

## SISTER-LED DIALOGUE

# ON THE ENVIRONMENT

## CONTEXT

The International Union of Superiors General (UISG)<sup>1</sup> is a membership organisation for the leaders of Catholic women's congregations worldwide. With its 1,900 members, UISG represents over 600,000 Sisters committed to social and environmental issues including climate change, biodiversity loss, migration, human trafficking, healthcare and care for children. Alongside its core mission of supporting and connecting members, UISG acts as an umbrella organisation for Sisters engaged in tackling some of the world's most pressing development challenges.

Identifying an urgent need for an integral, integrative and inclusive approach to realising both the United Nations' 2030 Agenda and the Catholic Church's Laudato Si' Goals,<sup>2</sup> UISG believes that achieving a tipping point for change requires all people of goodwill to collaborate across borders and identities. In this spirit, UISG is organising a series of Sister-led dialogues to take place throughout 2023, culminating with the annual UISG Advocacy Forum in October.

## ENVIRONMENT

2022 saw significant political commitments to safeguarding our environment and protecting the people most affected by its degradation. The establishment of a loss and damage fund was agreed at COP27,<sup>3</sup> and a framework to revive biodiversity by 2030 was adopted at COP15;<sup>4</sup> meanwhile, the UN General Assembly recognised the universal right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment,<sup>5</sup> and negotiations began for an international legally binding instrument to end plastic pollution.<sup>6</sup>

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November 2022, UISG issued the statement Sister for the Environment,<sup>7</sup> based on the experiences of advocacy and community engagement that have coalesced around its ecological campaign Sowing Hope for the Planet. This statement addresses the urgency of the current moment, identifying a narrow window of opportunity to turn the tide of destruction that is ravaging our Earth. At the same time, it also expresses a deep-rooted, faith-driven vision for ecological conversion that has inspired the mission of Sisters for many decades and continues to do so every day, all around the world.

## DIALOGUE

UISG's Sister-led dialogues are conceived as a space to reflect on key development issues from a variety of perspectives, identify measures to empower communities on the global margins, and build a coalition of people and institutions to advocate for a safe and prosperous future for all. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of April 2023, UISG's first Sister-led dialogue focused on the needs and challenges of the most vulnerable people affected by climate change, pollution and biodiversity loss. In line with the priorities and principles set forth in Sisters for the Environment, three thematic areas were identified to structure this conversation.

1. Integrating responses to climate change and biodiversity loss
2. Integrating care for people and our planet
3. Integrating vulnerability in leadership and decision-making

April's dialogue welcomed representatives of Vatican institutions, embassies to the Holy See, UN bodies, international organisations, civil society and academia to join Catholic Sisters in discussing key issues for the sustainable development of our societies and the protection of our common home. 24 participants shared experiences and challenges, exploring where greater resources should be allocated and how to foster sustainable solutions both locally and globally. Special attention was drawn to marginalised groups, including women and girls, displaced and homeless people, children and the elderly, indigenous communities and other ethnic minorities.

*“Sisters have always cared for the marginalised and vulnerable:  
now we recognise our obligation to join the global development conversation.”*

Sister Patricia Murray - Executive Secretary, UISG

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The following key recommendations emerged from UISG's Sister-Led Dialogue on the Environment.

### 1. Economic action

Advocate for a new, values-led impetus for collective action, in order to build the financial infrastructure that can enable an economy of sustainable development.

### 2. Educational action

Support institutions and initiatives that transmit knowledge, raise public awareness, and involve local actors in a sustainable manner.

### 3. Legislative and legal action

Encourage governments and international organisations to mandate issues related to environmental sustainability, and legislate concrete measures to guarantee inclusivity.

### 4. Environmental and social action

Emphasise the interconnectedness of environmental and social action as the only path to achieving social justice.

### 5. Religious engagement

Harness the rootedness and reach of religious engagement to ensure the success of environmental initiatives.

### 6. Partnerships, institutionalisation and accreditation

Institutionalise women-led and faith-led capacity-building, and expand secular-religious partnerships with accredited national and international bodies.

### 7. Integrative dialogue

Foster dialogue as an integrative mechanism that can amplify marginalised voices, and ensure a leading role in global decision-making for local communities facing environmental challenges.

### 8. Media and the arts

Channel the roles of media and art in educating the public, changing the narrative on environmental breakdown, and focusing global attention on local issues.

### 9. Scientific research

Utilise the potential of research and education to help both leaders and local communities to make informed decisions and plans for action.

## REPORT: SESSION 1

# INTEGRATING RESPONSES TO CLIMATE CHANGE AND BIODIVERSITY LOSS

*What successful initiatives could be replicated to address climate change and loss of biodiversity with an integrated vision to protect environments and ecosystems?*

Despite the catastrophic condition of the Earth at this moment in time, a strong message of hope emerged from the opening session of this dialogue. While it may be difficult to read unfolding environmental disasters as anything but a sign of the demise of humanity and our planet, the resurrection of Christ is a call to witness the emerging dawn that has begun to shed light on our horizons. Humans must reconnect with the Earth through a 'resurrected economy' – an economy that moves away from extractivism, consumption, waste and greed towards a regenerative model rooted in patterns of death and resurrection, in the cycles of life and abundance. Signs of this new dawn can be witnessed in movements for de-growth, rewilding, agroecology, clean and renewable energies, slow food and seasonality, as well as in the social and cooperative enterprises that are emerging in every corner of the world and often led by young people, who are unencumbered by old ways of seeing and thinking. These changes offer a glimpse of a compelling vision for a regenerative economy, in balance with nature and human needs.

Highlighting the impact of climate change, participants emphasised its interconnectedness with biodiversity loss and its effects on human and non-human life, both in the global North and in the global South. Examples were cited of countries increasingly experiencing changes in rainfall patterns, heatwaves and wildfires, as well as loss of biodiversity and ecosystem degradation, leaving around one million animal and plant species at risk of extinction. Moreover, an alarming decrease in freshwater reserves presents another urgent challenge.

The interconnectedness of all elements of life on our planet, it was agreed, requires a multifaceted approach to climate change and biodiversity loss that is responsive to equally complex socio-economic, cultural and political systems. Case studies shared include the following examples.

## 1. ECONOMIC ACTION

Women religious are already at the forefront of a values-led investment drive, through divestment from fossil fuels and engagement with shareholders to change practices on environmental, social and governance (ESG) policies and socially responsible investment (SRI). The next step is to develop a new impetus for collective action, in order to build the infrastructure that can enable a new economy. Much-needed capital must reach the people who are constructing this new economy of sustainable growth: this can be achieved by building alliances to generate collective action that can fulfil the budding promise of a regenerative economy.

## 2. EDUCATIONAL ACTION

Citizens must be educated on the effects of climate change and encouraged to take action. An example of a successful initiative is the Green Citizens scheme run by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), which aims to transmit UNESCO's knowledge to raise public awareness on global warming and its consequences, and to highlight citizen-led projects in order to encourage commitment from others. By lending its name to development projects within the Green Citizens scheme, UNESCO acts as a brand to increase recognition, as a platform for engagement and connection, and as a marketing, communication and influencing strategy, enhancing the capacity of successful local initiatives.

### 3. LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Steps are being taken by governments and international organisations to influence policy, as in the case of the EU's continued commitment to the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda and the European Green Deal. In June 2021, the European Council adopted the European Climate Law, which legally binds EU Member States to reach both the 2030 and the 2050 climate objectives. Moreover, the EU Biodiversity Strategy for 2030 aims to put Europe's biodiversity on a path to recovery.

On a national level, the government of Germany continues to work with partner countries to mainstream the climate and security nexus into mechanisms for international security and conflict prevention and resolution, especially within the UN. Another example of legislative action are the steps taken by the UK government to set in law a net zero emissions target: to meet such a target, the UK would commit to protecting and restoring nature, with nature-based solutions forming a key part of the government's approach to tackling climate change. Moreover, three measures for restoring natural environments and delivering nature-based solutions have already been introduced by the UK government, as part of its 25-Year Environment Plan (25YEP).

- I. **New land development solutions**, where the UK Environment Act 2021 introduced a mandatory Biodiversity Net Gain requirement. This means new land development must deliver at least a 10% biodiversity net gain for at least 30 years, ensuring that any developments return to nature more than what is taken out.
- II. **Land already in use schemes**, including Countryside Stewardship. This provides financial incentives for farmers, foresters and land managers to look after and improve the environment. There is also the Sustainable Farming scheme, which pays farmers to work in a more environmentally sustainable way.
- III. **Natural environment restoration**, and particularly the restoration of natural carbon sinks: woodlands and peatlands store twice as much carbon as all the world's forests, yet only 13% of UK peatlands are in a near-natural state. A £750 million Nature for Climate Fund was established with the aim of restoring over 35,000 hectares of peatlands and trebling the creation rates of woodland by 2025.

### 4. LEGAL ACTION

Legal processes, investigations and monitoring mechanisms can provide a complementary response to other actions on climate change. This was highlighted through the work of NGOs like Greenpeace and stakeholders such as the UN. Examples include the following:

- I. The Climate Change and Human Rights Enquiry in the Philippines,<sup>8</sup> “the world's first investigation into corporate responsibility for the climate crisis,” which called for a probe into the possible human rights violations resulting from climate change of the 47 biggest fossil fuel and cement companies.
- II. The adoption of a UN resolution on Climate Justice as a necessary (though not mandatory) legal measure to enhance advocacy efforts in support of climate-vulnerable people.<sup>9</sup>
- III. The election of the UN's first Special Rapporteur on environmental defenders, with the aim of curbing cases where corporations or other entities are involved in threatening environmental activists.<sup>10</sup>

Building on the above, with a view to facilitating an ongoing exchange of information and mutual support among actors around the table, participants stressed the need to advocate on the following issues and address them at the upcoming UISG Advocacy Forum 2023.

#### 1. Climate change mitigation

Fossil fuel divestment plays an essential role in climate change mitigation, and over 350 Catholic institutions have already committed to divestment. However, more is required in order to create new channels of mobilisation: individuals and families must be invited to align personal finances with Catholic social teaching, and banks must be pressured to take action, as a springboard to persuading other corporate institutions to do the same.

The Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty,<sup>11</sup> which has been strongly supported by the Catholic Church, should also be part of discussions at the UISG Advocacy Forum 2023. This global civil society initiative rests on three pillars: non-proliferation, a fair phase-out, and a just transition. The Treaty aims to achieve international legal status, to complement the Paris Agreement in addressing the growing urgency of fossil fuel divestment.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. The role of education and scientific research

Education is crucial for helping people to better assess the consequences of climate change and environmental degradation and thus make informed decisions. The source of this knowledge is scientific research, which continues to play a vital role in reversing climate change and allowing nature to heal itself. Scientific knowledge and sustainable technologies are available so that people and governments can move towards being proactive on the environment, rather than reactive. All that is needed is willingness, courage and a systematic dialogue between decision-makers, policy-makers, scientists and citizens to support actions and anticipate future risks for humans, other life forms and our environments. The proper utilisation of education and scientific research should feature as part of the UISG Advocacy Forum 2023.

*“ Our colonial mindset has given birth to an economy of greed.  
We need both faith to nourish the heart and science to feed the mind,  
as we find ways to heal our common home.”*

Sister Jyotisha Kannamkal - Sisters of Notre Dame, India

REPORT: **SESSION 2**

# INTEGRATING CARE FOR PEOPLE AND OUR PLANET

*How can Catholic Sisters be supported to bring local voices into global conversations and ensure that global commitments are implemented locally?*

Dialogue during the day's second session started by highlighting the importance of a shift in mindset on the role of religion in development. The project-based development mindset is that of a secular paradigm which views development as part of modernisation, and often sees religion as an obstacle. This has started to give way to a more collaborative view, which recognises the role that religion can play in supporting sustainable development. In light of this, the following points were highlighted.

## 1. RELIGIOUS-SECULAR DIALOGUE

While structural religious engagement and secular-religious cooperation have begun on the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the potential for religious engagement has not yet been fully harnessed, and the role of religion is not always understood in secular circles. This is a barrier to collaborative efforts that can be extremely powerful, such as a joint appeal on the duty to protect the environment drafted by the Italian government in partnership with the UK and the Holy See, and submitted at COP26 in Glasgow.

It is evident that secular-religious initiatives can amplify shared messages and ensure strong communication. However, the fact that religion is largely disregarded in the wording of the 17 SDGs is a drawback. To support Catholic Sisters in ensuring that global commitments are implemented locally, there is a need to improve the religious literacy of governments and international bodies. A dialogue on the positive and influential role of religion would ensure that local voices, identified through religious engagement, can be effectively brought into global conversations.

## 2. PARTNERSHIPS

Partnerships are the bedrock for an effective process of engagement, and strategic partnerships with membership organisations are the most impactful. The importance of religious engagement in foreign and development policy is rooted in the capacity of religious networks to deliver impactful results where other forms of engagement may fail. This is now better recognised by the secular development community, which has increasingly sought to partner with religious communities on realising the SDGs. Evidence for the effectiveness of such partnerships can be found in climate change advocacy, an area where the UN and foreign and international development ministries or agencies – such as the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the UK's Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO), the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation (AICS), Germany's Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation & Development (BMZ), and the EU – have launched new projects to implement development interventions by directly engaging and partnering with religious groups.

Partnerships are needed to make the vital and urgent paradigm shift from competition and conflict to cooperation and solidarity, and to manage the Anthropocene in alliance with nature. In relation to the question of supporting Catholic Sisters, a recommendation was put forward for UISG to formally partner with the United Nations Environment Assembly (UNEA), since this is the highest decision-making body for environment and climate-related matters.

### 3. INSTITUTIONALISATION AND ACCREDITATION

Under the auspices of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), the Faith for Earth initiative convenes the Council of Women Faith Leaders as a platform to coordinate on common objectives and network with like-minded, faith-based organisations on gender-sensitive issues. The value of the Faith for Earth coalition, and particularly its Council, lies in institutionalising women-led capacity-building, since accreditation is a prerequisite to expanding levels of engagement and increasing the support received.

Building on the above, participants stressed the need to advocate on the following issues and address them at the upcoming UISG Advocacy Forum 2023.

#### 1. Religious engagement and interreligious collaboration

Global religions, with their powerful grassroots presence, must not be disregarded in efforts to prevent climate breakdown. Religious communities are locally rooted, frontline service providers who stay when others leave. They are globally connected and able to highlight crises that may be otherwise overlooked. They enjoy trust, reach and relationships denied to many governments and NGOs. Crucially, they are uniquely able to offer a holistic response to psychological and spiritual needs, as well as physical.

However, interreligious collaboration is still lacking: stronger collaboration is needed to prevent the work of different religious groups being siloed. In fact, interreligious collaboration may be the only way to fully access climate funding, such as the Green Climate Fund. By sharing community-based knowledge and research, collaborations can become more effective and more rewarding. In summary, religious engagement and collaboration are essential to issues of environmental protection.

#### 2. Religious freedom

There is a need to discuss and advocate on violations of religious freedom, since this is a key development issue. Social stability, cohesion and growth are threatened by religious marginalisation: in order for people to be both enablers and beneficiaries of sustainable development, they need protection against religious discrimination. To play a meaningful role in the advancement of the SDGs, religious actors and communities must be guaranteed their rights to organisational autonomy, and be able to operate without undue restrictions. Concretely, religious freedom is key to environmental protection: indigenous people with different religious backgrounds play a key role in safeguarding our planet and raising collective awareness on environmental issues, while many other religious actors can mobilise energy and resources to engage the broader public on climate action.

#### 3. Integration and collaboration

A holistic vision to protect our planet requires the development of diverse systems that build on local knowledge. This means that a one-size-fits-all approach to development must be avoided. The Holy See and broader Church institutions have a role to play in challenging unidimensional approaches through their bridge-building capacity, their links with local communities around the world, and their commitment to bringing excluded voices into the centre of dialogue. This integrated vision must be the heart of the UISG Advocacy Forum 2023, since building social justice is a collective, collaborative endeavour requiring all parties to honour common but differentiated responsibilities, in the spirit of solidarity.

*“We need the local wisdom, we need the local people.  
Top-down only approaches will never work.”*

Sister Maamalifar M. Poreku - *Coordinator, Sowing Hope for the Planet*

REPORT: SESSION 3

# INTEGRATING VULNERABILITY IN LEADERSHIP AND DECISION-MAKING

*What mechanisms exist and could be strengthened to ensure that voices from the margins are featured centrally in the global development dialogue?*

*What could increase global media interest in local development challenges?*

*What could be the message for a joint online campaign?*

Based on the learnings that Catholic Sisters have acquired through their exceptional engagement with grassroots communities, UISG's Sister-led dialogues aim to stimulate action that is decentralised and diversified, in order to seek collaborative solutions for the future of humankind.

To this end, action and advocacy must take place on both a microscopic and a macroscopic scale, with a focus on native and original peoples. At the micro level, it is important to strengthen the economy of reciprocity and complementarity of native peoples through practices like agroecological production, demarcation and defence of protected areas, use of technologies to detect deforestation, and territorial autonomy. At the macro level, an international legislative framework for land and nature rights is essential. This would support practices such as the inspection and defence of protected areas and territories of original peoples, as well as making it easier to criminally prosecute violators and invaders.

A number of concrete mechanisms were discussed for integrating in leadership and decision-making the voices of indigenous peoples and other marginalised communities.

## 1. DIALOGUE

Convened by CIDSE (Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la Solidarité), the African Climate Dialogues were a series of online conversations that took place throughout 2022, ensuring the perspectives and experiences of grassroots communities were acknowledged and amplified ahead of COP27. This initiative brought together faith groups and civil society actors and allies, including communities and religious leaders, from across the African and European continents. The dialogues were based on an inclusive process in which participants shared personal experiences of different contexts, identified key priorities, and distilled concrete policy outputs.

Climate-related challenges were discussed through the lens of Catholic social teaching – including principles such as the common good, justice among generations, care for our common home and a preferential option for the poor – as well as climate science. Testimonies from affected communities were augmented by researchers and professional advocates with policy expertise, officials from all levels of government, negotiators involved in international climate-related processes, and Catholic leaders who framed the pressing ethical questions raised by climate change.

Ireland's Citizens' Assembly is another process that highlights the effectiveness of dialogue in integrating vulnerability in leadership and decision-making. This assembly brings together 100 citizens, selected to ensure a representative reflection of the population at large, and involves them in dialogue on legal and policy issues, away from media influence and preconceptions. The Assembly makes recommendations and reports to the Irish parliament, ensuring the voice of ordinary citizens is directly represented in decision-making at the highest level.



## 2. LEGISLATION

Another mechanism for integrating vulnerability in leadership and decision-making is through legislation, as in the case of Australia's First Nations. In Australia, a voting process on the principle of recognising the First Nations in the Constitution is currently ongoing, with a focus on establishing a permanent body of First Nations representatives to have a voice on issues that matter to their communities. As traditional custodians of the land, holding thousands of years of knowledge-building, the First Nations have developed reliable techniques to counter threats to Australia's fragile biodiversity, and their expertise can and must be applied to large-scale measures, from wildfire prevention to water infrastructure planning. The Australian Government has made a commitment to doubling the number of indigenous bush-rangers, for example, and supporting First Nations land-management projects that utilise traditional knowledge and cultural practices.

## 3. FUNDING

With regard to the Torres Strait islands, which are particularly vulnerable to rising sea levels, the Australian government has allocated 15.9M Australian dollars over four years to establish a Torres Strait Climate Centre of Excellence, focusing on First Nations-led action plans. As highlighted during the dialogue at UISG, integrating vulnerable voices in leadership is not about tokenism, but about achieving better outcomes for all. Participants discussed the role that religious networks can play by investing in fragile communities and embracing vulnerability: there was a call for stronger finance management by faith groups, to ensure that money reaches the most vulnerable. Finally, the financial capital of global religions was highlighted as a means to pressure governments into implementing new solutions for sustainable development. All these changes could help to ensure that the most marginalised communities on Earth – which are often the most heavily impacted by environmental breakdown – are given the proper means to safeguard and shape their own future.

## 4. ART

As regards the question of what could increase global media interest in local development issues, the role of art was cited as a means to create a direct connection with people and build human empathy. The film *The Letter*,<sup>13</sup> recently promoted by the Holy See, was referred to as an example of the value of real, personal stories in creating an immediate, human-scale link with overwhelming, global-scale issues.

*“To heal our planet, to heal our home, we must include voices from the margins in our spaces for dialogue.”*

*Sister Laura Vicuña Manso - Franciscan Catechist Sisters, Brazil*

It was agreed that the upcoming UISG Advocacy Forum 2023 should further address the following issues.

### 1. Media

Local development challenges are actually global: this is the message that should be highlighted to the media. For example, the Boreal, Tropical and Amazon forests should not be seen as separate entities, but as a complex web of ecosystems crucial to keeping our planet alive. Nor should protecting these forests be seen as unrelated to protecting our global community: on the contrary, it is foundational.

In order to enhance global media interest in local development challenges, emphasis should be placed on the interconnectedness of all ecosystems, and on the fact that collaborations between local, national and international bodies are taking place in different parts of the world. Examples include advocacy networks such as REPAM,<sup>14</sup> and collaborative mobilisations such as Acampamento Terra Livre or Marcha das Margaridas. The idea of a media campaign involving UISG and other faith groups, as well as a joint statement from world faith leaders, was suggested as a way forward.

## 2. Climate, migration and gender

It is clear that climate change plays an important role in other global issues such as migration and gender equality. We cannot dismiss the reality that, in certain circumstances, the necessity to migrate is one of the consequences of global warming. Therefore, safe and legal migration routes, as an instrument of adaptation to climate change, should be treated as an issue of climate justice. The link between climate change and gender equality is also evident, since women are often on the frontlines when it comes to coping with the effects of land degradation and water scarcity. Another important link is the fact that many women – and particularly indigenous women, for whom desecrating nature is a personal attack against faith and wellbeing – have led environmental movements for conservation and sustainability. The interconnectedness of climate change, migration and women’s empowerment should be further explored in the upcoming UISG Advocacy Forum 2023.

## 3. Conflict prevention

Although the mechanisms are not sufficiently understood, climate change is emerging as an important driver of conflict and insecurity. One example is that of the Karipuna people, who live on the verge of a genocide because they are directly impacted by projects that cause climate change, deprive them of food security, and threaten their physical, cultural and territorial integrity.

## 4. Equity and justice

The climate and biodiversity crises are above all equity and justice issues – not only in the sense of intergenerational justice, but also in the sense of international foreign policy. It is now known that heavily industrialised nations, which are home to just a quarter of humankind, are responsible for 80% of historic carbon emissions between 1850 and 2010. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to emphasise the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities. This was outlined in the Paris Agreement and echoed in the Holy See’s call for a consensus between the richest countries, which have benefitted most from industrialisation, and countries or populations that have contributed least to causing the current crisis, but are disproportionately its earliest victims.

## 5. Existing solutions

A sense of constantly reinventing the wheel can become a barrier to finding and implementing effective environmental solutions. The search for innovative strategies should be balanced with a focus on the feasibility, applicability and timeliness of existing strategies. UISG is encouraged to look for connections across areas like education, poverty reduction and action against discrimination, in search of lessons learned that can be applied to environmental advocacy. Existing communities, networks, mechanisms, solutions, initiatives and processes should be channelled to engage on emerging environmental issues.

## 6. The role of UISG

The role of women religious has traditionally been limited to education, healthcare and community development. Yet there are many areas of advocacy for systemic change in which Catholic Sisters can play an active and leading role, especially as regards the environment. At the same time, there are resources within religious institutions (human, physical and financial) that could be better utilised. These shifts towards a new paradigm – a deinstitutionalisation of the role of Sisters, or a less traditional use of resources – may be perceived as risky. However, these are necessary and urgent changes, that deserve further elaboration at the upcoming UISG Advocacy Forum 2023.

*“Are we willing to take a risk that the future of some will be less secure,  
so that others may be more secure?  
Where are those who are willing to give,  
so that others may receive?”*

*Sister Patricia Murray - Executive Secretary, UISG*

Time is running out, and humanity cannot afford further procrastination. Nor can we afford the complacency of responding to environmental challenges as if they were unconnected to human life. We are, in the words of Pope Francis, “faced not with two separate crises, one environmental and the other social, but rather with one complex crisis which is both social and environmental.” Environmental action is social action, and vice versa: on both fronts, we must act now.

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