Southern country, the same patterns as in colonisation characterise this intervention and the situation that ensues out of it.

### **Two opposed camps at war**

**618**

On each side of the mentality gap, two camps engage in war without envisaging other options or other ways of relating with one another.

### **Enmity vs conflict**

**620**

My thesis: The challenge is not how to beat the enemy but how to solve the conflict that opposes people of diverging groups of interests. Enemies exist in our minds; only the conflict is real.

### **A need for an alternative to war**

**625**

The logic of weaponry, armies and armed resistance to invasion only offers an illusory perspective, which cannot bring positive fruits but only destruction and escalation of enmity.

## List of options (short wording)

- The path of nonviolence** 627  
Nonviolence is the only possible way to re-establish peace. This means renouncing armed conflicts. Resisting the occupier consists of systematic opposition to its authority.
- The Easter model** 631  
The Christian belief in the life of Jesus Christ offers a strong example of how to fight evil. To renounce violence is the most powerful way of resistance that liberates creative life energies.
- Land and faith as calls for unity** 634  
The land and the sacred places of three main religions are the objects of the conflict about Palestine. But they are precisely the forces that may bring us back together.
- A change of mind** 636  
To enter a process of peace-making, a deep conversion of mind is necessary: that is, a change of orientation and way of functioning. I see five main hurdles on our way.
- 1) Our own rage** 637  
Our rage is the main motor that leads us to commit more violence as blind revenge. But the cycle never ends. The only way to break it is to search for conciliation.
- 2) Public expectation of strong revenge** 638  
Public pressure to retaliate and to demonstrate strength and power, in response to harm, constitutes a difficult pressure to resist. It pressures the leaders into doing the wrong thing.
- 3) The image of our own self and of our enemy** 639  
As long we do not see the enemy as another human being, similar to us, who certainly fights against us but has also his reasons to do so, we are trapped in hate.
- 4) Our egocentric perception of the conflict** 644  
We need to rise to a higher level of understanding, from our self-interested point of view to a global heterocentric view that allows us to better understand the general mechanisms at play.
- 5) Our narrative** 645  
We are used to telling a story that justifies our cause and presents our action in a positive light. But we have to review this narrative in the light of the present.

## Circular and linear

### **St Francis and the Sultan Malik Al-Kamil**

647

At the siege of Damietta, during the Fifth Crusade, St Francis crossed the frontline and went to see the Sultan of Egypt and talked with him about God and peace.

## ***CHAPTER 14: RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION***

---

### **Did you say “war on terror”?**

#### **Rage, hopelessness and fear**

650

Anger, despair and fear are the three principal energies that foster hate and violence and the will for retaliation; they participate in the escalation of violent conflicts.

#### **Who is a terrorist?**

655

Revenge motivated by resentment is the core energy that feeds violence: either into acts of terrorism by freedom fighters or into state terrorism by armies.

#### **The alliance of the extremes**

659

There is a tacit alliance between the extremes on both sides. With the violence they practise, they reinforce their perception of each other as enemies and make peace impossible.

### **The harsh path of peace-making**

#### **Conciliation as the only path**

664

To avoid being caught in the infernal cycle of exacerbated violence and endless revenge, there is only one possible path: conciliation with the “enemy” and resolution of the conflict.

#### **Six contradictions that hamper peace**

667

The peace process is prevented by six (or more) contradictions that work against it: all of them concern illusory privileges the mighty have difficulty renouncing.

### **The path of liberation as ideology**

#### **Scapegoats and sacrifices**

674

To resolve conflicts generated by the want for the same goods (mimetism), societies tend to invent scapegoats who are made responsible for the conflict and then sacrificed.

## List of options (short wording)

- Resistance based on opposed values** 677  
To resist the invaders, colonised people need alternative values that contrast (oppose) the dominant discourse of white supremacy.
- What is ideology?** 678  
Ideology is the guide (the manual) to implementing the right choices and translating them into reality. Ideology can both liberate and oppress.
- The model of the free market** 680  
Our Western world tends to limit its objectives to being led by market and technology. Development occurs in a mechanical way that does not involve anthropology.
- The role of the USSR as an alternative** 681  
During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the USSR played a major role as an alternative model for oppressed people and colonised countries. Far from being ideal, it yet represented the path of liberation.
- Christianity as a path of liberation** 686  
In Latin America, the Theology of Liberation has traced a path of emancipation that concerns the essence of life but also proposes social and political ways of empowerment.
- Christianity against Islam or empire clashes** 689  
Since Islam rose, there has been strong antagonism between European nations and the Saracen or Ottoman Empires. Wrongly, it has been interpreted as a clash of religions.
- Specialisation along the gender line** 692  
The specialisation of tasks following the gender line does not in principle mean oppression but specialisation, or even empowerment, and also protection of some feminine qualities of care.
- Eastern women in the eyes of the West** 695  
Colonisation has impacted femininity, here and there, in a negative way. On both sides, patriarchy has prevented democratic freedom from being expressed.
- The Hijab** 698  
There is a deep misunderstanding concerning the hijab, a symbol of the dissent between Christianity and Islam concerning the rights of women or other human rights.

## **Circular and linear**

### **The role of Islam as a path of liberation**

**699**

Islam has always been one of the main streams of thought, beliefs and values that have inspired resistance against Northern domination.

### **Indifference and the power of evil**

**703**

The deeper motivation for liberation is to be found in the first type of religion (path of inner liberation), but its expression is too often and dominantly of the second type (power).

### **The true role of ideology as creation**

**706**

The ideal power of ideology consists of a guide that reflects the maturity and consensus of the community and traces the way of the future by encompassing all dimensions.