

# 5. Democracy, *A Tale of Sustainability*

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## Abstract

*“Democracy, a tale of Sustainability”, is a trans-disciplinary critical project, it deals with the question of how and why the civilizations of modernity construct social realities that fundamentally and institutionally are socio-politically unequal, unsustainable and that ecologically these societies reproduce unequal exchange of human, social and environmental resources and information. Moreover, it tries to position an alternative pathway for radical and democratic transformation through “the project of autonomy” influenced from the struggle for the commons as a protest against the commodification and monetarization of the whole of our existence. This project is both theoretical and practical; a qualitative and quantitative analysis from Skouries of Halkidiki, Greece. It aims to expand the knowledge about the struggle of social movements, as well as exposing the endless possibilities humanity have to re-imagine an autonomous present and a sustainable future.*

## Keywords

*Autonomy, Democracy, Social Movements, the Struggle for the Commons.*

# Democracy,

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The world faces tremendous transformations. People all over the world come face to face with vast geopolitical and physical changes in a pace that cannot be controlled by any form of bureaucracy, institution or organization. As I argue, the question of how we want to deal with these transformations lies fundamentally at the “heart” of our individual and social psychological construction. What I mean by that is that the question lays in the way the socio-historical subjects (human beings) formulating their individual and social imaginary.

### **The Case of Skouries**

The scandal of the Cassandra mines occurred in 2003. The former Greek government illegally, according to the European Commission (CURIA 2012), purchased the mines of Northern Halkidiki, and they immediately released the mines to private investors. Nowadays Eldorado Gold, a Canadian investment company, owns the mining fields and the broader area around the mines. The actions of the former Greek government and private investors intensified exploitation of natural, social and human resources in the broader area, under the doctrines of neo-liberalism, the economic and socio-political crisis of capitalism and the dogma of growth and sustainable development (Amnesty International 2013). Moreover, according to a previous research made at Aristotelio University of Thessaloniki, the exploitation of natural, social, economical and human resources is devastating for the broader area of the mining field (SosHalkidiki 2013). This situation is a very new example of struggles of social and environmental exploitation and privatization taking place in Europe. Similar situations have taken place in other places of the world in the past (Poulimeni 2015). As Marx would have argued, exploitation is a fundamental driver of capitalism (Marx 1967) and consequently can be seen as one of the fundamental drivers of capital and the capitalist mode of production (Harvey 2014, 299). In the beginning of 2015 the government changed. However, although the new government of Syriza-ANEL is aware that the vast exploitation of resources in Skouries affect the environment intensively, they have failed to stop the mining extraction and the massive destruction of the mechanisms that sustain the local society and economy, as they had promised (Zikakou 2015). Meanwhile, the society of Skouries has formatted a social movement, followed by social movements across Greece. The civil society, including the social movements, oppose to the plans of the private investors. Nevertheless, despite of the struggle to protect and preserve the natural, social and economical environment, the conflict is still going on.

As stated above, a few national and international organizations, such as Aristotelio University of

Thessaloniki, Amnesty international, the EU and Eldorado Gold, have conducted their own private researches. Moreover, international economic funds and organizations as for example the Dutch multinational research institution, SOMO, and national and international journals, have published articles and researches that focus mostly on the socio economic factors. They have tried to point out what consequences will take place if the massive exploitation of the local resources will continue. Although the conducted researches and the articles that have been published have a deep and multidimensional scope, I argue, that none of them goes to the core of understanding why this illegal investment, seems to be the only way that hegemonic political powers construct the discourses of progress, growth and (sustainable) development. My research aims to go beyond the analysis that the previous researches explicitly have conducted, with a deeper dialectical focus on how the construction and implementation of the specific destructive practices take place, vastly affecting the social, human and natural environment. However, the data from these researches will be used as a basic but secondary tool in my research. Thus, my research project is a dialectical and critical effort that aims to reach the core of this problematique.

It is essential to have in mind the fact that the context of this research is delved in the heteronomous construction of Capitalism (capitalist imaginary). My ambition is not to suggest or to offer a specific alternative but to point out that human beings are able to reconstruct their societal realities in ways and fashions that are not predetermined, nor limited in hierarchical, technocratic and bureaucratic systems (heteronomous) however in self-reflecting, self-regulating, self-legislating and self-limiting, sustainable societal realities (autonomous).

### **Heteronomy and The Project of Autonomy**

The project of autonomy is a concept that has been developed by Cornelius Castoriadis.

Castoriadis (1922-1997) is a key figure that has always fascinated me. As an economist, philosopher, psychoanalyst, a critical theorist and social critic he contributed to philosophy and to science to a great extent in my perspective. What he refers to “the project of autonomy” is the project of individual and collective autonomy, not a utopia, “but a socio historical project susceptible of being achieved, and which has never been shown to be impossible”. Individual autonomy is impossible without social autonomy and vice versa. Both are two interwoven dimensions of autonomy. Furthermore, individual autonomy is only possible when the individuals take a direct part in the formation and the implementation of the social laws, which condition their activity (Fotopoulos 1998). “The autonomy of individuals has the equal participation of all in power as a context, without which there is obviously no freedom, just as there is no equality without freedom”. Moreover, the uprising of individual consciousness is vital for realization of an autonomous society (from Greek:

auto, by itself and nomos, law). Thus, “it is the project of a society in which all citizens have an equal, effective possibility of participating in legislating, governing and judging, and at last in analysis and in instituting society”.

Castoriadis states, “If society is about to change, a radical change is needed in the interests and the attitudes of human beings. The passionate desire for consumer goods must be replaced by passionate care about community affairs”. As he argues, “all societies are self-creative and yet most utterly incapable of questioning their own established norms”. In such societies, the de-facto situation immediately coincides without remainders of de-jure validity for them. “Such a society, which does not or cannot question its own norms or even consider its norms to be given by God, gods, nature, history, ancestors, and so forth, is a heteronomous in opposition to autonomous societies” (Curtis 1997). Thus, heteronomous societies are the ones, where ‘truth’ is what conforms the established modes of representation.

Furthermore, what distinguish autonomous societies from heteronomous societies is the fact that “Autonomy exists only when we create the institutions which, by being internalized by individuals, must facilitate their accession to their individual autonomy and their effective participation in all forms of explicit power existing in society” (Curtis 1997). Autonomy means not only that tradition can be questioned but also that everything can be posed in question (Gezerlis 2001). Consequently, when Castoriadis speak about the imaginary institution, he takes the word institution “in the deepest, broadest sense, meaning the entire set of tools, language skills, norms and values”.

Aristotle was right when he defined human beings as political animals. As I argue, human beings are political animals constructed from two characteristics that constitute the essential socio-historical, ecological and political dimension of their existence. They are at the same time part of nature, and unique in the way that their imaginary can produce and institutionalize unlimited in fashion societal realities with the same materials in different order. Beilharz argues, “Even in the most fearful situations we create, we apply anthropological intelligence, we work against the current”. By pointing to this phrase I want to argue that any form of determination is rejected as a fallacy and misinterpretation based on the idea of a utilitarian and fixed “human nature”.

As Castoriadis argues, “the creative power of human beings, their power to change what exists, is indeterminable and unforeseeable by nature and by definition” (2010). Furthermore, Kiopkiolis argues, “the embryonic terms of a generic capacity for self-activation can bear fruit if they are planted in rich soil. Contemporary workshops of self-government and creative praxis precisely assume the vital role of a catalyst and hotbed for the constitution of autonomous subjectives” (2012). In extend he brings the example of someone who attempts to learn to swim, as someone who have to step up to

his action and no theoretical or psychic preparation will help him to learn, if he do not act (Kioupkiolis 2012; Hegel 1977).

Finally, in order to be more explicit on what the project of autonomy is, I argue that autonomy is a direct democratic procedure where the socio-historical subjects (humans) are aware of their constructive and institutive power of law without any external or above (hierarchical) imposition. The socio-historical (and political) subjects of the autonomous regime have the ability to self-reflect, self-regulate and self-limit, which leads to sustainable existence of both the individuals and the society (the environment included) at large.

### **Greek Government's neoliberal "Success Story"**

The case study is about Skouries mines of Greece, the largest mines of the Cassandra mines in the northern halkidiki, located in Central Macedonia. It is one of the largest gold deposits in Greece and in the world (Eldoradogold 2013).

An accurate estimation reserves 5.3 million of gold and 246.2 million tons of ore grading 0.49% of copper. In 2003 a major scandal occurred in connection with the mines. The scandal involved the Greek government purchasing the Cassandra mines, for 11 million Euros, from TVX Hellas, a bankrupted private company who previously ran the mining pit and was a subsidiary of a Canadian company. The Greek government sold the mines immediately along with the rights and 70 other fixed assets for the same amount to a new private company ('Hellas Gold'), which was founded a couple of days before the purchase<sup>1</sup>. This practice however has been deemed in breach from the European commission based on the EU law. Furthermore, the assets have not been valued from an independent actor, but it was promoted directly to Hellas Gold as mentioned above (Curia 2012). Moreover, the value of the assets decreased over the next six months and Hellas Gold benefited in various ways, such as exempt from paying transfer taxes, paid reduced lawyer fees, notaries and any financial obligations concerning environmental damage resulted from previous operation of mines (Panagiotopoulos 2012).

After an investigation in 2009, the European Commission brought the Greek state to the European Court. In 2011 the court decided that the transaction constituted illegal state aid and therefore transformed to a lower price than the real market value. Although the court ruled Hellas Gold to pay a fine to the Greek state, both the company and the state appealed against the decision of the court, but it was rejected. Thus today the case is still pending. In the meanwhile, the Canadian company 'Eldorado Gold' initiated a take over from 'European Goldfields' in 2011 and in 2012 Eldorado Gold became the major shareholder of the mines. Furthermore, the former Greek Deputy of Economic

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<sup>1</sup> The main shareholders of Hellas Gold are European Goldfield (95%) and Greece's biggest construction and civil engineering company, Ellaktor S.A.

minister, Christos Pachtas, who was responsible for the transaction from the side of the state, became major of the Municipality of Aristotle, the land where philosopher Aristotle was born and where the mines are located.

The highest administrative court of Greece ruled; that because the mine is not part of the European Union Natura 2000 Network, “the project would not cause significant damage to the area” (EKathermerini 2013). However, reports from Amnesty international about possible violations of human rights and research about the environmental and social degradation from the scientific community exposed the environmental and social implications. Furthermore, the economic crisis and the drop of the price of gold, made Eldorado gold announce cuts in capital spending for 2013, however despite the company’s announcements, large scale development work have been reported since then. The struggle is still ongoing, despite of the opposition of the local population.

The above-mentioned issue of large-scale mining in halkidhiki has “become part and parcel of wider criticisms of the austerity agenda currently being pursued by the Greek government, under strict advice from the troika of lenders – the European Commission, the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank”. Furthermore, European Commission and Eurostat essentially points out: “Sustainable socio-economic development is a core element of the European Union’s Sustainable Development Strategy. The strategy sets out the objective of promoting a prosperous, innovative, knowledge-rich, competitive and eco-efficient economy, which provides high living standards and full and high-quality employment throughout the European Union” (European Commission-Eurostat 2013).

### **Hegemonic Global Environmental Discourse: Sustainable Development**

Sustainable development discourse “is an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations that has come to dominate environmental politics” (Hajer 1995). However, two distinct storylines of the SD discourse seem to share the overall picture of the hegemonic discourse and compete to define its principles. “The socio-economic storyline claims that economic growth will achieve the social objectives; while the alternative argues that environmental priorities are the key. Thus, the two storylines exist in reflections of the contradictory tenets of the overarching discourse while both prioritize social objectives” (Bingham 2010).

As mentioned above European Union, as well as my case study, develop their discourse around the socio-economic storyline as part of the global (neoliberal/economic) capitalist paradigm, which continues to dominate on the level of intergovernmental decision making where “discursive closure has led to institutionalization of techno-scientific problem-solving, androcentrism, commoditization, managerialism and centralized governance with weak public participation” (Bingham 2010). On the other hand, alternative discourses are largely coopted or remain marginalized. However, it is

essential to refer to SD on a global and international level in order to gain legitimacy for policy makers and organizations. Even though it is quite deceptive when the term 'sustainable development' remains ambiguous can be used to justify various and contradictory problems.

Romanou argues that there are three major misconceptions about the economic crisis; mainly in the southern part of Europe. Like Castoriadis, she states that "capitalism which relies on continuing growth and competition, profit maximization, power and wealth accumulation by the oligarchy, commodification of public goods and resources, and the voracious exploitation of the environment" (2014) produces and reproduces the crisis which is spread in the banking system's collapse nowadays.

Another misconception as she argues is the impact of capitalist imaginary and its crisis over societies. She points out that discourse and response, which focus on the economic impact alone (severe wage cuts, unemployment, deteriorating conditions and benefits for the working class) leave aside very important sides. "The societal crisis manifests itself with growing, uncontrolled consumerism, which leads to overconsumption of natural resources, but also to the emergence of hyper-nationalism and eventually racism as competition for resources becomes tighter. The political crisis reflects a democratic deficit, when growing public discontent and resistance cause abuse of authority, police brutality, and state repression" (ibid).

The third misconception that she points out is the ecological contingency, "the frantic race to extract even more natural resources (oil, gas, gold and other precious metals) using increasingly more dangerous methods such as the extraction of oil from tar sands, the search for deep ocean oil and increased gas drilling, and the development of fracking" (ibid). "Massive land grabs and resource privatizations also lead to increasing environmental degradation. Above all, however, climate change due to greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere appears to be the ultimate triumph of capitalist greed over nature" (ibid).

As an expert in carbon circle and environmental section in NASA, Romanou is fully aware that the impacts of climate change ('global warming') are expected to be huge particularly in areas such as southern Europe. "Economies, like Greece's and other coastal countries in Southern Europe, which rely mainly on tourism and fisheries as well as shipping, will be heavily impacted by the projected sea level rise, the changes in the ocean's chemical balances (acidification), and droughts leading to soil erosion and forest fires" (ibid).

## **The Discourses within Nation State**

Greece is constrained by the SD discourse in two ways. Firstly, the priorities of the hegemonic discourse are often at odds with traditional and local values (Bingham 2010). "For example, in terms of decision making, authority is granted to states in international agreements, protesting against the dispossession of local land and resources, becomes more difficult when they are considered private property" (ibid). Bureaucratic management techniques serve to alienate local communities and can disrupt and dismantle their institutions (ibid). Secondly, local communities are ascribed as holders of traditional knowledge, which has to be abandoned in order for new development to come through forms of techno-science. In this situation traditional knowledge becomes a marginalized externality of capitalism<sup>2</sup> that (as the major distributor of power) has to be taken out of the picture. On the other hand, the alternative storyline that prioritize socio-environmental sustainability, recognizes that economic development can lead to poverty and environmental degradation, especially for local communities who exhibit self-sustaining cultures outside the heavy industrial mainstream economic norms. This alternative struggles to redefine SD discourse and adapt in its own positions. However, although it receives substantial support from scientific institutions, national NGO's, political parties, populist movements and international organizations, it remains marginalized in policy-making arenas (Bingham 2010).

The hegemonic discourse is reproduced in Greece's policy making; it is used to justify 'growth' at any cost and technological interventionism for sustainability. "A corporate and governmental discourse, reinforce one another, constructing a reality in which rapid economic development is crucial for national advancement, and sustaining the dominant discourse from positions of relative power" (Bingham 2010). To understand this better, Avgeropoulos points out statements from stakeholders of the Greek state and the private companies involved in the mining project: "the capital infusion, investments and socio-economic development would appear, in order to alternate the economic crises' outcomes, create wealth and bring growth" (2012).

The Canadian Company Eldorado Gold's plan for the area of Skouries of Halkidiki is planned to operate in two phases. "The initial phase consists of a small, open pit, with production expected in 2016. In the following phase, production will come from the underground" (Eldoradogold 2013). The data that the company has published in order to prove that development and growth will be brought for the Greek state are based on an economo-centric perspective, which externalizes<sup>3</sup> vital societal

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<sup>2</sup> Capitalism not only externalizes and marginalizes traditional knowledge but also nurtures apocalyptic imaginaries, which is an integral and vital part of the new cultural politics (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007), for which the management of fear is a central leitmotif (Badiou 2007).

<sup>3</sup> An Externality according to Investopedia is "A consequence of an economic activity that is experienced by unrelated third parties. An externality can be either positive or negative" (2014).



and environmental factors that cannot serve their static (in time and space) economic models. Scientists from the university of Thessaloniki have warned about the failure of this project, because they had similar experience of similar efforts taken place in the area from companies who owned the mining pit in the past and now are bankrupted.

On the other hand, as I and Avgeropoulos argues, the most important, respectful and courageous act of all is the activation of the local community and the citizens from all over Greece who struggle against the degradation of social and natural environment at any cost. Their struggle is about reclaiming back the public space. These citizens created a social movement-network without direct connections to bureaucratic structural organizations (private, public, or NGO's) and marched against the exploitation of the local community's social and natural resources. The effort to obstruct the mining project, which protesters say will be an environmental and societal disaster for the area, has been well organized and many battles in the past have been achieved. Moreover, although political parties have supported the protests, the social movement has managed to avoid being associated with specific parties. Moreover Klein argues that Greece is a very climate vulnerable country and as the economic crisis remains people's resistance will extent further (2013). Furthermore, the citizens have the support of intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky (2013). Talking about movements, David Harvey argues: "neoliberalization has spawned a swath of oppositional movements both within and outside its compass" (2007). Such an observation leads us to understand capitalism as a system that constantly creates forceful contradictions inside its core and periphery while it prosper from the crisis that generates in societal, humanitarian and environmental level.

To enhance the understanding of what the local community has to deal with, I will make a brief overview of the policies and practices that take place in the broader area of which the mines are located and show the way the hegemonic SD discourse and its dominant storylines influence them. To do that I used data from a scientific research of the University of Thessaloniki (Ellinikos Xrysos-A.E.M.B.X-ENVECO A.E. 2010):

- Deforestation of a forest area greater than 2.5 square kilometers.
- Nine boreholes for drainage around the crater to a depth of 750 meters.
- Open pit mining of 24,000 tons per day, with excavation and blasting.
- Transfer, pre-crushing and deposit of ore in covered storage area with 80,000 tons capacity.
- Trituration – chemical processing of ore.
- Transferring of the final product (only 1.977% of ore), to the metallurgical factory and waste enrichment, constituting 98.03% of the ore to the tailing disposal a storage sites.

Moreover, for many years there were created and reproduced a whole set of propaganda and fear mechanisms in order to promote the ideals of the hegemonic discourse. As Chomsky argues, media's function is to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs and codes of behavior that will integrate them to the institution structures of the larger society (Herman and Chomsky 1988). Even mining-workers fell in the government's and mining company's trap of negative propaganda; "securing their jobs in order to feed their families" and authorities succeeded to turn the mining-workers against their fellow citizens and the struggle of the local community for preserving their natural and social habitat.

Thus, as many independent scientists and organizations pointed out, the company's Environmental Impact Assessment has many problems, as deficiencies in the documentation, incomplete problematic methodologies, deviations from the procedures of the European Commission and misinterpretation of statutory limits of pollutants will cause essential problems for social and natural life in the broader area. Something that can lead to habitat destruction, deforestation, desertification, land, water and air pollution in great extend which will affect Northern Greece as a whole.

### **Practical Implications Over the Environment and Society (Skouries)**

By relating discourse to practice we have seen that the intention of global SD discourse is heavily influenced, mainly from the socio-economic storyline but also from the major alternative storyline; the socio-environmental. This means that even socially and environmentally destructive sustainable development interventions, such as in Skouries, can source discursive legitimacy from global agreements (BBC 2013).

The distractive procedures have major impacts on both the environmental and the social habitat, the political and economic life, not only in the local area but also in the broader area of Northern Greece. Moreover, by analyzing the data, that I collected from scientific documents, about the implications over the environment and society I try to prove that policy making in the neoliberal paradigm and the concentration of capital to a few "elites" is a destructive irrational procedure which is about to set the whole human civilization at stake, with vast consequences mainly for the industrial "world" (The Guardian 2014).

Environmental impacts of the area: Firstly, water resources: the E.I.A<sup>4</sup> does not meet any of the goals from the state law. The company's<sup>5</sup> plan of reintroducing pumped water in the aquifer and

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<sup>4</sup> E.I.A: Environmental Impact Assessment.

<sup>5</sup> Eldorado Gold that owes the 95% of Hellas Gold S.A and is the main company who has the rights over the mining area and two other strategic locations in the broader area.

repositioning part of the mined material as support in circumstances where drainage has occurred will result in permanent pollution of the groundwater, by infiltration of pollutants once the aquifer has returned to surface level (Faculty of Agriculture 2012; Environmental Council of AUTH 2011). Secondly, the atmosphere: the air pollution estimates found in E.I.A violate the statutory limits for gaseous and particulate pollutants (ibid) while these atmospheric pollutants will be transported over long distances. Thirdly, the soil is considered a non-renewable natural resource, while the mining activity will cause drying topsoil within kilometres of the open pit (Faculty of Agriculture 2012) and severe soil erosion in subsequent catastrophic flood events. Fourthly, in the ecosystems the planned intervention is characterized as violent and will irretrievably change both landscape and the ecosystem functions (Environmental Council of AUTH 2011; Forestry Division of Halkidiki 2011).

Bioaccumulation of heavy metals on various levels of the food chain is extremely dangerous to the functioning of ecosystems and ultimately to human health (Faculty of Agriculture 2012; Environmental Council of AUTH 2011; Zagas 2010; Panagiotopoulos 2012). Moreover, deforestation and forest drainage of the aquifer is a threat to ecosystems within a radius of several kilometres from the site (Dimitriadis 2011). Furthermore, pollution of the marine environment and the construction of large-scale industrial port would damage the quality of sea water both as natural habitat and marine organisms as well as bathing waters (Environmental Council of AUTH 2011). Fifth, the mining waste from the solid extraction exceeds 182 million cubic meters (Hellas Gold S.A. 2010). Thus, more dangerous chemicals will be wasted in the environment with countless destructive consequences for the natural and social habitat. Finally, the human health from the mining activity poses serious risks for workers, residents and visitors to the region. The presence of heavy metals, even in low concentration causes a plethora of serious diseases and low life expectancy (Faculty of Agriculture 2012).

The impacts do not stop there. Society is essentially affected from the procedures in the mining area, which professor Panagiotopoulos describe as devastating (2012). "Most notable are the disruption of social cohesion, internal migration due to loss or deterioration of economic activities and intense inequality against women who are primarily affected by predominantly male activity" (Zorrilla 2009; Sweeting and Clark 2000).

However, problems continue. "Multinational mining companies follow certain tactics aiming at ensuring a social license" (Zorrilla 2009). They are trying to create alliances with authorities and groups that can easily be manipulated (as I mentioned some examples in the previous sessions), they create rapture in the social network while they finance compensatory social projects and purchase strategic land for their favor. Moreover, aggressive methods against opposing citizens groups such as

terrorism, violence, blackmails, lawsuits and propaganda, are used (Zorilla 2009). Finally companies use private security while they closely cooperate with paramilitaries and police forces (ibid). Many of these tactics have been applied from the Hellas Gold S.A. in halkidiki (Amnesty International 2012).

Supplementary, to the government's statement about tourism as "the only driver of growth" for the Greek economy is the above-mentioned practices which essentially pollute and destroy the natural and social environment on which the majority of people of halkidiki rely to in their livelihood. Important to mention is that halkidiki is the third most common touristic destination in Greece. Furthermore, most of the available jobs in the area are based on agriculture, fishing, beekeeping or responsible forestry (Wilton 2013), this is going to change vastly if the pollution, as predicted, will spread even further in a few years.

### **Autonomy and the road to Sustainability**

One of Castoriadis' vital points about the project of autonomy, are the characteristics that can lead to it. He argues that mortality and its acceptance is vital for human beings in order to create awareness for self-reflection and self-limitation (2010). Nowadays as Castoriadis argues, "we are witnessing the total domination of the capitalist imaginary: the centrality of the economic sphere, the unlimited supposedly rational expansion of production, consumption and more or less planned and manipulated leisure" (2010). Moreover, he continues, "the development of techno-science, and the fact that scientists do not and will never have anything to say about its use, or even the capitalist orientation, has created an environmental problem and made it so serious today" (2010). To deal with this, he argues, "we need phronesis" (cautiousness). The presence of techno-bureaucracy (economic as well as scientific) is organically and structurally incapable for possessing cautiousness, since its very existence and moving force is nothing but the delusion of unlimited expansion. So we need true democracy, establishing the broadest possible procedures for thought and debate, with the participation of the citizenry on the whole (2010).

Furthermore, I argue that sustainability as well as autonomy is constructed on aware socio-historical and political animals-subjects. A democratic society is an autonomous society, and an autonomous society is above all a self-limited society (2010). Thus, as Zinn argues, we are in need of an "introduction to a new kind of society, cooperative, peaceful and egalitarian which no law, or president will give to people" (2002).

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