



“Dreaming of a White Christmas !”

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Climate Negotiations - Time for the return of the NGOs

NGOs dealing with Climate Change – that is those working towards structural transformation in the manner in which governments are dealing with the issues, could be back in business. The last few years, after the Kyoto Protocol was put in place in 1997, saw the decline in the influence that NGOs could bring into the emissions reduction effort. Business and industrial lobbies took over.

Now, in 2005, when the structural dimensions of the architecture to deal with global warming are again being dealt with, it is time for the NGOs to play their part - forcefully, and yet with finesse. These NGOs need to work with communities; with local and regional, and national and international policymakers; with academia and with political bodies to make this happen.

The Kyoto Protocol was an agreement quantifying obligatory emissions reduction for the period up to 2012. It also envisaged that new targets needed to be set beyond 2012. That process was mandated to begin in 2005 – hence along with the Conference of Parties (COP11), the Meeting of the Parties (MOP) was also arranged at the same time.

There has been an attempt on the part of the richer countries, the developed nations – most notably by the USA and Australia, to renege on commitments. This is of a piece with the triumphalist behaviour that is most visible in the actions of the United States – and we are not talking of Iraq here. The US has walked out of the Kyoto Protocol, and yet wants to determine the agenda, direction and process of the COP / MOP process.

A key moment of drama in the COP/MOP meeting was the shaming of America – they walked out of COP11 on Friday, December 9, 2005. They were back the next day, and were finally part of a watered down agreement to talk about commitments in the next phase – 2012 onwards. This is not to say that it was because of NGOs that such a turnaround took place – it was in part because the European Union took a firm stance on working towards quantified, tougher commitments post-2012. What tipped the scales was the forceful, unequivocal espousal of the ex-President of the United States at a well-attended, high-profile, widely covered event (he had no official locus standi in the COP/MOP process).

Now it is up to the NGOs.

There is tremendous pressure to undermine the development of third world countries under the guise of emissions reduction; there is tremendous pressure to ease the restrictions on the promotion of the nuclear energy route; there is tremendous pressure to undermine the relevance and utility of alternatives like renewable and decentralized energy sources; there is no real movement on the part of richer countries, the main polluters, to accept mandated responsibility for the costs of Adaptation that falls

*Eleventh session of
the Conference of the Parties
to the Climate Change Convention
and the first meeting of
the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol*

Palais de Congrès, Montréal, Canada | 28 November-9 December 2005

Last-minute climate deals reached

Ministers at the climate change conference in Montreal have made a series of breakthroughs in plans to combat global warming.

On the conference's last day, Kyoto Protocol signatories agreed to extend the treaty on emissions reductions beyond its 2012 deadline.

And a broader group of countries including the US agreed to non-binding talks on long-term measures.

The US had refused to accept any deal leading to commitments to cuts.

Earlier, former President Bill Clinton said the US approach was "flat wrong".

After Mr. Clinton's remarks-which were warmly received - the official US team appeared to shift its position in New York.

Both of those were signed up to by the United States.

Tim Hirsch, BBC Environment Correspondent, Montreal

'Map for the future'

The BBC's Tim Hirsch in Montreal says the deal was finally agreed in a mood of some euphoria after a last-minute procedural objection by the Russians held up the talks for several hours.

Formal talks can now begin over the precise targets which will be set when the first phase of the Kyoto agreement expires in 2012.

Our correspondent says that, crucially, it sets the scene for discussing how large developing countries like India and China could be brought into the system of limiting greenhouse gas emissions.

Canadian Environment Minister Stephane Dion, who is hosting the conference, described the agreement as "a map for the future, the Montreal Action Plan, the MAP".

Last week delegates finalized a rule book for Kyoto, formally making it fully operational after years of negotiation and ratification.

Despite the row, environmentalists said the conference had been in most respects a success, reaching agreements on how to quantify gas emissions and how to penalize nations for failing to meet Kyoto targets. 

BBC news Science – Nature, Saturday, 10 December 2005

US retreats at climate change talks

'Obstructive' White House stung by criticism of its stance as 157 nations extend the Kyoto agreement.

The White House was forced into a U-turn on climate change yesterday after appearing to misjudge critically the international and domestic mood on its efforts to tackle global warming.

After American delegates walked out of the United Nations climate change conference in Montreal over the wording of a draft statement calling for international co-operation on the issue, they signed a revised version after making only 'trivial' changes.

The move came as 157 other countries agreed separately to extend the Kyoto international agreement aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions. The US has not joined Kyoto, so it was not involved in the talks on its future.

Environmental campaigners hailed the Kyoto breakthrough as 'a historic step forwards'. Tony Juniper, executive director of Friends of the Earth, said: 'The rest of the world is right to push ahead and leave the obstructive US behind.'

One senior British official said the US negotiators shifted their position on the joint statement because the Bush administration was stung by criticism of its stance at the meeting in the US press. 'Washington is really feeling the heat on this,' the official said.

The chief US negotiator Harlan Watson walked out of talks on Friday after complaining that draft text proposals amounted to a call for negotiations which President George W Bush opposes.

The change came after a well-received conference

speech from former President Bill Clinton, in which he said that Bush's main reason for not joining Kyoto - that it would damage the US economy - was 'flat wrong'.

Clinton said if the US 'had a serious, disciplined effort to apply on a large scale existing clean energy and energy conservation technologies... we could meet and surpass the Kyoto targets easily in a way that would strengthen, not weaken, our economies'.

Wearied negotiators finally agreed the revised statement as the talks dragged on into the small hours. They also agreed an action plan among Kyoto members to extend the protocol when its first phase expires in 2012.

The next Kyoto phase will demand harsher cuts in greenhouse gas pollution from developed countries, but the scope and timing of these have not yet been agreed.

Margaret Beckett, the Environment Secretary, said when she arrived in Montreal the EU wanted cuts



of up to 30 per cent by 2020.

Scientists have said, global reductions of between 60 per cent and 80 per cent will probably be needed by 2050 to stabilize the climate. They believe that should keep the global average temperature to within 2C above pre-industrial levels. The world is already 0.7C towards that,

with another 0.6C to come over the next few decades.

The role of developing nations in the new phase of Kyoto remains unclear, though they will probably not be asked to take on binding emission reduction targets. 

David Adam, The Observer, in Montreal, Sunday December 11, 2005

The High Stakes

Canada's Prime Minister urged the US to "listen to its conscience" and take further steps to reduce emissions linked to global warming.

Paul Martin was speaking at the UN climate change conference in Montreal, where talks on long-term strategies are reaching a critical stage.

It is not only the United States which has come under fire.

A British government minister has accused Saudi Arabia of using "outrageous" tactics to block progress.

'Parallel track'

One of the main controversies at this conference is an attempt by the Canadian Environment Minister, Stephane Dion, who is chairing the talks, to launch a two-year process of discussions outside the jurisdiction of the Kyoto agreement, which the US has rejected.

The aim is to set up a "parallel track" to discuss various options for taking forward international action, which would enable both the Americans and developing countries to participate without committing themselves to specific targets on cutting or limiting emissions.

The theory is that this would make it easier for those countries signed up to Kyoto to commit themselves to stronger legally-binding emission cuts when the current targets expire in 2012.

On the face of it, the Canadian proposal is so bland as to be meaningless, calling for "discussions to explore and analyze approaches for long-term co-operative action".

The wording has in fact been carefully chosen to mirror language used in previous agreements at Gleneagles under the UK presidency of the Group of Eight (G8) leading economies, and at the UN World Summit

Other Intransigents

The plans for a post-Kyoto dialogue have also been challenged by leading oil-producer Saudi Arabia.

It called for clean-energy measures to be approved by a vote in each state's national parliament - a measure other negotiators say would bog the process down.

Saudi Oil Minister Ali Ibrahim al-Naimi asked for more action to compensate petroleum-exporting countries standing to lose revenue from alternative energies.

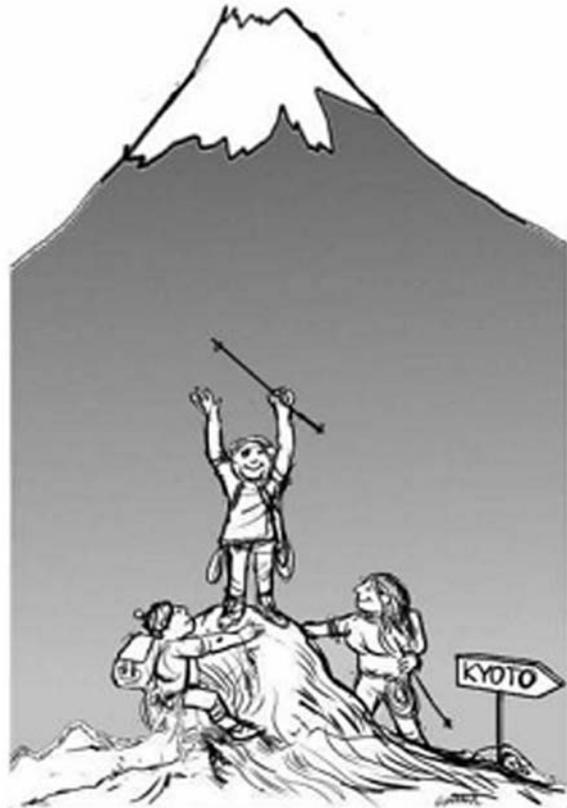
Japanese Environment Minister Yuriko Koike called on developing countries like India and China, which are exempt from Kyoto, to join in the fight against global warming.

But Indian negotiator, Andimuthu Raja, said growth and the elimination of poverty must take precedence over mitigating the effects of climate change.

Tim Hirsch, BBC Environment Correspondent, Montreal

What is the Kyoto Protocol?

The **Kyoto Protocol** is an amendment to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), an international treaty on global warming. It also reaffirms sections of the UNFCCC. Countries which ratify this protocol commit to reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide and five other greenhouse gases, or engage in emissions trading if they maintain or increase emissions of these gases. A total of 141 countries have ratified the agreement. Notable exceptions include the United States and Australia.



The formal name of the proposed agreement, which reaffirms sections of the UNFCCC, is the **Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change** [1] (<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/1997/global.warming/stories/treaty/>). It was negotiated in Kyoto, Japan in December 1997, opened for signature on March 16, 1998, and closed on March 15, 1999. The agreement came into force on February 16, 2005 following ratification by Russia on November 18, 2004.

Supporters of the Kyoto Protocol note that even if it is fully and successfully implemented it is predicted to reduce the average global temperature by somewhere between 0.02°C and 0.28°C by the year 2050 (source: *Nature*, October 2003). Critics believe that at an estimated cost of \$100 trillion to lower the average global temperature by a fraction of 1°C over 45 years, it is not an effective solution to the threat from greenhouse gas emissions.

From Wikipedia, the free Encyclopedia
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English_Wikipedia

COP-11 : An Analysis

Cheers, yet concern for climate

In the well-worn saying, an optimist is someone whose glass is half full while a pessimist finds his or hers half empty.

It gives no term though for the person who, having been in despair at believing his or her glass drained rises with joyous heart on finding it yet holds a few welcome splashes.

This is unfortunate; for in analyzing the fallout from the two weeks of climate talks in Montreal,

it might just be the key word.

Environmental campaigners and Kyoto-minded governments went to Canada believing they might see the Kyoto model consigned to oblivion, its ashes ceremonially scattered on the St Lawrence River and floated off to the still frozen Arctic. That has not happened. The model of mandatory fixed targets and timetables for reducing greenhouse gas emissions is still alive.

It is why Guy Thompson of the Green Alliance could conclude "this... keeps Kyoto alive and

builds momentum towards a legally binding global framework beyond 2012”, why Greenpeace International’s Bill Hare could declare “the Kyoto Protocol is stronger today than it was two weeks ago”, and why Tony Juniper from Friends of the Earth could opine: “This meeting has made a historic agreement which will strengthen global resolve.”

Champagne all round, then. But stay - what is that shadow falling on the other side of the drinks trolley?

Split personality

The “Annex 1” parties still inside the Kyoto process - in other words, developed nations plus former Soviet bloc states minus the US and Australia - pledged to “initiate a process to consider further commitments for parties included in Annex 1 (i.e. themselves) for the period beyond 2012”.

They vowed to begin directly, and to finish

negotiations soon enough that there is a smooth transition between the date when existing targets expire (2012) and the beginning of this projected second period of commitments.

Plot lines

It is always tempting at these meetings to focus on the drama - the American walkout and the off-the-cuff speech of former US President Bill Clinton, the innate rhythm which drives negotiations deep into the night and ends with sudden resolution, like the dark minor chords of Mozart melancholy resolving into a sunlit finale.

But these UN gatherings are in reality brief busy punctuation marks in an on-going narrative.

By far the most important thread of that narrative is the speed at which concentrations of greenhouse gases are rising in the atmosphere; which, if you accept the mainstream scientific view, dictates with inexorable logic the targets and timetables.

contd p10 -->

Overview of COP11

After an intense two weeks of negotiations in Montreal, the global community is moving ahead with plans for further action on climate change. Numerous important decisions were agreed upon - components of the “Montreal Plan of Action”.

One of the key decisions is that the 40 industrialized nations that are already bound by emission reduction targets and timetables in the Kyoto Protocol have established a process to negotiate further and deeper cuts for after the 2012 expiration of the first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol. Not participating in this decision are the United States and Australia which have not ratified the Kyoto Protocol. That is a disappointment but it does mean that the majority of the industrialized countries are not going to let those two countries distract the rest from continuing on a path that they believe is the right thing to do bolstered by the increasing rigorous scientific evidence of human-induced climate change.

A second important decision, this time including the USA and Australia, is that all countries will begin a “dialogue” about any and all possible measures to cut emissions. This is a non-binding process and has neither deadlines nor specific objectives as a result of a watering-down of the initial plan in order to meet American objections. It does mean though that there is still a table around which all nations will gather to address climate change.

There were some modest steps on developing mechanisms for channeling funds to developing nations for adaptation to climate change but some major impediments still exist such as how those funds should be managed i.e. through the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) which is the favored route by industrialized countries but viewed suspiciously by developing nations because of the GEF’s links to the World Bank.

e-mail: David Hallman dhallman@sympatico.ca December 16, 2005

Post Kyoto - 2012 ?



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As near as one can pin it down, the scientific consensus is that in order to avoid dangerous climate change, concentrations ought to peak around 2020 to 2030, and decline thereafter.

Forget the final day emoting, then, and look at the Montreal agreement in this light.

Yes, valuable progress was made on Kyoto Protocol mechanisms, agreeing the rules by which it will operate and developing programmes through which richer countries can contribute to emissions reduction in poorer nations.

Yes, the Annex 1 parties will talk about further targets and timetables.

But in reality many of them have veered spectacularly off the course required to meet their existing targets, never mind future ones.

The US, responsible for between one-quarter and one-fifth of global emissions, declines to sup in the same bar.

Crucially, there is little sign that countries like India and China, with their fast-growing economies and fast-rising greenhouse gas emissions, are clamoring to join the post-Kyoto party.

As Indian Environment Minister, Andimuthu Raja told the BBC: "Our emissions of CO2 are only 3% of the world's total, where we have 17% of the global population.

"I do believe that the calls for developing countries to take up G8 abatement commitments... are misplaced, and responsive to agendas other than genuine mitigation of climate change."

Don't get carried away

A sober assessment of these factors has led to some less upbeat assessments of Montreal.

"The signposts are pointing in the right direction, but let's not get too carried away," was the advice of Camilla Toulmin, Director of the International Institute for Environment and Development.

"The big industrializing nations must be included in a future binding agreement, but the key to achieving this lies with the rich countries. They must lead by example, fully accept responsibility for creating the problem and produce a substantial development dividend."

In the first week of talks, a British official involved in negotiations told me that in side-rooms and tea-bars, European delegates would be discussing the possible scales and timetables of future emissions cuts.

They accept, he said, that the 2020/2030 date for peaking emissions is about right - and they believe a reasonable long-term target for reducing global emissions would be in the ballpark of 60% by 2050.

With the best will in the world, it is hard to see what has happened in Montreal which can turn that scenario into reality. 

*Richard Black, Environment correspondent,
BBC News, December 11, 2005*



Decentralised Energy Options for Tribal Communities

*Excerpts from a paper presented at a workshop in Visakhapatnam on November 14 - 15, 2005.
Scientists, technologists & academicians joined NGO leaders and resource agencies
to work out a collaborative framework for implementation.*

This is a proposition for a collaborative intervention to undertake demonstrative initiatives that focus on the micro-energy needs of the tribal communities in the Eastern Ghats region to sustain their livelihoods. It is prompted by an aspiration to play a proactive role in influencing India's energy policy to include decentralised options based on ground level realities.

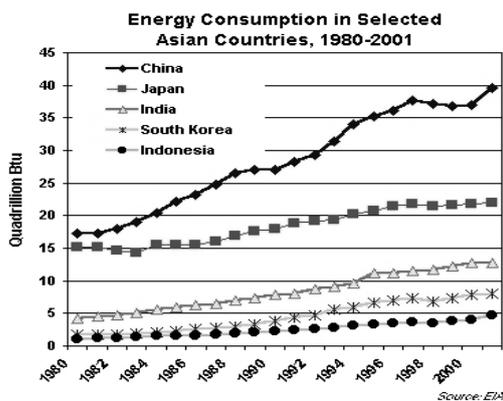
Energy - The Macro Scenario:

The increasing use of conventional energy is clearly becoming counter productive in the global context due to increasing threat from climate change.

While the current contribution of India to Green House Gases (GHGs) is well below countries like the US and China, and its per capita consumption one of the lowest in the world, there is an urgent need to minimize India's emissions keeping the post Kyoto protocol scenario in mind.

Current trends reveal that:

- India and China are becoming sources of concern because their energy consumption is increasing rapidly.
- India's per capita energy is low as 70% of India's population still lives in rural areas. Their growth and development needs will mean an exponential growth

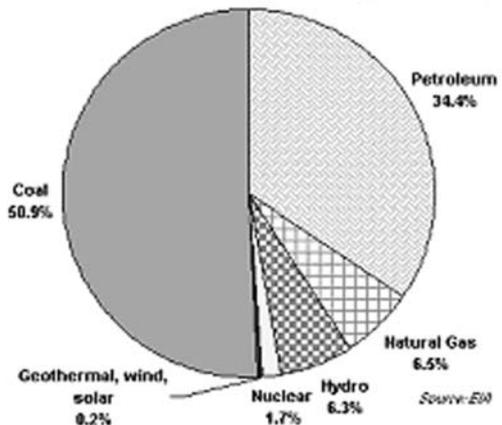


in demand for energy, even at basic sustenance levels.

Non-conventional energy in the Indian Context:

The share of non-conventional energy in energy consumption is extremely low. This is clearly indicated in the diagram below:

India's Fuel Share of Energy Consumption, 2001 (Btu)



Source: Energy Information Administration, US, 2004

The diagram reveals that renewable energy constitutes only about 8.2% of total energy consumption. Of this most of it constitutes conventional renewables. Similarly hydro-power forms 6.3 % of the energy consumption, but most of this consists of large-scale hydro projects. The policy of the government is to increase the share of hydropower through large-scale hydro projects to meet its future energy needs. The share of decentralised energy (energy which is locally managed and controlled is decentralised energy) is hardly visible.

Rationale for Decentralised Energy Options (DEOs):

- Conventional energy has not yet reached those marginalized communities to whom energy is critical for livelihood;

- DEO offers an opportunity for control and management of energy at the doorstep: less alienating;
- Renewable energy could be made cost effective for local communities in the long run if treated on par with conventional energy;
- DEO provides us an opportunity to adopt an alternative approach to development in the micro context;
- Use of renewables addresses the issue of reduction of carbon emission in the Indian context.

We need to integrate into the DEO perspective the various forms of energy use at the community level – traditional forms, conventional dominant modern usages and the non-conventional renewables.

DEOs will not attract business and trade or the state in the current conditions of development thinking and practice. There is also their incapability to address the social and cultural contexts so essential in developing these options. Hence there is a clear case for us as NGOs to engage in promoting DEOs in the mission of pursuing sustainable development.

The Tribal Context:

- It is crucial to provide access to energy to these communities which experience a high degree of marginalisation;
- The concept of community with collective decision making processes is still prevalent in tribal areas; community control of DEOs is likely to be more workable in tribal areas;.
- It could arrest out-migration if enhanced livelihood opportunities are created;
- Relevance to sustainable development can be demonstrated by appropriate use of natural resources and control over the process of energy generation.

What we envisage therefore is that the DEOs

identified in these areas will fulfill three basic concerns:

- ensure improved livelihood of tribal communities;
- provide clean and efficient technology; and
- safeguard social cohesiveness in the management of the technology.

Decentralised Energy Options are not the *poor-man's* options. There are lessons for us to learn with these communities that would be applicable among non-homogenous well-off communities – rural as well as urban.

Programme Focus:

The areas that we envisage for this initiative are the tribal areas of four adjoining States: Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh It is proposed to

- *Undertake feasibility studies* to assess the potential of DEOs in this region.
- *Facilitate setting-up of strategic demonstrative units.*
- *Facilitate deliberations on the demonstrative projects* to articulate issues of policy arising from ground level experiences

An Invitation to join this Enterprise

This is an Invitation for Collaboration among Technologists, Voluntary Agencies – NGOs, and Financial Resource Agencies. This is indeed an enterprise, and hence, rightly, it is ambitious and unique. We invite committed participation from all those who are interested in this venture.

It is high time that civil society organizations and technologists take the lead in collaborating with tribal communities in demonstrating to mainstream society the path to sustainable options in the area of energy generation, distribution and access. 

formulated by the ad-hoc Energy Action Group of INECC, November 2005

Our Future is Nuclear

The energy debate must move on now to give us any hope of getting near the government's target for emissions reduction

But I am not convinced that we have even the remotest idea how to allocate resources sensibly to that end. Almost nothing that is said on the subject seems uncorrupted by self-interest, profit or subsidy. That certainly applies to the most obvious long-term hope of salvation, nuclear power.

Nobody agrees about figures. This past week I have read as "fact" that nuclear power generates 20% of Britain's energy, or perhaps 8%. I have read that wind power is the world's most subsidized form of energy, and it's cheapest. "Experts" can be found to declare that nuclear power is clean, cheap and efficient, and that it is dirty, expensive and inefficient. I have read that all man-made greenhouse-gas emissions could be saved just by cleaning existing coal-fired power stations; that Britain's energy needs could be met by capturing the heat escaping from conventional power generation; that natural methane is far more damaging to the ecosphere than man-made pollution, and is anyway unstoppable.

I have also read that the government wants a cut of 20% in carbon emissions by 2010, with renewables covering 10% of "needs" (apparently unrelated to price). I have also read that this is inconceivable. I have read that soon we shall all be living off waves, tides, hydrogen, fusion, micro-generators and energy buried in the earth. Energy policy is like Victorian medicine, at the mercy of quack remedies and snake-oil salesmen.

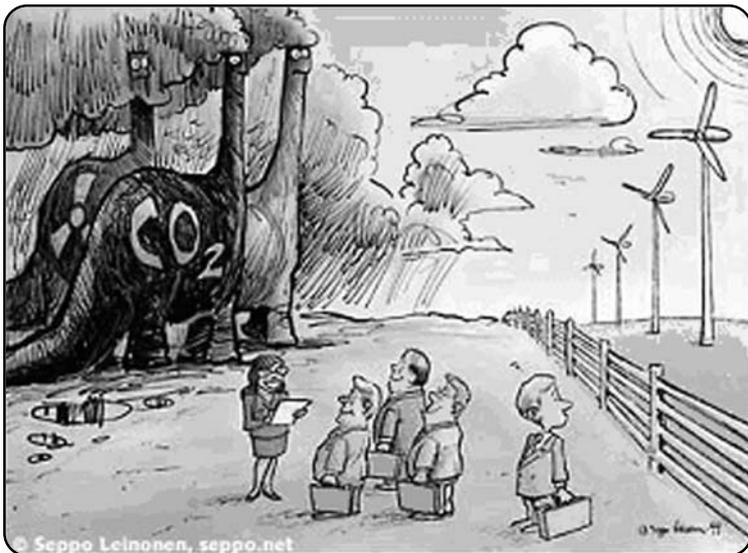
A thundering stampede of wild-eyed ones. They raise reasonable questions about the costs and risks of nuclear power, while others do likewise about the costs and

unreliability of renewables. What none can do is smash the syllogism. They can forget all about targets (and presumably about global warming), buying oil, coal and gas where they may. Or they must go nuclear. Even if every beauty spot were coated in windmills their contribution to the Kyoto target would be minuscule.

The argument is not between nuclear and wind. It is between an undeniably controversial investment and heads buried in the sand. The new Finnish EPR reactor on Olkiluoto island will alone meet 10% of that country's energy needs, reliably and emission-free. It is part of a programme of five agreed by the Finnish parliament. Its underground waste-disposal system is supported even by the Greens. America's new Westinghouse reactors boast a construction cycle of just three years. The nuclear company EDF Energy claims not to need subsidy for such stations. The claim is at least worth testing.

For years this debate has been dominated by the admirably intentioned but fantasist renewable-energy lobby, subsidised by ministers eager to postpone reality. It has deftly exploited anti-science alarmism at the expense of nuclear energy. ☹

*Simon Jenkins, Wednesday, November 23, 2005
The Guardian, email:simon.jenkins@guardian.co.uk*



Nature is not kind;
It treats all things impartially.
The Sage is not kind,
And treats all people impartially.

Nature is like a bellows,
Empty, yet never ceasing its supply.
The more it moves, the more it yields;
So the sage draws upon experience
And cannot be exhausted.

第五章

天地不仁，以萬物為芻狗；聖人不仁，以百姓為芻狗。
天地之間，其猶橐籥乎？虛而不屈，動而愈出。
多言數窮，不如守中。

Those who wish to change the world
According with their desire
Cannot succeed.

The world is shaped by the Way;
It cannot be shaped by the self.
Trying to change it, you damage it;
Trying to possess it, you lose it.

So some will lead, while others follow.
Some will be warm, others cold
Some will be strong, others weak.
Some will get where they are going
While others fall by the side of the road.

So the sage will be neither wasteful nor violent.

第二十九章

將欲取天下而為之，吾見其不得已。天下神器，不可為也。
為者敗之，執者失之。
故物或行或隨；或噓或吹；或強或贏；或載或隳。
是以聖人去甚，去奢，去泰。

Powerful men are well advised not to use violence,
For violence has a habit of returning;
Thorns and weeds grow wherever an army goes,
And lean years follow a great war.

A general is well advised
To achieve nothing more than his orders:
Not to take advantage of his victory.
Nor to glory, boast or pride himself;
To do what is dictated by necessity,
But not by choice.

For even the strongest force will weaken with time,
And then its violence will return, and kill it.

第三十章

以道佐人主者，不以兵強天下。其事好遠。師之所處，荆棘生焉。
大軍之后，必有凶年。
善有果而已，不敢以取強。果而勿矜，果而勿伐，果而勿驕。
果而不得已，果而勿強。
物壯則老，是謂不道，不道早已。

The Way that can be experienced is not true;
The world that can be constructed is not true.
The Way manifests all that happens and may happen;
The world represents all that exists and may exist.

To experience without intention is to sense the world;
To experience with intention is to anticipate the world.
These two experiences are indistinguishable;
Their construction differs but their effect is the same.

Beyond the gate of experience flows the Way,
Which is ever greater and more subtle than the world.

錦繡中華之一頁 第一章

道可道，非常道。名可名，非常名。
無名天地之始；有名萬物之母。
故常無，欲以觀其妙；常有，欲以觀其徼。
此兩者，同出而異名，同謂之玄。玄之又玄，眾妙之門。

Well established hierarchies are not easily uprooted;
Closely held beliefs are not easily released;
So ritual enthralls generation after generation.

Harmony does not care for harmony,
and so is naturally attained;
But ritual is intent upon harmony, and so can not attain it.

Harmony neither acts nor reasons;
Love acts, but without reason;
Justice acts to serve reason;
But ritual acts to enforce reason.

When the Way is lost, there remains harmony;
When harmony is lost, there remains love;
When love is lost, there remains justice;
But when justice is lost, there remains ritual.

Ritual is the end of compassion and honesty,
The beginning of confusion;
Belief is a colourful hope or fear,
The beginning of folly.

The sage goes by harmony, not by hope;
He dwells in the fruit, not the flower;
He accepts substance, and ignores abstraction.

第三十八章

上德不德，是以有德；下德不失德，是以無德。
上德無為而無以為；下德為之而有以為。
上仁為之而無以為；上義為之而有以為。
上禮為之而莫之應，則攘臂而扔之。
故失道而后德，失德而后仁，失仁而后義，失義而后禮。
夫禮者，忠信之薄，而亂之首。
前識者，道之華，而愚之始。
是以大丈夫處其厚，不居其薄；處其實，不居其華。故去彼取此。

<http://www.chinapage.com/gnl.html>

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