

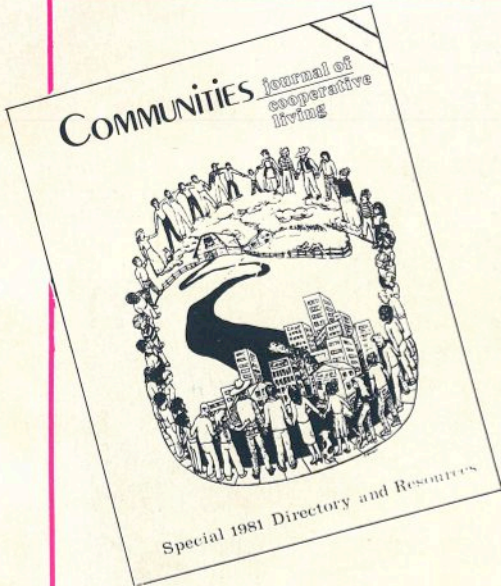
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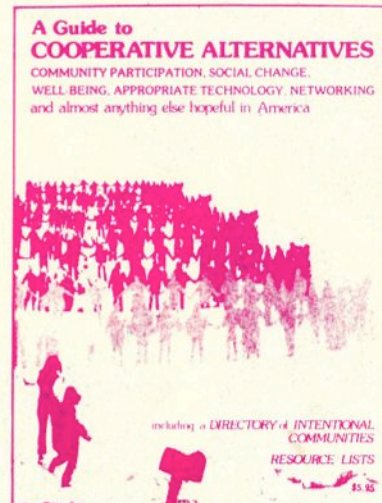
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Table of Contents

INTRODUCING THIS ISSUE: political paradigms for the 80's	2
Citizens Party by Lucia Venditti	4
Santa Monica: Government For People, Not For Profit by Diane Amann <i>where governing comes after winning</i>	7
SantaMonicoda, a conversation with some of the insurgent leadership	11
Gallo Wine Still Doesn't Taste Very Good, remarks by Cesar Chavez	13
Training for a New Society	14
Electoral Politics is a Crazy-Making Process, a conversation with Judy Greene <i>is it better to have won and lost, than never to have won or lost at all?</i>	15
Notes on the Future, the Past and the Left by Evan Stark <i>or, you know who your friends are because they're the ones who stab you in the front</i>	19
Center for Community Change	21
Front Range Futures <i>bottom-up, top-down planning to avoid an undistributed muddle</i>	23
Regional Pop: A Proutist, Regional Perspective by Paul Bergner	28
Love Is Not Quite All U Need, pictures and text by Paul Freundlich <i>signs of our times</i>	32
Co-ops In El Salvador by Bob Pickford	34
Feminist Political Strategies [as seen from Tallahassee] by Tana McLane	35
Threat to Choice Threatens Us All by Zoe Kopp and Laura Newton	37
Pornography and Silence: Culture's revenge against nature by Sherry Rauch	39
New World Alliance <i>introducing three essays</i>	41
From Paradigm to Politics by David Spangler	43
Unitary Politics by Robert Buxbaum	44
A New Value Base for Politics by Robert Olson	46
CO-OPS: The Faire's The Thing by D. A. Barber	47
FEATURED COMMUNITY: Dandelion <i>a strong, rural community in Ontario, Canada, remaining connected to the world</i>	49

Departments

REACH <i>communities reaching out to people</i>	57
RESOURCES <i>empowerment is just a few pages away</i>	59

December, 1981

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Introducing this issue...

POLITICAL PARADIGMS FOR THE 80'S



So what?

Here's what:

Day to day matters we can control (our relationships, our living situations...how we act and who we act with). Beyond that, the political and economic context controls whether we live or die, how many jobs and what social services exist, who gets treated with respect and who is insulted every day of their lives.

The process by which we seek to create or control a system within which we live is *politics*. We can head for the woods and have less to do with any system: we can go about our daily lives muttering that systems are inherently oppressive — but if the bomb drops or packs of wild animals ravage the countryside, we'll all suffer together.

Ideally this issue should be like assertiveness training — preparation for the unacceptable. We may not want to deal with a world which is highly competitive, patriarchal and violent, but it is dealing with us. If we have no response — theoretically, strategically, tactically — we will continue to be dealt with (except and as long as we are irrelevant to the

system). We need a wider range of choice than crisis management, particularly with someone else creating the crisis.

In the old days (pre-literate) it was easier. You chose within your tribal options. Kong, being large and well thought of, becomes king (*vote for Kong, he stands head and shoulders — and knees — over everyone else*) David, being wilier than Goliath, finds he is only a stone's throw from fame and fortune. The Priestess, representing the Earth Mother, becomes the social and cultural arbiter because she knows how and why things work.

Today, we are overwhelmed by our personal helplessness in the face of vast quantities of information coming at us. Not only the quantity is overwhelming, but its trustworthiness is dubious. As in spiritual matters, to think you know enough to provide a political path for others (much less yourself) courts presumption.

THIS ISSUE

One might expect an issue of *Communities* focusing on political alternatives, to entertain proposals from those organizing on a community scale. The intent, and the choice of *paradigms*, meant searching for ways of thinking about politics, rather than just programs or platforms: How can we productively use our energy and votes to create a better context for life?

We've tried to avoid preaching: identifying what is special and useful in each path is the purpose of the articles.

Lucia Venditti's short piece on the *Citizen's Party* describes some of the struggles of a new, national party seeking a mix of local and national support.

In *Government for People, Not for Profit*, or "The People's Republic of Santa Monica" (as they were styled by the Wall Street Journal) a new, insurgent mayor and city council now

have the challenge and responsibility of actually governing. If Santa Monica is perhaps the most exciting new model of local political change, five years ago it was probably San Francisco. Judy Greene was one of those hard working folks in the background of the District Elections and later campaigns. In *Electoral Politics is a Crazy-Making Process*, Judy assesses some of the contradictions she feels.

Cesar Chavez is touring America, talking about the effects of Reaganomics, and informing us of the latest grower subtrafuges and outrages: *Beware Andy Boy broccoli and Double O lettuce*. Cesar also has a few discouraging words about our old friends, Ernesto and Julio Gallo. I was under the misapprehension that they had cleaned up their act (they certainly sound sincere on TV). Turns out they've been fighting the UFW's hard won election victories in the courts for years. While not urging a boycott, Cesar did offer an *opinion* that *Gallo Wine Still Doesn't Taste Very Good*.

Training for a New Society offers a no-expense paid, two week intensive in non-violent activism at the Philadelphia Life Center.

Notes On The Future, The Past and The Left or *You Know Your Friends Because They're The Ones Who Stab You In The Front* is an acid, painful, personal and occasionally very funny look at the politics of the Left.

Painful, personal and not very funny at all are the two articles introduced by Tana McLane's *Feminist Political Strategies. Pornography and Silence and Threat to Choice Threatens Us All* are not easy reading. A necessary reminder, perhaps, that some issues to be pursued politically, may never fit within a party, platform or even an ideology. *Just issues, to be dealt with.*

Front Range Futures describes a

bottom-up, top-down planning process in Colorado, executed with great expectations and finesse.

Co-ops in El Salvador I put in to remind us of our brothers and sisters trying to create cooperative change within an utterly oppressive politics, and **Love Is Not Quite All U Need** demonstrates that no issue on politics should go to press without a good demo.

Proceeding from a regional perspective, Proutists present their decentralist strategy in **Regional Pop. The Center for Community Change** has an analysis of community institutions as a way of organizing.

The New World Alliance has insights as to the unity of the personal, political and spiritual. A sense of their approach to politics emerges in the three essays and introduction we've included.

Rounding out the issue, our featured community is **Dandelion** in Ontario, Canada, and **The Faire's The Thing** reports on a recent, successful venture in Los Angeles.

PERSPECTIVE

One article I didn't include, mainly because it was less a parable than a parable, was **The Kerista Planetary Peace Plan**. It says, more or less, that if the world would only get down to serious business and organize itself correctly, we'd shortly have peace on earth, good will toward persons. Not a bad plan, at that.

As a political person, I fall somewhere between the Keristas and the Prairie Fire activists. My keen analysis was first demonstrated at the

age of ten, when I talked my parents into voting for Norman Thomas because Truman didn't have a chance.

Fifteen years later, I met Norman Thomas. He was a wonderful person, well worth voting for, but he still hadn't won any elections.

In the last Presidential election, I probably should have taken my ten-year-old advice. Most of our house voted for Commoner, but I made it a sort of collective, split ticket by voting for Carter. I knew Commoner wasn't going to stop Reagan, and I wasn't sure we'd survive four years. I decided that if the magic mushroom in the sky appeared over Long Island Sound, I'd rather know in my last moments that I'd done what I could.

Politics is both a set of value-laden management theories and the exercise of power. In a nation this size, politics gets complicated quick because the most obvious and crucial action is on a national basis: hundreds of millions of people, that vast GNP, technology and international connections.

In the mid-70's, a generation of activists realized they were being blown out by national politics. Coincident with the media getting bored, folks went home. Some of them got elected.

Many of them chose as their metaphor, not a party but a reference group like the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, or an organizing network like the Campaign for Economic Democracy. That history is being played out now in Santa Monica.

When political ideas, power and the competence to connect them effectively come together, as in Santa Monica, it's exciting. It's even more exciting when the *out front folks* understand their grass roots and remain committed to a consensus out of which personalities emerge; to which they remain accountable; and to which they return as *community folks*.

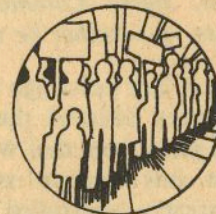
As city council member Jim Conn says, "After five years, we're just hitting our stride."

Ten years ago, I argued with my friends who talked revolution that we didn't know enough to run a small city, much less the world.

Politics is no more or less than taking responsibility for our lives and our future; moving from alternative and community structures, to dealing with the wider possibilities and problems of the society.

There is a process of progressive change underway. Most of it remains very small.

My hope is that it gets bigger and/or the political process gets smaller before someone finally bombs us into their bizarre, macho fantasy. My hope rests on the communities of cooperation which have nurtured us — that through them we have learned the skills and discipline to be effective; that we have learned to value life sufficiently to continue the struggle.



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Melissa Wenig and Chip Coffman at Twin Oaks; Paul Freundlich and Chris Collins in New Haven

IN MEMORIAM

Margaret Oaks

CITIZENS PARTY

Once a reporter asked the Citizens Party candidate for president, Barry Commoner, whether he was a real candidate, or whether he was running on the issues.

Two and a half years ago a group of people got together because they believed that this country needed a new political party: one that would stand firmly for principle and not just election year promises; that would be democratically controlled by its members, and whose platform would be written by its members and adhered to by its candidates and office-holders. The founding committee members were fed up with the increasingly meaningless choices offered by the Democrats and Republicans. They shared a belief that the existing parties were unable and unwilling to face the source of the nation's crises.

Committee efforts were devoted to building strong local organizations across the country. State caucuses were held in over 30 states, and the official birth of the Citizens' Party took place in Cleveland, April 1980.

This organization, the platform which was adopted in Cleveland, and the first candidates, Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris, initiated the momentum which attracted

by Lucia Venditti

and involved even more disaffected, dissatisfied electoral activists.

But many people were disappointed, even outraged, at the route the party took in the 1980 elections. Some felt that strong personalities such as Commoner steered the party into a national campaign over the protests of those who wished to see the party first build a solid, broad base locally. Lacking that base, after election day chapters grew or disbanded, new ones were formed without any clear pattern. There was a breakdown in intra-party communication, and the locals became more isolated.

But the ideology remained. A post-election, national committee meeting brought us together and new leadership was instituted. Concerns which had been previously ignored were dealt with; accountability of leadership to the



Reagan is hurting you. But there's a way to fight back.



The cost of food, fuel, rent and medical care keeps climbing out of control. There's no relief in sight. Yet Reagan's economic policies and spending cuts make it even worse for working people, especially minorities and the poor. The small help that government *could* provide is withering away.

At the same time, his generals are steering us toward another Vietnam.

But not everyone is suffering.

The giant domestic and multinational corporations are doing better than ever. Profits are going up, controls are coming down.

That's what Reagan promised his millionaire, corporate supporters. That's what he's delivering for them.

Does that mean we must return to the Jimmy Carters?

Absolutely not! He was leading us down the same path — just a bit slower. He and his party have the same corporate backers. If you doubt it, just look at the campaign funding reports.

Democratic senators and congressmen are showing their true colors by voting with Reagan for budget cuts and against social programs. Some are trying to out-Reagan Reagan.

Even the most liberal of the Democrats refuse to recognize the issue of ending corporate control of the economy and introducing democracy into the economic system.

If you still care about the American future, if you're fed up with me-too-ism and lesser-evilism, the need for a new party should be clear.

The Citizens Party was the only broad-based party to raise these issues in 1980 — and to present workable, common-sense solutions. The Citizens Party began a movement to end corporate control of the economy and put political power into the hands of the people.

It's worth working for — worth fighting for.

Common-sense solutions through economic democracy.

The Citizens Party has common-sense solutions. They are based on the idea of national and local planning for economic democracy. It's a party of new ideas and positive programs. Like these:



All-out action for full employment. The economy *can* be rebuilt and jobs increased by investing in national priorities such as transportation, alternative energy, neighborhood economic development and moderate-priced housing and by encouraging more worker participation in the ownership and control of big business.



Immediate price controls to break the inflationary spiral and stabilize prices on the necessities of life. We need to allocate credit for housing at reasonable interest rates; eliminate corporate monopoly and speculation in the food industry; and establish a national health service.



Establish a massive, priority recovery plan for the cities. We can put the unemployed and the underemployed to work rebuilding the neighborhoods, creating schools that properly educate our children and establishing small business

and community enterprises as a foundation for ongoing urban economic health.



A national investment plan to develop and put into place all aspects of renewable, solar energy — small hydroelectric plants, methane and alcohol fuels, solar collectors and photo-voltaic cells. This would promote conservation, create more jobs and reduce dependence on foreign oil and dangerous, expensive nuclear power.



Effective affirmative action. Civil rights laws must have teeth, but they will mean little for minorities or women if there is no hope of finding a job. Economic policies can be designed to assure enough jobs and opportunities for all.

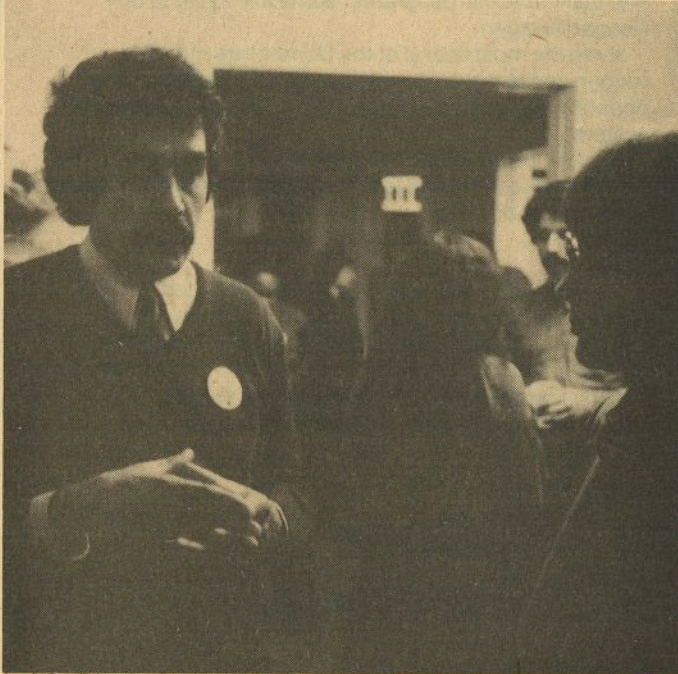


Sharp cuts in military spending. Without jeopardizing our safety, we can free billions of dollars to raise American living standards and reduce international tensions as well.

party, and greater representation of regions, women and minorities.

The present structure serves to connect those of us at the grassroots, while providing a national focus on a wide spectrum of issues, and an analysis of the problems we face globally.

What challenges do we face? Achieving public recognition through running national candidates depends on an unsympathetic media. Running successful local candidates gives their communities a chance to witness and participate in change, but doesn't make a national party. The national and local movements should support each other. We need both strategies to make a serious impact.



Citizen Party candidate for Alderman, Fred Perez, at local fundraiser. Barry Commoner had stopped by earlier.

How do we effectively move to a government in the U.S. which will represent the people? The Citizens Party says that working within the Democratic Party is not the answer.

The Citizens Party may have suffered from internal struggles, but it does offer a process more desirable than that of the two major parties. The Democrats and Republicans are two wings of the same party. They have abandoned discussion of the major issues of the day, and only offer voters the *evil of two lessers* every four years. It doesn't matter much in the course of history whether a Carter or a Reagan is voted into office, and 100 million non-voters are asserting that. For us, an alternative to the two party system is more important than who is, or will be, President.

Party members feel as Machinist's Union leader William Winpisinger stated as he walked out of the 1980 Democratic Convention: "The American people have a right to have their political system yield something better than this." Voting for a legitimate, independent third party candidate (preferably the Citizens Party's) is a

chance to endorse a real choice. It is certainly stronger than not voting at all — a negative choice that was twisted into media claims of a Reagan landslide and mandate.

Though the Citizens Party is mainly concerned with building a strong political party by running candidates whenever possible, it does not exclude non-electoral work; i.e., coalition building, direct action, lobbying, educating. But demonstrations, acts of civil disobedience or grassroots organizing are not total answers. Without electoral victories, within a party which *is* a citizens party, women's rights, minority rights, peace, jobs and the environment can be wiped out by a few phone calls, manipulated congressional votes and strokes of the pen. Our small gains are not only negated, but we find we actually have lost ground.

The underlying reasons why the party chose to run Commoner in '80 and was able to obtain ballot access in 31 states in such a short period of time, is the realization that citizens must act swiftly to change the course of American politics and its resulting policies. Otherwise we will have to accept the increasing possibility of self-destruction, whether in a nuclear holocaust or as long-term, environmental disaster.

Theoretically we are seeking to offer the American public, through our process (a grassroots, decentralized, national party) and program (giving people control over the economy and their lives), the ultimate experience of democracy. In reality, we're a long way from home.

Discussion of issues is vital to growth, but the questions are not always easy to resolve: If there is a progressive Democrat or Republican running, should we offer support, opposition, or remain neutral? Should we form coalitions or cross-nominate where dual nominations are permitted? Most of the questions which develop are left to the local chapters to answer, since they can best assess their situation. Cross endorsement, however, is such a crucial issue that the national executive committee has issues its position, invited other arguments, and has asked the national committee to establish a policy.

The Citizens Party has lost some momentum since the election. It has attracted many types of people and perspectives. Many are 'political tourists' and naive or unaware of their egos and biases. They seek and create a forum for their own desires without being truly committed. This has proven to be an obstacle for the party's growth and results in much confusion.

The party's ideology and potential to be an important vehicle for change is its greatest attraction: the realities of building a party are its greatest frustration. Only with the leadership of people who are deeply committed to the party's goals and capable of working efficiently and humanely can the ideal and the practice of a true national electoral alternative, open to grassroots control be achieved. Without these people, and without increasing support from a broader and more active constituency the party will defeat itself. □

Lucia Venditti is on the staff of the Citizens Party in Connecticut.

SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA



City Council member Zane; Mayor Goldway; Council member Conn

Government for People, Not for Profit

by Diane Amann

April 15, 1981 heralded a political transformation in Santa Monica, a beachfront city of 90,000 just west of Los Angeles. Gone were the middle-aged, male, Republican bankers, lawyers and merchants who had run City Hall in their interests alone. Voters had replaced them with men and women known not for their business prowess, but for their activism in Santa Monicans for Renters' Rights and other progressive community groups.

Elected were: Jim Conn, the hip, blue-jeaned United Methodist minister of the avant-garde Church in Ocean Park; Ken Edwards, a juvenile probation officer and longtime Democratic Party activist; Dolores Press, a former housewife who had entered the working world — and feminist and labor politics — when her husband died a few years before; and Dennis Zane, a 60's antiwar organizer called the 'architect' of rent control for managing the campaigns in which Santa Monica voters approved the most comprehensive rent control law in the United States. They joined incumbent Ruth Yannatta Goldway, known as 'Rapier Ruth' for her biting criticism of opponents, to form the first progressive council majority in Santa Monica's history.

It was clearly a people's victory, the first time an unabashedly left-of-center coalition, promoting slogans like 'Housing For People, Not Profit,' had won control of City Hall. The significance of this transfer of power was lost on neither friend nor foe. Landlords, who claim rent control violates property rights, and who had long insisted that a SMRR victory would bring 'runaway socialism' to Santa Monica, plastered stop signs with bright red bumper stickers, bearing the Communist hammer and sickle and the words, 'Welcome to the People's Republic of Santa Monica.' For progressives, who had taken part in SMRR's three-year struggle to implement and maintain rent control, the victory was anything but sinister. An editorial cartoon in the Perspective, the volunteer-run renters' newspaper, depicted Mayor Goldway lowering the old banner at City Hall, 'Government by and for the Realtors and Bankers,' and hoisting a new flag: 'Government of the People, by the People and for the People!' Even

alternative publications in other parts of the country took note of the election, rejoicing at what seemed a lone progressive political island amid a sea of conservatism.

Half a year has passed since then; the thrill of victory has given way to the harsh reality of governing, of having to work with enemies as well as longtime political friends. It seems a good time to review the impact of this 'people's victory.' Has the election of a progressive majority changed the city? Has it drawn more individuals into city government? What lessons can others learn from these first six months in Santa Monica?

The council's accomplishments since April are impressive. Several small innovations — Goldway calls them 'the joyous things' — have already begun to improve the face of the downtown area. The 1930s wooden carousel, centerpiece of the Santa Monica Pier, a funky amusement center, has been restored and reopened. A farmer's market, providing cheap, high-quality fruits and vegetables, draws crowds of shoppers to the Santa Monica Mall every Wednesday. Several outdoor cafes have opened on the mall itself, giving the area a European ambience.

The council has also laid the foundation for many longterm changes in the city. The day after its inauguration, the council placed a six-month moratorium on construction; by the time the freeze was lifted, the entire city had been downzoned. It passed a toxic waste disclosure ordinance to help protect the city's drinking water and beaches. It appointed a city manager with strong political credentials, and created several staff positions, some designed to improve the city's dialogue with residents, others to implement innovative programs in recycling, municipal enterprise and other areas. It established half a dozen task forces, charged with investigating and making recommendations regarding as many different issue areas.

"Clearly, there's a change from past councils," Edwards said. "We have direction, and are dealing with issues in a very decisive manner. We're dealing with aspects of community life — rent control, toxic wastes, commercial development — that prior councils preferred to ignore. But these are problems that won't go away."



Work done by SMRR before the election made it easier for the new council to address those issues. Even before the campaign began, SMRR's four member organizations — Santa Monica Fair Housing Alliance, the Santa Monica chapter of the Campaign for Economic Democracy, Santa Monica Democratic Club and the Ocean Park Electoral Network — hammered out a comprehensive, detailed platform. Called the Principles of Unity, this 10-page document outlined the coalition's stands on many of these issues that would arise in the campaign: whether to close the city airport; how to combat crime; how to ease the housing crisis; and how to curb runaway commercial development. It also listed coalition goals, such as fostering neighborhood organizations and bringing the Social Security office back to Santa Monica. During the campaign, the Principles of Unity enabled SMRR candidates to run a unified campaign. Once they were sworn in, it provided a ready-made plan for confronting the issues, one the council has carefully followed.

The Principles of Unity is but one of the links between the council and SMRR, the coalition formed in 1978 to combat a sudden rash of rent-gouging, evictions and condo conversions. Hopelessly outspent, SMRR volunteers waged a series of classic grassroots campaigns, walking door-to-door, phoning voters, picketing slumlords, and holding bake sales and spaghetti dinners to win support. Even between elections, it maintained a free counseling service for tenants. In this way, SMRR was able to pass the Rent Control Charter Amendment, defeat two electoral attacks on the law, elect five rent control commissioners and three city council members. It also built a politically conscious electoral base among the city's 80 percent renter majority, setting the stage for the sweeping victory in April.

But the council members' links to SMRR stem not from gratitude to this effective electoral machine. Rather, they are ties of personal loyalty and respect, developed over years of working with a potpourri of more than 1,000 activists: feisty senior citizens, some of them 30's labor organizers, others politicized because of their post-retirement dependence on government programs; children of the baby boom struggling to support families of their own; veterans of the civil rights and antiwar campaigns of the '60s; others, too young for the '60s, for whom SMRR is the first taste of political activism. They are teachers, lawyers, unemployed retired, students, nurses, homemakers, clerks. Almost all of them are renters, few are well-to-do. Some are health-conscious patrons of local co-ops and gyms; others exist on a steady diet of little sleep and lots of coffee and beer.

The diversity makes for nearly as many political agendas as there are activists. But from years of working together on equal footing to solve common problems, the coalition has learned to recognize, comprehend and fight to fulfill the needs of its specific constituencies, presenting a united front against its opposition. This commitment to broad participation in decision-making, coupled with a sense of respect for and responsibility to the group, are perhaps the greatest traits that the new councilmembers brought to their jobs.

"We are committed to having people participate, to

Santa Monica's progressive council members are more than politicians, more than community activists. They are dreamers, with a deep love for their city and a clear vision for its future:

Dennis Zane: 'Pressures to develop the city into a Manhattan by the sea must be met head on. The city should retain its small-town, neighborhood character. It should develop according to the wishes of the people who must live with its changes, not according to the wishes of business interests who see a pot of gold at the end of Wilshire Boulevard.'

Dolores Press: "Developments should have open space and greenery and attractive landscaping. Solar energy must be maximized . . . I would like to see more bookstores. There should be a grocery store within walking distance in every neighborhood. There should be art galleries — not the chi-chi types with high prices, but people's art. We're working on a large facility for social services, especially for the elderly . . . It is essential that personnel policies be adopted to assure the hiring of women and minorities."

Jim Conn: "In four years, we will have: implemented a plan to save the pier; closed the airport and created a plan for its use; developed a plan for affordable housing; protected the people from the hazards of toxic wastes. We will be a model for alternative energy use."

Ruth Yannatta Goldway: "We can have some really good working models, in which the city shows how aggressive participation in the development decision-making process can control development . . . We can institutionalize neighborhood participation in community events. We can encourage arts, culture, drama to settle in Santa Monica. These are the sorts of changes that people will feel in their lives."

Utopia? Hardly. The council has already made great strides in controlling commercial development. Goals such as changing City Hall's affirmative action policies are clearly within its reach. Others, most notably, the desire to close the airport before the Federal Aviation Administration's lease with the city expires in 2015, seem less attainable.

To be sure, the reality of governing has replaced some of the feeling of invincibility the council had after its election. Even more than with its political opponents, Conn said, "The conflict is between reality and what you want to do. It's easy to dream, and difficult to turn your dreams into reality."

If its first months in office, however — marked by a building moratorium; dramatic cuts in allowable height and bulk of commercial buildings; passage of a toxic waste disclosure law and increased public participation in government — are any indication, the council members' vision may well overcome reality's obstacles.

having government accessible," Conn said. "Enabling people to have some sense of power gives them a dignity and integrity as human beings that is really critical. They can have their sense of themselves affirmed by being part of the decisions that affect their lives."

To expand public participation, the council went beyond working with traditional interest groups like labor unions, the Chamber of Commerce and community groups. It created a new institution for participation by adding a fresh twist to an old political panacea, the 'blue-ribbon' commission. More often than not, politicians use these ad hoc bodies to deflect controversy to a group of 'experts,' who drag their feet till the controversy dies, and whose recommendations are ignored or forgotten by the politicians.

In Santa Monica, however, issue-oriented task forces have become the preferred means to intensify public attention regarding an issue, to give activists a greater role in the city's decision-making process, and to encourage all citizens to voice their views on the issues. Since the election, the council has established six task forces, dealing with issues as varied as crime prevention and the arts, plus a Commission on the Status of Women. It avoided the 'blue-ribbon' designation, preferring to give citizens, rather than so-called experts, the opportunity to debate issues regarding their lives. And it made a special effort to appoint members from renter areas, previously neglected in city politics.

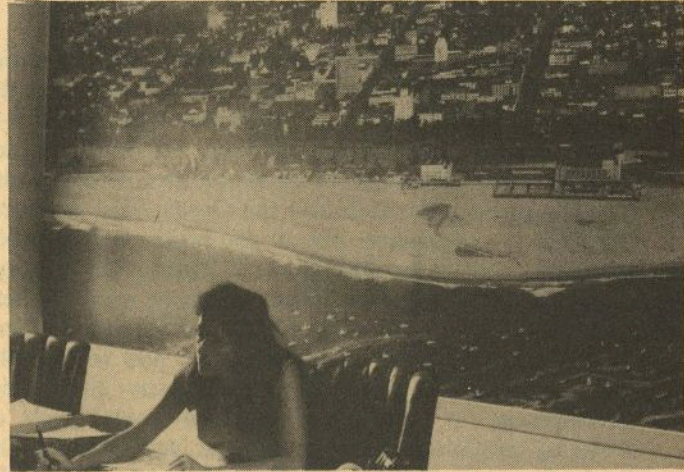
"At the time we made appointments for the planning task forces," Conn noted, "the minority community was not ready to put forth candidates. We held seats open for them so that people from the minority community could be appointed. I don't know any time that's been done in the history of the city."

The task forces themselves have broken from the traditional mold of the blue-ribbon commission. These are working task forces, made up of community activists from both sides of the political spectrum, determined to find a solution to the problem before them.

A prime example is the Citizens Task Force on Commercial and Industrial Development, which met between two and five nights a week throughout the summer to forge its recommendations for reduced height and bulk limits for office buildings. Like other task forces, it invited additional commentary, both on specific projects and overall development philosophy by holding public hearings. Once completed, its rezoning recommendations were accepted almost unchanged by the city council.

C.J. Jones, task force chairperson, praised this new method of dealing with city issues. "It seems to be a good example of citizen participation in the governmental process," Jones said. "Between 35 and 40 new people were brought into the governmental process. There was really citizen participation, from developers, businesspeople, government representatives and people off the street. It educates the people who participate, and gives them valuable information about how the city is run."

The many hours of meetings also fostered mutual respect among the longtime political opponents on the task force. Jones, appointed both for his knowledge of the construction industry and his community involvement,



Mayor Ruth Yannatta Goldway in her office

said, "We came to the meetings basically antagonistic and ended up with substantial agreement. The developers were in general local people, and we discovered they have the same concept of the city as we do, as far as growth is concerned."

Because it increases their understanding and interest in city government, the task force process encourages citizens to keep closer tabs on their elected officials. For the most part, the council has granted the task forces autonomy to gather information and make recommendations at their own speed. But when the council pre-empted the process this summer to approve a massive commercial development project, the task force members, community people and developers alike, were incensed. Council members were called on the carpet, compelled to explain the move in accountability sessions within SMRR member groups. As a result, councilmembers invited task force representatives to participate in negotiating the development agreement.

The council has extended its participatory approach to the business community — a surprise, given businesspeople's long animosity toward SMRR, manifested in redbaiting campaigns, name-calling and political sabotage.

"Yes, we are serving people who aren't our constituents," Conn said. "But in order to serve our constituents, we have to serve others. If we want money for the arts or for low-cost housing, that's going to come out of a healthy tax base, and that means good development projects in the city. So we end up working a lot with the business community."

"They're mystified. They say, 'We've never had city council members who would sit down and talk to us like this.' For many of them, it's a fresh breeze, because while the business community used to run the city, it was only a couple of them, in closed back rooms, who made all the decisions."

This inclusive approach has neutralized some enemies, and turned others into friends. The toxic waste disclosure law, killed by Chamber of Commerce influence in the previous council, passed this year with little opposition. Merchants on the Santa Monica Mall and Pier, moreover, have publicly voiced their gratitude for the council's attempts to revitalize their long-neglected areas.

Clearly, Santa Monica's experiment in people's government has proved successful. The council has made great strides in six months, altering the face of the community in small ways, and at the same time, effecting a momentous, longterm change in the tide of commercial development in the city. Public participation in city government has increased. Nearly 100 citizens have been appointed to task forces and commissions since April; for most, their first official role in city government. At the Tuesday night meetings, council chambers are at least two-thirds full, sometimes overflowing, and many more residents listen to the proceedings on the local public radio station.

The most profound changes may be still to come. The new city manager will start working in December; he is expected not only to move quickly to fill vacant positions, but also to provide strong direction to current city staff. Much of the work of the task forces, in areas such as residential development, neighborhood planning and crime prevention, has yet to be presented to the council.

Perhaps much of this will be lost on progressives active in city governments elsewhere. For Santa Monica is unique in many ways. Though almost surrounded by Los Angeles, it has maintained its identity as a human-scale, comprehensible city, one whose workings are within the grasp of the average citizen. Though it is a city of renters, its location, desirable both for its proximity to the beach and nowadays, for its strict rent control law, makes its population fairly stable. Many identify themselves not only

as Santa Monicans, but as residents of Ocean Park, Sunset Park or one of several other distinct neighborhoods in the city.

Nevertheless, an examination of the first six months of progressive government in Santa Monica can begin to sketch a paradigm for responsive, people-oriented government. Indeed, some innovations are already being exported: just weeks after the council won a child care center, a park and other significant concessions from a developer, this 'development credit' concept was placed on the agenda of the Los Angeles City Council.

The importance of a strong grassroots coalition like SMRR, diverse in its interests but unified in purpose, cannot be overestimated. Without such an organization, even the most cohesive community cannot develop political awareness and win control of City Hall. Once elected, council members will find the coalition a source of inspiration and direction — many of the issues with which the new council has dealt were generated by SMRR. The coalition supports council members when they are under attack by the opposition, and prods them to act forcefully amid controversy. Perhaps most important, it counterbalances the profit-conscious pressure groups that nag every elected official: developers, bankers, industrialists. By maintaining close ties with their elected officials, and by making them accountable for their decisions, SMRR and similar organizations can ensure that the people, not profit, remains the foremost concern in their City Hall. □

Santa Monicoda:

A conversation with SMRR campaign director and (now) city planning commissioner, Derek Shearer, with comments by city council members, Dennis Zane and Jim Conn.

Paul Freundlich: Is there any alternative to creating a machine? Not in the bad sense, but just in the sense of . . .

Derek Shearer: Setting up an organization? There is no alternative. Because your goal is to empower people. In order to do that against people with money — you know, "one person, one vote" instead of "one dollar, one vote" — you've got to organize.

Once you win, if you want to maintain your support against all the attacks, the you've got to continue to do organizing. You have more resources, of course. You can do ads, you can give grants, you can use the power to decentralize. I don't see any alternative to building an organization, but since that's also our goal (political education and community empowerment) there shouldn't be any contradiction. In a way you want to blur the difference between building a machine and giving people democratic rights and powers. It should be a democratic organization where the outcomes are determined by the people who participate (and we are encouraging access from people who have usually been excluded from the process).

Paul: One of the problems when insurgent groups take political power is dealing with entrenched bureaucracies. Has that been a problem?

Dennis Zane: I think we've been relatively free of that.

There's been a new generation of public employees, but the employee-management relations have been run by idiots. People have been receptive because we bring with us a new spirit of relations between government and employees.

And having all five votes on the city council means we have the threat of removing anyone in a key position who tries to block us. With those votes, we don't even have to exercise the threat. What we're seeing is that the most difficult bureaucrats are either low-profiling or leaving, and we're able to replace them with more cooperative people. And the lower echelon staff people are ready to work with us.

Paul: Do you see a dichotomy between electoral and community politics?

Derek: That's a false dichotomy that exists in a lot of places. In many cities, the people who work on electoral politics are looked down on by the people who do community organizing. The people who do electoral politics say, "The people who do community organizing aren't serious about power."

Somehow here the two got mixed right into a political coalition that does both. Now, that's very powerful.

Jim Conn: This may be heretical, but I think we had an extraordinary mix of individuals who came together at the appropriate times. It coalesced because of those people.

Those key people were doing both electoral and community politics.

So when it came time for a grand alliance, there were constituencies which worked in common. There wasn't the rivalry focusing on individuals who had started organizations and it was "Their organization." The history was lots of organizations, but the key people crossed lines. We had no turf that was as important as the general purpose we already shared.

Derek: Everybody has their strengths. Jim has the church and its activities; other people had the Democratic party; everybody has things they spend more time on.

Everybody recognized that to beat the forces we were up against — basically the state's real estate and banking industries, we had to form an alliance, including the local union people. Sometimes we were quite conscious about what we were doing. When we went out looking for labor support on our issues, that meant we had to talk to people who might have hated us in the '60s. When we put together a slate for the rent board after we passed rent control, we deliberately put two people on that slate who were union. We've also been very conscious of women. We've gone out of our way to put women on our slates in positions of power. Some of that is exactly the result of following a correct strategy.

Jim's right. We have been lucky that we have a good mix of people. But I also think those people exist in any city. If such a group elsewhere were to follow our strategy, they could do pretty well. It's a good strategy, it just hasn't been done that often — mixing community and electoral politics.

Jim: Isn't there a critical mass of leadership?

Derek: It's not just the numbers. What's necessary are people who can think of themselves as radical, or Left, be comfortable with that, not rhetorical or hysterical, and at the same time deal with people who aren't. And do all that within both an electoral and community organizing arena.

It's critical that people feel competent about their ideas and good about themselves. Not that you're doing it because you've got an unhappy marriage or because you want to be a star. And I don't think we have many people here who are acting out of their psychological problems through politics.

Paul: But it hasn't necessarily been true other places. Politics and organizing has been traditionally a terribly wearing process, and people get burned out all the time. All those meetings are extremely stressful.

Derek: Well, if you broaden out the process that keeps more people involved and spreads out the stress. That's part of our strategy. One of the things I think Dennis Kucinich did wrong in Cleveland is that after they won and got into these big fights with banks, etc. — they didn't go out and deliberately build up neighborhood organizations and neighborhood ties. They isolated themselves in city hall, and they were going to be the heroes who took on the world. That was bad politics. And they seemed to have, for whatever reasons, personalities that liked the image of themselves as combative, and "we can do it ourselves."

So he had this brief, meteoric career and now the bad

guys are back in power, and the neighborhoods aren't even more more empowered than they were before.

Paul: And the neighborhoods didn't even necessarily get an understanding of what empowerment might mean. You could expect that a Kucinich might get beaten (that could even happen here) but if you're correct about the kind of organizing you're doing, people will know how to build from there.

Derek: Sure. One of the things we're proudest of is that in the last election, the other side basically agreed that we were right on all the issues (not because they agreed with our ideas, but because we'd mobilized the electorate). By the end of the election they were for reasonable rent control, against high rises, for stopping environmental pollution. We'd already won the ideological battle. So the argument was simply that we were too crazy and shouldn't run things.

I don't want to downplay the importance of having strong candidates, but there's a lot to be said for having a strong strategy; a strategy of building a neighborhood base. We can push the neighborhood organizations into running enterprises so that the city becomes a catalyst and a facilitator, part of a long-term, decentralization of authority.

There are organizations that people can join which have regular meetings. There are citizen task forces. Actually, there are more meetings than the key leadership like Denny or Ruth or Jim could possibly go to. So there has to be a whole level of activist-organizer people or it doesn't work at all. With success, there's *more* room for participation on every issue.

When there's been any pressure on any issue from neighborhood groups, the council has said, "Great. What do you want?" In fact, the problem is getting people to make demands, to have a new view of themselves. Take rent control. The law's been passed, but a lot of people are still getting used to that, especially poor people, single women, Hispanics . . . in fact that they have rights. We have a tenant organizing project going that helps individuals who are afraid to stand up in a meeting of a progressive rent control board and say, "My landlord lied."

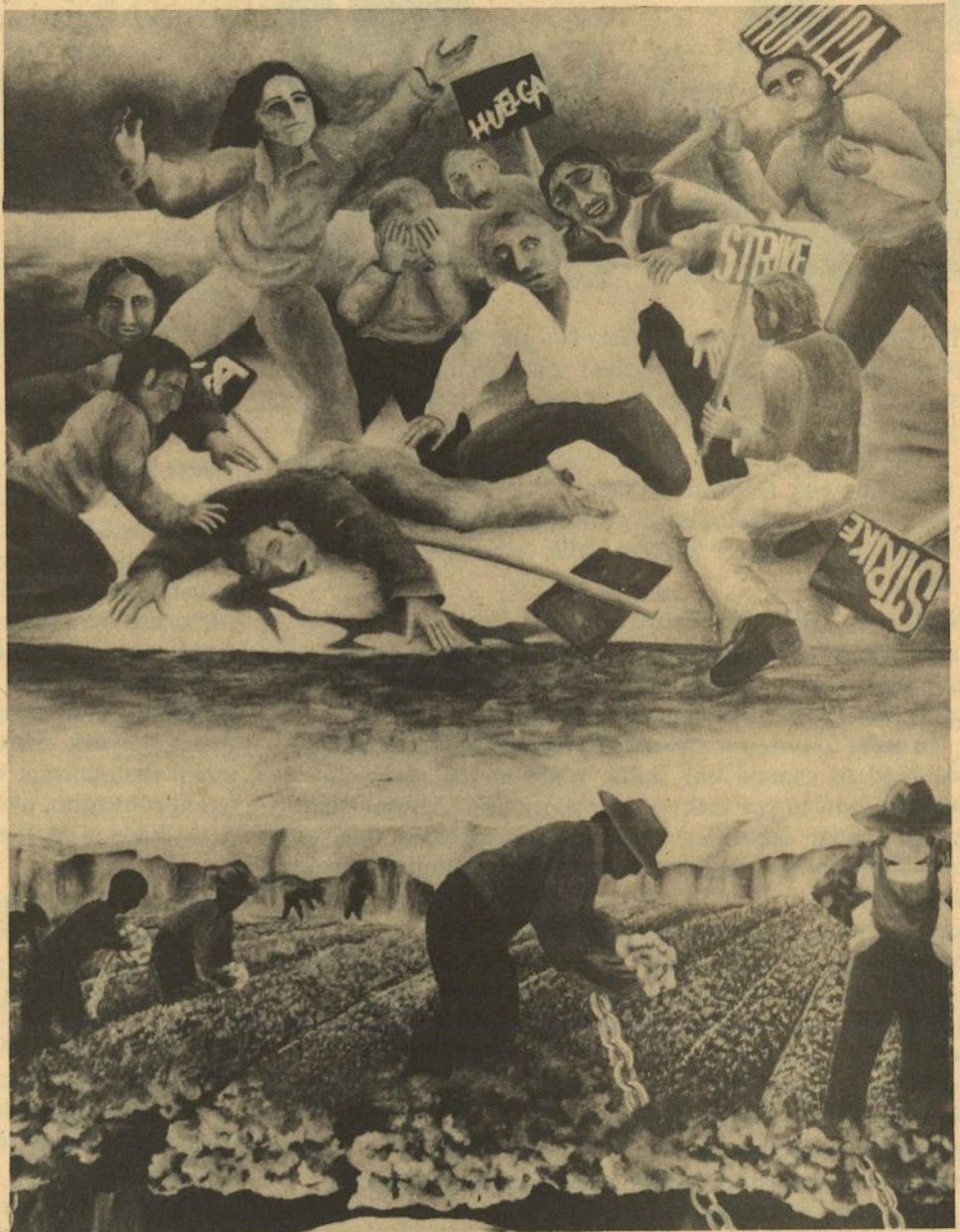
Paul: A thought I've had as we've been talking is that many of these strategies have been tried before, often unsuccessfully. Maybe that was five years ago, and hopefully people have grown some. It sounds like it takes healthy people capable of long-term commitments. Ten years ago or five years ago, people may have wanted community based political change but they may have lacked the experience, the resources and right people. Considering Santa Monica's experience, it's probably at least worth looking around and seeing if the times aren't more propitious.

Jim: It takes time. We've been building toward this for five years. In some ways we're just hitting our stride. □

Combine non-violence with action. Non-violence has no meaning without being tied to purposeful action. Trying to philosophize without action gets dull pretty quickly. Anything that needs to be said about non-violence was already said better than I can ever say it — Christ laid it out beautifully, and Ghandi came along and put it into action.

The opportunities for social change are greater than they were twenty years ago.

**GALLO
WINE
STILL
DOESN'T
TASTE
VERY
GOOD**



From a speech by Cesar Chavez
at Yale University, Nov. 1981

The American people have a trait of being concerned for others. That's why we're probably the most gullible people in the world, because we have that concern.

In the last 90 to 100 days, almost a million people have lost their jobs. Thousands of small businesses have closed down. The automobile industry, the steel industry, the rubber industry — laying off people left and right. We're beginning to see the pressures because of the cuts in social services. They've knocked out the training programs, the job opportunity programs. You see people standing around on street corners. You can feel the tension rising.

I've traveled this country up and down for the last thirty years. We've been able to turn things around before, and with your help, we're sure we can do it again.

Keep a sense of humor. Be patient. What we don't win today, we can win tomorrow. □

Training for a New Society



The Movement for a New Society is a nation-wide network of activist groups for non-violent social change. We have over 35 groups working on various projects in social action, activist training and alternative culture.

The Movement for a New Society in Philadelphia offers five two-week *General Training Programs (GTPs)* each year which provide excellent opportunities for activists and organizers to learn or improve skills relevant to nonviolent social change.

WHY DO THE PROGRAM?

You may be a social change activist in search of new or improved skills, or a person deciding to make a serious commitment to social change work.

In order to turn our visions of a new society into reality, we need to expand our skills, while at the same time, learning how to use them more consciously. A nonviolent social change movement needs people able to analyze existing problems, envision a better society and to create strategies.

WHAT THE PROGRAMS INCLUDE

The programs are varied to suit the needs of the participants and the resources available; workshops will be taken from the following areas:

- Personal growth skills
- Group process skills
- Democratic decision-making
- Conflict resolution skills
- Work on oppression issues: sexism, racism, classism, ageism, heterosexism . . .
- Analysis, vision and strategy, including experience with macro-analysis
- Nonviolence theory
- Building effective non-violent direct action campaigns
- Organizing demonstrations
- Community organizing
- Exchange of information, skills and strategies with other participants and MNS members
- Study of MNS political perspectives

During the program you will have the opportunity to practice the skills you are learning, and encouraged to think about how you can use them in your life and work at home.

Participants will live together during the program and make the decisions about running the community. You will share tasks together and gradually have substantial input into the program and its structure. You will be expected to bring a towel and sleeping bag; you should also be prepared to share sleeping space and cooking and cleaning responsibilities, as well as doing childcare, if children are involved in the program.

COST

In order to make the training programs more widely available, we have developed a system of cost sharing, which is worked out during the program. The average cost per person is between \$150-\$200. Some pay more, some pay less, according to income and financial responsibilities.

WHO SHOULD COME

We can accept 15-20 people for each training program. Priority will be given to those associated with MNS groups, and to those working with other social change groups sharing similar philosophies to MNS. People seriously exploring the possibility of making social change work a major commitment in their lives should also apply.

For more specific information about participating in a program, send in the tear-off form. We will send more details and ask interested people to answer some questions about their current work and interest in the program. To avoid confusion, please don't assume you're coming until acceptance is confirmed.

GTC/MNS, 4722 Baltmor Ave., Philadelphia, Pa 19143
Schedule of Two Week General Training Programs:
1982: January 16-21; March 27-April 11; June 5-20;
August 14-29; November 6-21.

ORIENTATION WEEKENDS

An Orientation Weekend is a chance to find out what MNS is all about. For most of more than 2,000 participants before you, it has been an exciting three day experience in the possibilities of combing our political and personal lives. Both people whose emphasis has been political struggle in the left movement and others with a background in alternative life styles are nurtured by each other.

Orientations are held on the first full weekend of each month, but are postponed one week when this conflicts with a major holiday. A limited number of spaces are available, and the deadline for application is one week ahead. All meals are vegetarian. Cost is on a sliding scale, from \$20 (less than \$3,000) to \$45 plus (\$15,000 or more).

For more information or to register, write:
Orientation Weekend Coordinating Collective,
4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143.
Telephone [215] 724-1464

ELECTORAL POLITICS IS



A CRAZY~MAKING PROCESS

A conversation with Judy Greene

Summer, 1977, and a solid victory for district elections in San Francisco. Insurgents throw a party taunting Diane Feinstein and other members of the conservative board of supervisors representing 'Downtown' interests.

One of those insurgents was Judy Greene. After having trudged the hills for district elections, she worked for Robert Covington's unsuccessful bid for a seat in the newly created district 9 — observing two progressives split the vote and conservative Lee Dolson elected. Two years later, she was finance chair and treasurer for Nancy Walker's successful bid to unseat Dolson.

All of that seems long ago and far away. Although Nancy Walker is still a San Francisco supervisor, district elections were repealed in 1980, and the insurgent analysis and coalition seem thoroughly fractured.

Long involved with developing job and service alternatives to incarceration, particularly for women, Judy now resides in New York City and is director of Manhattan Community Services Sentencing Project at the Vera Institute of Justice.

The question I raised with Judy was whether any of it made any sense: Is electoral involvement worth it?

Judy Greene: My notion of utopian politics at the local level has always been that no one should be allowed to run for public office. At periodic intervals the electorate would go to the ballot box and vote for who they thought should be the district leaders. Obviously that requires a political unit small enough so everyone knows each other, who's around, who's doing what. They'd write in the name of someone they thought could best represent them. Nobody would ever be allowed to step forward as a candidate.

Paul Freundlich: Would it be block by block?

Judy: It wouldn't have to be that small: An ecological neighborhood.

Paul: And then you take all those elected people, pay them like on jury duty, lock them up in a room for a weekend and let them choose the district leaders . . . ?

Judy: Who then choose the mayor.

Paul: Sounds like a perfectly reasonable and pleasant process. (Also a bit like the electoral college.)

Judy: Electoral politics as it's practiced is inherently competitive. It embodies all the things we criticized in the

60's from an alternative perspective. Competition for votes is as primitive as the competition for dollars.

Paul: It seems like there are two parts to that. Most obvious is that there's one candidate running against another. Second is the internal skirmishing when you've got a core group of people sharing some political ideas and deciding to go after a particular electoral job — and then choosing the candidate.

Judy: The first kind of contest I can get into — a contest between a Nancy Walker and a Lee Dolson is worth the effort. But the skirmishing within groups and between groups that should be co-strategists in changing things, and instead spend their energy shooting each other off the political scoreboard . . .

Paul: Isn't it possible to have people who share political vision consensually choose the best candidate as their representative, and figure out how that person, if elected, will continue to be accountable?

Judy: There were some efforts in San Francisco during those years to bring progressives together in grassroots conventions. That certainly was a step in the right direction, but it didn't seem to eliminate a whole lot of smoke-filled, back room, finagling around, and I don't know that it can.

Paul: Is there any chance for an ethical position?

Judy: You have to have a good grasp on the uses of politics; a realistic notion of what can or can't be accomplished; what politicians are like and what they're for; you have to use them and not let them use you.

When I start with my perceptions and objections, I must sound like a disaffected, bitter person...and I'm not. I don't spend a lot of time sitting around being bitter, and I appreciate what we ultimately accomplished in the district. As bad as the process made me feel, and as disinclined as I feel these days to get reinvented in something like that — when I think about getting back into grassroots, electoral, political action, I think, "Why would I want to take on something that feels that bad to me?". And yet I feel good about what we accomplished in the *Walker for Supervisor* campaign.

I think it's almost self-indulgent of me to say, "That process feels so bad to me that I don't want to do it." But I do think there are built-in structural elements in electoral politics that are going to make people with personal idealism and sensibility feel bad. I don't think it's much different than what happens in the marketplace, and leads us to try and create more cooperative workplaces.

Paul: What led you into district elections in the first place?

Judy: A simple perception that community control in a city that was progressive, or that had many progressive neighborhoods, had to give us a more progressive Board of Supervisors than through city-wide elections...

Paul: Did that happen? Did you get something better?

Judy: That's hard. First, we had to fight the structural issue several times. District elections were first won in '76. An attempt at repeal was successfully defeated in '77, and immediately (three months later) we went into the first actual election by district. That was exhausting. Second,

there was no run-off provision, so that, as in our district, two progressives could split the vote and an unprincipled conservative like Dolson could be elected. So the initial impact of district elections was delayed by two years till we could add the run-off provision. And the year after that, the downtown interests appealed again, and this time they won (1980). Third, the murders of one of the strongest progressive supervisors, Harvey Milk, and the mayor, George Moscone, mostly wrecked what strength the reform coalition did have. (The new mayor, Diane Feinstein, was a downtown-controlled member of the old board.)

Paul: Do you feel you ever really tested out what district elections could mean to a political process:

Judy: There were different reasons why people joined that fight. The old, city-wide board of supervisors was a real collection of clowns. You had a classic situation of eleven supervisors, almost all of them living in two upper class neighborhoods, and mostly out of touch with the rest of the city.

Paul: And because they had money behind them they could win city-wide elections?

Judy: They were spending over \$100,000 each to get elected to the board of supervisors.

Paul: I'd guess there were three different themes in the coalition for district elections: People who just wanted to throw the bums out; people who connected community control to district elections; progressives or radicals who saw district elections as an issue which could lead them to power.

Focusing on those as motivations, here's the outcomes: First, you haven't thrown the bums out, but it feels like you've won; second, winning district elections means the *potential* for community control, but just going out to vote isn't going to make it a reality; third, the folks who had a particular political agenda, and simply saw winning district elections as a useful strategy to achieve city-wide control — those folks were just warming up.

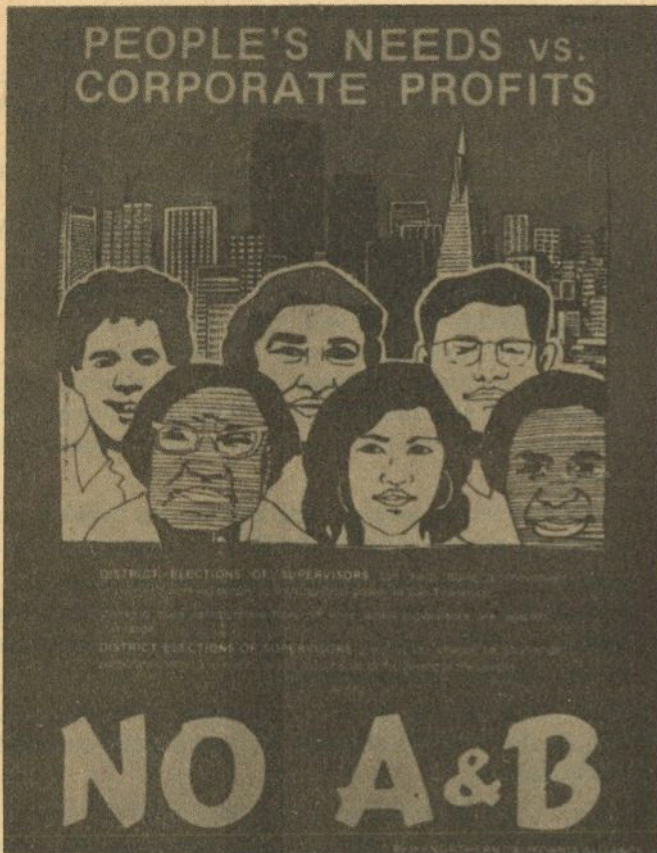
Judy: I think they were all true for me...

Paul: Even agreeing that the motivations were mixed in most people, then that part of them (or of groups) which had a particular program, candidate or ideology came into full play once the referendum won. Once the first two motivations were seemingly satisfied, many people went home saying, "We won. Isn't that great? . . ." because elections are exhausting.

In electoral politics, the people who have agendas and candidates are the ones who were skirmishing and cutting deals. I wouldn't characterize them as 'the badies,' because they are critical to any campaign and because a political agenda is necessary at some point — but, it seems in the case of district elections there was no process of accountability to the 'movement' which had just won. It began to break down and fragmented at that point.

It seems like the people who were committed to community control should have gone on to build solid, long-term community strategies and structures to which candidates could be held accountable.

1977



Ernest workers climb the hills
like democratic spiders on window sills
Voting no on A&B
District elections will make us free
Pretty city still believes
so displays its politics
up its sleeve

Filling in California circles
Going round San Francisco Bay
Lunches are a Sacramento,
indulgences a lost momento

The lines of power pass thru SF lives
describe the body politic like well thrown knives
Above and below, and to each side
Vertical and horizontal integration
Connection is preferable to penetration

Before, the lines were solid class
Embellished with money, one could pass
Now the lines snake twisting from our hands
stretching us like rubber bands

The numbers game
turns out the same
as guess which shell conceals the pain
of who gets what

There's only so much room in City Hall
Corporate liberals against the wall
of tenent's union at the I-Hotel
Downtown interests call a tune of

*Now you see it
Now you don't
If you come to San Francisco
I won't*

— PF

Judy: There were progressive alliances within districts. And the trick was to use this new and promising political tool to elect a majority of supervisors who would support a progressive program — without completely involved in the process of figuring out how many districts you can broker. That was a very difficult balance to find. Electoral politics is a crazy-making process. It is fraught with dynamics which tend to make you a little nuts — getting caught up in a campaign, you almost have to get involved in a partisan fervor in order to sustain the high level of activity and excitement . . .

Paul: Especially if you're trying to maintain the rest of you life at the same time . . .

Judy: That balance is crucial if you're going to stay involved for a long time.

Paul: There's another aspect of long-range, short-range: People get so wrapped up in a particular moment at a particular election that they lose perspective. That reminds me of your story of the two candidates in district nine running against a conservative. And the front runner in the polls going to the other and saying, "Hey, why don't you

pull out? There's only a week left. . . since there's no run off, we're both going to lose. And we need that progressive vote on the board of supervisors." And the other guy says, "Well, I was in the elections first."

Judy: It seemed reasonable to me that if the other viable and progressive candidate wouldn't quit, then ours should, even though we were ahead. But people thought I was politically stupid even to suggest it to Covington.

Paul: I don't think that was stupid.

Judy: It was unrealistic. People don't operate that way in a political arena.

Paul: Okay, people don't operate in a political arena that way when they're involved in short term politics.

Judy: It's like me saying I wouldn't compete with a friend of mine for a job. Most people don't have that standard.

Paul: If we're going to take feminist, cooperative, progressive, new age values . . . whatever you call them . . .

Judy: If we do that, are we going to get elected?

Paul: Either they're negotiable or they aren't. What was so smart about both those progressive candidates taking each

other out? When they knew that was going to happen?

If, as you say, either would have voted about the same for issues before the board of supervisors, wouldn't it even have been to the long-term political benefit of your candidate to have withdrawn, and made an issue of his commitment and integrity? I'm not talking about a deal in the back room to get support for running in the election . . .

Judy: Nobody who gets elected to office ever steps out voluntarily, or stops thinking almost immediately about the next election or a better office...running for office is such an unpleasant process.

Paul: Some people love running. Some people love managing campaigns . . .

Judy: The little numbers you have to keep running publicly and privately in order to run for office are distasteful. You have to have a strong, if not irrational belief in yourself. You have to be running out of an organization with a strong, if not irrational belief in you. Once you've bought into that; to be the kind of person that believes that it is of paramount importance you and you alone represent District Nine — then you have to put objective perspective aside.

You have to consider that even to run in a district in San Francisco it takes some money. I learned how difficult that could be when I was running the finances in the Nancy Walker campaign. It would be impossible to raise money if you couldn't demonstrate the seriousness of your candidate. Dropping out of an election, as I had suggested to Covington, is not the mark of a serious candidate.

Paul: And it's serious to have two progressive candidates lose to a conservative who could have been solidly beaten?

Judy: Most people who contribute funds to a campaign are buying access to government. That's on a personal basis — *my candidate* — not because of political ideals. Unfortunately, that's how campaigns are financed. Given that's how campaigns are financed in this country, what I suggested to Bob Covington was stupid.

It takes a tremendous effort to come anywhere close to winning. A lot of effort and a little money . . .

Paul: A lot of effort, but that effort is finite. If you don't win, what keeps people involved in a movement?

Judy: If progressive victories don't result in real change, real gains, then there's no reason for progressive voters to value those victories.

If you do win, as we did, you are suddenly the focus of great interest from the political establishment. However difficult it was on that local level, you now have to consider that interest as a factor. The establishment (potential allies as well as enemies) is not going to ignore you — it's a choice of co-opting you (at least to support their process, if not their politics) or wiping you out.

In the face of those new dynamics it's very hard to walk the fine line between getting sucked in to contradict everything you were elected for, yet not undercutting the power you have in this new arena . . . which is why you were trying to get elected in the first place — to be effective and get policies changed and new programs instituted.

So you're stuck with not only the human desire to continue accumulating power, but also an ethical, political obligation to gain more power to implement progressive programs. It's very difficult, and there aren't many saints among us.

Paul: And the 'it' means operating in a way which is politically effective, but is also ethical and accountable.

Judy: Binging about the perfect balance between leadership and accountability; an obligation to both lead and to respond, and to create continuously a better context in which to lead and to respond.

Paul: So the district election movement in San Francisco was, on one level, an attempt to create a better context for accountability.

Judy: I think in district nine we helped create a better context. That's why I can, at this distance, still feel good about having been part of Nancy Walker getting elected. I think she's managed that. Nancy's got that balance. She has the broader viability, yet she's holding to the programmatic positions that she came out of. You never know how long anyone's going to sustain that, but she's done real well. □



A supper strategy meeting during Nancy Walker's successful campaign for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Nancy is fifth from the left. Judy Greene is at the extreme right.

Notes on the Future, the Past and the Left

or "You know your friends because they're the ones who stab you in the front."

by Evan Stark

1. AUTO

Last Sunday, three days before his 11th birthday, my older son Aaron posted a list of presents, complete with prices, downstairs in the commune where he lives half of each week with his mom, my ex-wife. My own routines are pretty established, getting back to things we all gave up for the 60's: *serious writing*, evenings at home, nature walks, music, plays, novels, TV, some *intense relating*. We still go to meetings and keep one foot in the counter-culture, coop day-care and food, and politically *active* in between work and the kids and cooking, cleaning, fucking and stuff. We're wonderful parents, much better than our parents and certainly better than our parents thought we would be. At work, at Yale, they say, "He's a nice guy, even though he's a Marxist." I lose my temper now and then. But only now and then. About Yale, they say, *You know your friends because they're the ones who stab you in the front.*

2. OLD-TIMERS

The Brinks job brought the old-timers out, free-associating their guilt and anger on *Boudin*, *clarkgilbert* and *theblacks* we didn't know. Carl Ogelsby, former SDS head and now guru for some post-movement sect, called them "proto-terrorists." Jim Weinstein, whose old journal *Studies-on-the-Left* first announced SDS as the future incarnate, now edits *In These Times* [ITT], a *left-of liberal* rag. He called them "rich brats." And Mike Harrington, who presided over the expulsion of SDS from the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) years ago and who now heads DSOC (the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee) told national TV, "The were irrelevant then. They're more irrelevant now. I only pity the families of the police they shot." Not so different from Yale, I think: I mean about how you know your friends.

3. CONNECTIONS

Aaron and I watch "The War at Home," a documentary about Madison and my student-leader days in the 60's. He clings to me nervously, suddenly aware that his mother and father and their friends were hit with clubs. I'm in the film. These guys came to the house and questions like the FBI, each time repeating, "That seems like a long time ago." I yell for them to stop.

On the way to school I ask Aaron what he worries about. "The bomb," he says, without hesitation. "I think about how it will end." Not *when*, or *if*, but *how*. Reaganism and the bomb. Is this the *Amerika* we fantasized in the 60's? New Left, Old Left, What's Left? I wish I had a list with prices like my boy.

4. ANALYSIS

Reaganism is Hollywood, show without substance, the state giving up, not the *renewal* of social command, but its failure. The "new federalism" means political action shifts

back to corporations and banks; what Ford, Nixon and Carter wanted to do — and tried to do — but couldn't. In England, Thatcher represents "overseas investment" and attacks the working class directly with mass unemployment. Everything totters — steel, autos, the universities — to make the *common man* shake. In Italy, Germany, Belgium, Holland and Sweden, things are similar. And France is not that different. Bristol school-leavers compete with Algerians and Turks to pick the wine grapes in Southern France.

"The Great Society" was *us*: students, blacks, women and *plain ole workers*. We demanded, they dealt: abortion, sex education, student loans, occupational health, affirmative action, community clinics, medicare. The idea was we would work harder, or someone would, to pay for all those social goods and then some. But in 1965, productivity in the U.S. began to drop; capital wouldn't reinvest and we wouldn't work: not in school, not in the house, not in the office and not in the factory. The counter-culture begins in the refusal to work, not in Haight-Ashbury. And if we won't work, the state won't either. Like taking the marbles home, Reagan is simply dismantling, stealing back, coming after the New Left, black, youth, women; all the jobs we got when the social programs began are disappearing. Businesses leave for parts where they mistakenly think workers are less uppity — only not steel or chemicals, not the things we need for war.

Stockman lies even when he gives *the inside story*. For my family, things are still not too bad: a religious nut on TV, a cut in research funds, empty factories on the way to work, bag ladies in the stations, one garbage pickup instead of two, a march by klansman in a nearby town, stories of old friends bumped from tenured posts studying computer science in Syracuse, burglar vans moving a neighbor's furniture in the middle-of-the-night. For those on the margins, for the rest of *us*, youth, blacks, millions of single or working women, the old and the poor, basic survival is already precarious.

5. THE OFFICIAL LEFT

CWP, CLP, SP, OL, CPDSOCLCCDWP...a thousand *preparties* and parties crowd the sectarian airspace. To be in one is to know them all, to study them like the Talmud. But I am stuck with the basics, various groups of "Trots," "Social Democrats" and the Communist Party, derogatory labels hung on those who always seemed to miss the energy of the moment — for all their concentration on the *long march*. A friend says these groups are "post-movement phenomenon" and that their function is to get folks to give up dope, cut their hair, and go back to work, 9 to 5; that they are vehicles like the religious cults, to turn the counter-culture back into its suburban parentage, the culture of work. But this is too

cynical. Each group includes hard-working militants, somewhat humorless, perhaps, or too narrowly focused on the economic trees rather than the action on the terrain. But each is making a difference, one in the maritime industry, another in the garment trades, another fighting the Klan. Maybe it has to do with "Marxist-Leninist science." But probably it's because they're no-give-up people who can't get the idea of *turning the fucker on his head* out of their mind. The real trouble is not their sectarianism, but their unity; the common program they all share with minor differences: *Return the Services [Fight Cut-Backs], Full Employment [Jobs for All]*. It's the New Deal all over again. The program we rejected in the streets of Madison Berkeley Watts Attica Paris. And it's not better when liberalism is enforced with exemplary bombing of corporate headquarters. Violence becomes terror when, like Reagan's nuclear terror, it's isolated from a mass base of support.

6. A SECTARIAN DIGRESSION

Some left groups are not so clearly left. Take DSOC. Harrington claims descent from the old Socialist Party of Debs, Haywood and Thomas. Debs ran for President from the jail cell where he'd been put for opposing World War I. Harrington supported LBJ for President at the height of Vietnam. The Socialist Party was always independent. DSOC's commitment to "change" the Democratic Party from "within" hasn't been shaken one wit by the shameful collapse of the liberal-loyal opposition. If the Marxist-Leninists are the vanguard for the return of the New Deal, DSOC is its rearguard, pushing the Democratic Party from below to return to its inglorious past. I remember Wayne Morse laughing when he heard Eugene McCarthy was the *darling of the doves*. "Why he never gave us a vote," he said, "and was never there when it counted."

Then there are the groups that ape the New Right. Michael Lerner, for example, once an SDS stalwart and a founder of NAM (New American Movement, now in DSOC); he calls himself *Dr.* and is organizing a national group called "Friends of the Family" to take the religious values of the right and "go all the way." Or the California Democratic Workers Party (once the League for Proletarian Proletarians, or some such) whose spokesperson, Tony Platt, insists the anti-war movement would have succeeded if we had made the American flag (and eagle) our symbol. Then there's the Labor Committee spying on the anti-nukes, breaking Commie heads, campaigning for atomic power, spreading the inner secrets of the Pentagon Rockefeller homosexual conspiracy to all corners of the earth with the vigor of total paronia. These groups belong to Mel Brooks.

7. COUNTER-CULTURE

Making things easy for the many — and economical — is now hard even for the few. Subsidized initially by the movement's energy, born from its creativity, *alternative* institutions (and life-styles) have come to depend on federal subsidies; marketing life-style with a vengeance like Jerry Rubin on Wall Street. Taking its life from the

resistance to recession, the socialization of poverty will no longer sustain our spirit: the counter-culture can no longer survive without *cash flow*. Cut-backs mean cut-outs, backstapagheti and soda and whitebread. Even in Madison, in the early 70's, the coop food store could only make it when the opposition was bombed. Trying to defend a moment of autonomy apart from the world that made it possible, life-style transformed into Feelgood Bureaucracy where old friends exchange longing glances on the check-out line — almost pitying those who stayed with it, who stuck out the *revolt against patriarchy*, and now wait anxiously for old comrades to call at Thanksgiving and wonder who will care when we're sick. Saving money, saving energy, saving time and space — all this is workfare, not welfare, apart from the subversive sex and revolutionary politics that made us need another way of doing the basic things in the first place.

Schools deteriorate and we hope our schools will be better. Working around the margins instead of breaking the center apart. The *other way* is now the only way. And it's harder and harder to afford. But we are no longer the only ones in line; we white hopes whose future is no longer what it used to be. A young black woman wheels her stroller next to ours. Thinking back, we dimly remember our roots.

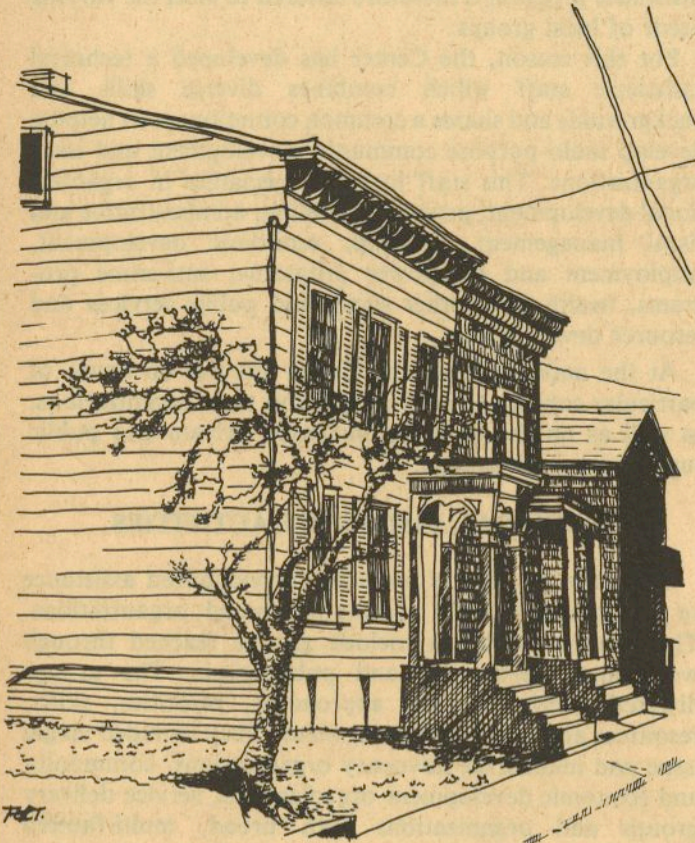
8. INTERNATIONAL

A card on my office door. The picture is the main bank burning in downtown Zurich, the stolen money of the world hidden away in secret bank accounts set ablaze by the children. "Brixton-Watts" reads a large hand-painted sign on a boarded-up store in London. Berling, Amsterdam, Brussels, Gdansk, Bucharest, Stockholm, Turin — the periodic *demonstrations* of the 60's, May '68, Prague Spring, have become nightly outpourings, wild dancing in the streets to resist boredom, defend turf, stop nuclear terror, refuse work. The Labor Party in England was ready with the answers as soon as Brixton exploded. "Jobs," they called, "more jobs." "I simply must live, man," a Pakistani youth in Coventry tells a commentator, "I don't give a fuck for work." Everywhere the official left and forces of law and order become harder and harder to distinguish. The French Socialists escalate the nuclear race. In Italy, the PCI (Italian Communist Party) leads the hunt for Autonomia (the nonparliamentary movement repressed to stop the terror of ML *vanguard* Red Brigades).

In the White House, the countries over *there* are pronounced "Yerp," like a soft drink, something that is disposable, if need be, to flex a nuclear joint. Meanwhile, inmates read by cell-light at Attica prison, the old fury slowly coming to life, watching and listening to the sounds outside. □

Evan Stark is a 40 year old former student activist at the University of Wisconsin presently directing several research projects in health at Yale University. A member of numerous Left groups, though no sects, Evan helped found the New Haven Battered Women's Project, and now spends most of his free time working with Connecticut unions on job stress, including his own.

CENTER FOR COMMUNITY CHANGE



During the past twenty years, the development of neighborhood and community organizations has become an important strategy for low-income and minority people seeking equal treatment, better opportunities and greater power at the local level. These organizations reflect the desire and determination of disadvantaged constituencies to accomplish for themselves through self-help what the public sector has refused or neglected to do.

Inspired by the Grey Areas community projects, the civil rights movement, the community action programs of the New Frontier and the work of a new breed of community organizers like Saul Alinsky, community based organizations came into prominence in the late 1950's and the 1960's as significant local mechanisms for social change, neighborhood assertiveness and leadership development.

Such groups have emerged to operate community and economic development programs, to deliver social and other public services, to monitor and hold local governments accountable and to build broadly based single or multi-issue organizations. The most promising and productive organizations have shared common characteristics of strong leadership, large and growing constituencies, skilled staff and political independence. Many of them are serving as significant training grounds for leadership in the broader social, political and business community. In many cases, they have become vital to the success of both private and government-sponsored community revitalization efforts.

For low-income people in general and minority low-income people in particular, these initiatives of participation and representation have brought new opportunities and hope. They have built a community structure that could speak and act with more power and authority than individual, isolated community members. They have given jobs to uncredentialed neighborhood people and developed skills among persons abandoned by society as permanently unskilled. For many people, they have provided a ladder to the middle class, to professions, to community recognition, to more promising careers and futures. Most important of all, perhaps, they have given planning and decision-making opportunities and responsibilities to persons who otherwise could never have enjoyed the right to learn, succeed or fail through the exercise of authority and action.

In the last few years, there has been a great growth in this emphasis on grassroots activity and self-help. There are several reasons for this new community momentum. The neighborhood movement, answering the desperate call of distressed citizens, has become popular and respectable. The shortcomings of local government and public cynicism about government in general have combined to produce a new interest in private self-help efforts. HUD's Community Development Block Grant and Neighborhood Self-Help Development programs, as well as the programs of other federal agencies, have promoted the entry of many community groups into development work. Minority communities, feeling the growing indifference of middle class America, have called on their own resources and strength to obtain greater opportunities and services. Many cities and towns that just a few years ago could claim only one or two community organizations now have many groups engaged in a wide variety of programs.

One concomitant of this mushrooming process has been the tremendous increase in demand by local groups for financial support, especially for funds to sustain their basic operating budgets. Such general support is critical to the independence as well as the viability of community groups, for without it such organizations have great difficulty gaining sufficient flexibility to set their own priorities and respond to the needs of their communities.

Another critical ingredient for successful community organization and self-help is access to technical assistance, particularly in those areas where specialized skills and community leadership are both necessary and in short supply. For example, requests for help in housing programs, in economic and business ventures and in physical development programs have escalated dramatically. The need for experienced, tough and capable staff and program directors has also increased. So has the demand for assistance in identifying and obtaining public and private sources of money for both organizational support and special projects. In addition, many local organizations still need considerable aid in fiscal and management practices, in planning and self-evaluation

procedures, in organizational development and in leadership training and development.

If the momentum created by the neighborhood and community movement is to be sustained, if existing and emergent leaders of this movement are to succeed and survive, the national network of financial support and technical assistance will have to be enlarged, strengthened and financed. New sources of funds must be opened up, and new local and regional technical assistance centers need to be created to reinforce the work of community groups. Without an adequate support system of both funding sources and intermediary institutions, grassroots organizations and leadership will not be able to meet their promising potential.

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY CHANGE

Since its creation in 1968, the Center for Community Change has based its work on the following assumptions and concerns:

Poor and working class people and minorities have not enjoyed the resources needed to attain economic and social justice or to gain access to equal opportunities.

In order to increase their power and improve their circumstances, minorities and lower income people have often chosen to create their own social, economic and political organizations. Such organizations have developed alternative service delivery systems and development capacities to meet the unmet needs of their members. They have also pressed government agencies and private institutions to change their policies to benefit previously neglected people.

The emergence of this great variety of neighborhood and community organizations has provided a means by which people could gain equality and greater power. It has also strengthened America's dynamic tradition of pluralism, which is so vital to offset the growth of extraordinarily powerful, unaccountable public and private institutions.

If these local organizations are to attain their objectives, they will need the assistance and support systems which more established institutions — e.g., public agencies, corporations, foundations and universities — enjoy and require.

The self-reliance, capacity and power of independent community groups can grow more rapidly if they are also have access to technical assistance and advice from people who are knowledgeable about resources and experienced with similar programs and issues elsewhere.

In responding to these concerns, CCC devotes a major proportion of its staff time and other resources to providing advice and assistance to low-income and minority community-based organizations throughout the country. It also works with these organizations in addressing national issues which have a direct impact on the groups and their constituencies.

At the local level, the Center provides support to a variety of citizen organizations which differ in locale, approach, priorities, skills and resources. The Center's assistance program is therefore tailored to meet the varying needs of local groups.

For this reason, the Center has developed a technical assistance staff which combines diverse skills and backgrounds and shares a common commitment to helping develop multi-purpose community development and issue organizations. This staff includes specialists in organizational development, program planning, administrative and fiscal management, housing, economic development, employment and manpower programs, anti-crime programs, health care, other social and public services and resource development.

At the national level, the Center focuses on issues of particular concern to poor people and their organizations, as well as on the need for increased private and public support for such groups.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES

This year the Center provided individualized assistance to approximately 400 community based organizations. This number does not include groups reached through workshops, networking and publications. The groups differed widely in their approaches, priorities, skills, resources and levels of development. They included single issue and multi-issue advocacy organizations, community and economic development organizations, service delivery groups and organizations with broad, multi-faceted agendas. The Center's assistance program was tailored to the specific needs of individual organizations.

Technical assistance activities varied from organizational development and management assistance to specific programmatic help. Resource development, including assistance in negotiating for public funds with local, state and federal government sources, as well as aid in identifying and obtaining private resources, was a very important aspect of all technical assistance. An increasing number of groups asked for and received technical assistance in monitoring government programs within the larger context of research and advocacy regarding the national issue the program was intended to address — i.e., employment issues of community development.

The Center for Community Change continues to provide support and assistance to community based organizations, recognizing that they are a critically important form of self-help and the key to effective citizen participation. Over the last fifteen years, a growing number of such organizations have been created by minority, low-income and poor constituencies to represent and work for their interests and their communities. Increasingly, such organizations act as partners with local government and the private sector, while still holding them accountable for the distribution of resources and services for low-income people and poor communities.

Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20007

The Denver Post, Sunday, Nov. 8, 1981

Gov. Dick Lamm has labeled the Front Range Project an "extraordinary success," and said that it has produced numerous ideas to help Colorado accommodate the expected 1.3 million new residents in the next 20 years.

Lamm Friday urged the project be continued "outside of government."

"We have our initial blueprint. It is time to start building," Lamm told nearly 600 project leaders and interested citizens attending a Front Range Project wrapup conference at the Denver Center for the Performing Arts.

Nearly 150 specific recommendations resulting from the two-year study were discussed at the all-day meeting, highlighting numerous problems foreseen by a wide cross-section of Colorado residents, government leaders and businessmen.

The Front Range Project has ended formally, but its work will be continued by Project Colorado, a new privately based organization that will study growth and development problems throughout the state, not just the 13 Front Range counties included in the initial study.

FRONT RANGE FUTURES

Not long after the Colorado Front Range project was given a unique challenge late in 1979 by Governor Richard D. Lamm, a group of project staff members and volunteers sat down to wrestle with words in an attempt to develop a theme to be used to concisely explain the purposes of the project. The challenge was easy to state: Determine how 13 of Colorado's Front Range counties can best accommodate another 1.25 million new residents in the next 20 years and at the same time use that growth to improve the quality of life now enjoyed by current residents.

As it turned out, a theme wasn't found to cover all of the project's complexities. But throughout the first year of activity, a quotation of Lewis Carroll's in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* continued to crop up as a statement which captured the basic challenge faced by Coloradans in the next 20 years.

"Cheshire Puss," she began rather timidly, "would you tell me, please, which way ought I to go from here?"

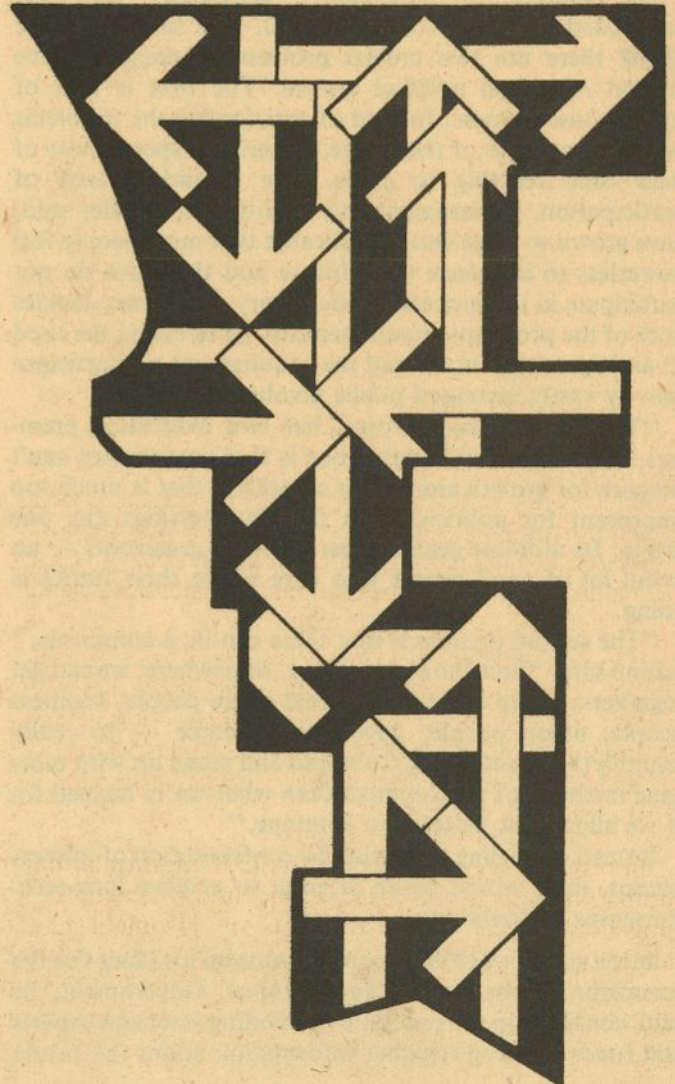
"That depends a good deal on where you want to get to," said the cat.

"I don't much care where," said Alice.

"Then it doesn't matter which way you go," said the cat.

"There is no exaggeration that can do justice to how fast the future is coming at this state," Governor Lamm said in June of 1980. "We have a million and a quarter people — maybe more — heading here in the next 20 years. We are going to have to make energy decisions, water decisions and developmental decisions which will have much more impact and require much more money than ever before.

"The decisions of the next 20 years are going to overshadow, overwhelm and eclipse all the decisions we have made in the past 100 years."



Coloradans in 1980, Lamm said, were faced with a "demand for a degree of foresight that is almost unprecedented."

But Colorado had a long history of political and governmental squabbling and infighting over future planning and land use programs. Previous attempts to use governmental and legislative methods to achieve workable long-range plans had failed. Lamm, who had tried for years as a legislator, and later as governor, to begin developing plans for Colorado's expected growth, had met many frustrations and found few successes. During his years as a legislator, Lamm remembered, "I couldn't get programs I thought the state needed passed into law, even if I pushed them very hard." Nor could others. The assumption that government alone could define the problems and pass laws to solve them — the so-called 'top-down' approach — wasn't working. How then, could that necessary, unprecedented foresight be achieved?

Anticipatory Democracy

Early in 1979, when he and staff members looked once more at the problem that wouldn't go away, Lamm decided to experiment by combining the historical source of democracy — grassroots — with the futuristic theory called anticipatory democracy.

The concept of anticipatory democracy was first articulated by Alvin Toffler in 1970, who said in *Future Shock* there are two crucial problems endangering the current American political system. The first is lack of future consciousness. Instead of anticipating the problems and opportunities of the future, Americans spend most of their time reacting to crisis. The second is lack of participation. Government and institutions, Toffler said, have grown so large and complicated that most people feel powerless to influence their future and therefore do not participate in the process. Anticipatory democracy tackles both of the problems simultaneously, by stressing the need to anticipate the future and the requirement of participation by vastly increased public involvement.

"The Front Range Project has two overriding premises," Lamm said. "Number one is that government can't prepare for growth alone. It is a problem that is much too important for politicians. In fact, it overrides any one group. Its ultimate genesis must lie in the grassroots — an awful lot of good people who care where their future is going.

"The second premise is that there can be a consensus," Lamm said. "Somehow, some way, somewhere, we can get together a group of citizens — real estate people, business people, union people, government people — to really identify the issues facing Colorado and come up with more sane methods of development than what we're headed for if we allow past patterns to continue."

Instead of dealing with crisis by confrontation of interest groups, there would be an attempt to achieve long-term consensus of coalitions.

In the spring of 1979, Lamm announced his plans for the formation of the Front Range Project. Government, he said, could aid in the process by providing staff and experts and funds to bring together information about the future

and coordinate efforts of the individuals and groups involved. The citizens — the grassroots — would have to provide the rest.

John Welles, Vice President for planning and institutional development at the Colorado School of Mines, a Republican who years earlier had opposed Lamm's efforts as a Democratic state legislator to prevent the Winter Olympics from being held in Colorado, agreed to serve as chairman and devote half his time to the development and administration of the project.

"The two factors that persuaded me to get involved in the project," Welles said later, "were the governor's belief that the project should be a genuine mix of bottom-up and top-down efforts, plus his belief that the process should decide for itself, as it went along, where it should go and how it should proceed."

John Parr, a Denver lawyer who had aided Lamm in the anti-Olympic effort, joined one-time adversary Welles as manager of the project. Lamm then appointed a bi-partisan board of public and private leaders from throughout the Front Range Corridor to serve as coordinators of the project, and put into motion organization meetings in each of the 13 counties included in the project.

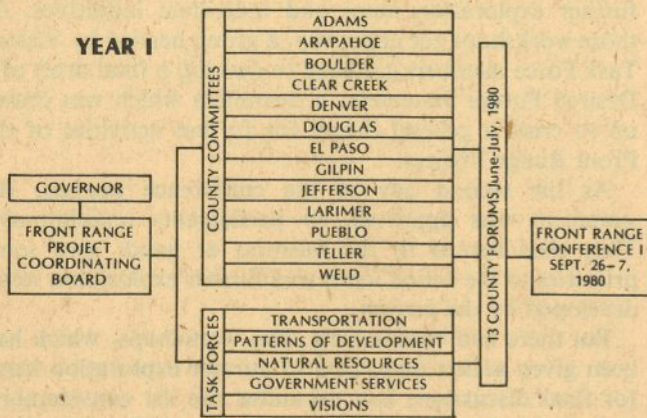
Reaction to the plans ranged from strong support to hopeful caution to outright skepticism. Concerns were voiced that the project was designed as another method of trying to impose the governor's growth control plans of earlier years on the public; that the efforts would duplicate or impede the activities of other growth-planning programs, such as those which were underway in cities, counties and regional councils of governments; and that the true intentions of the project were to implement a then-controversial set of state administrative guidelines known as the Human Settlement Policies.

But that opposition began to diminish as staff members and volunteers continued to describe the grassroots nature of the organization, its necessity and willingness to receive input from all segments of the society and its goal to coordinate, not hinder, existing growth-planning efforts.

The project, the *Denver Post* said, "is clearly aimed at the sort of 'consensus' policy-making which has proven successful at the local level. It mixes civic, environmental, labor and business leaders in its ranks . . . Today, few Coloradans are so obtuse as to think that an energy-starved nation will just let us 'stop growth' . . . but even the most avid booster has to come to realize the bad that accompanies the good in such growth, and the need to try to manage the process in our own best interest . . . For now, the Front Range Project may be deemed a promising beginning."

Meanwhile, Welles, Parr, the Coordinating Board and the project staff were pushing ahead to develop a program which incorporated the unique combination of widespread citizen participation and government and private sector expertise. The task was to develop the concept of 'top-down, bottom-up' participation.

The 'top-down' half of the equation came in the form of five project task forces: Governmental Services, Natural Resources, Patterns of Development, Transportation, and



— to anticipate the future — Visions, the task force which considered options for the quality of life in the future. Each member of those task forces was appointed by the governor, and all provided strong technical expertise in their project areas. Members came from the private sector and public life, from all political persuasions and many interest groups. Environmentalists sat down in committee meetings with real estate developers, liberals with conservatives, businessmen with bureaucrats, farmers with city-dwellers.

Each task force was asked to conduct its study and discussion with consideration for the entire 13-county area, and to develop answers to four questions: Where are we? Where are we going? Where do we want to go? How do we get there?

The same questions would be asked in the 'bottom-up' portion of the project's organization, that which would be undertaken by county committees that had been formed to consider the current situation, the likely future, the desired future and the ways to get there from the viewpoint of their own localities.

By early in 1980, more than 500 residents of Colorado's Front Range — supported by project staff — were hard at work sifting through statistics and reports. Eventually they would conduct in-depth discussions about the four questions which, when answered, would put Colorado on the road its citizens wanted to take to the Year 2000.



As the task force and county committee studies continued, staff members went to work on generating public interest and participation, in preparation for forums which would be held later in the year in each of the 13 counties.

A slide show was developed to outline the growth questions and pressures facing Colorado and provide a brief background to the project. It was shown to numerous interested groups, and still was being shown as the project's second year began. Welles, Parr and other staff members spoke to many gatherings, from Pueblo to Greeley, and appeared on various television and radio broadcasts to describe the project and promote public attendance at the upcoming forums. Most of the television and radio stations along the Front Range aired public service announcements, and many of the newspapers published information about forum dates, places and agendas.

By the time the forums began in June, reports from the task forces and each county committee had been prepared to serve as working papers for the citizens who attended. Each forum was open to all county residents who wanted to learn the details of the task force and county committee studies and participate in the process. In most cases, workshops were formed along task force subject lines, and participants provided their ideas about the various topics discussed.

Results of the 13 county discussions, held between mid-June and mid-July, were carefully recorded and compiled so that the concerns, hopes and suggestions of each participant could be incorporated into final county reports. Information from the forums was returned to task force, county committee and project staff members, who spent the next two months synthesizing them into final reports.

Although each of the county reports discussed matters of local concern, it became evident as the reports from the forums were analyzed that a common thread ran through all of them. It was a general dissatisfaction with increased direction and regulation from non-local governmental levels on problems which participants felt could be better solved at the local levels. Included was the wide-spread agreement that a greater degree of individual responsibility, understanding and participation would be required if higher levels of government relinquished their decision-making functions to local governments.

The task forces, which had distilled and revised their working papers after the forums, winnowed the field of hundreds of concerns expressed during the forums. They developed a set of proposals to present to a Front Range Conference scheduled for the fall.

First, there were 12 'action items.' To qualify on this list, a problem or opportunity had to be agreed upon by a large majority of project and forum participants, and the next step toward dealing with an item had to be evident.

An action item from the Government Services Task Force, for example, called for stepped up communication with Colorado's congressional delegation to inform Washington representatives "of concern about excessive federal involvement in state and local affairs, and suggest steps to reduce such activity." Natural Resources Task

Force members urged continuing steps to reduce vehicle-caused air pollution, encourage wise use of energy and educate the public on resource conservation. The Patterns of Development Task Force urged a search for open space funding alternatives and a recodification of land use laws. Transportation Task Force members called for steps to gain additional funds for highway maintenance and create a transportation coordination and planning function at the state level.

The second type of item fell into the category of 'further exploration.' These were problems or opportunities which merited general agreement in the forums and previous discussions of task forces and county committees, but fell short when it came to a consensus about what should be done to deal with them. Most needed further work to develop understanding or options for action. Included in this list of 17 were suggestions to develop more cooperation among governmental organizations (from Governmental Services); determine new mechanisms to reduce air pollution and develop additional conservation measures (from Natural Resources); use public and private tools and incentives to increase efficiency of land use and decrease government red tape (from Patterns of Development); and develop new transportation management techniques and determine public transit options (from Transportation.)

Finally, a group of 'individual initiatives' — a broad range of steps which could be taken by individuals to deal with problems of growth — was listed, including such suggestions as increasing personal knowledge about how government works, communicating with decision makers, cutting down personal automobile use and learning how to conserve resources such as water.

The Visions Task Force, which had taken a straw poll of County Forum participants on what they expected the future to be — and what they wanted it to be — developed five possible 'futures,' or scenarios to offer various perspectives on the future.

One scenario was developed around the idea of decentralization. Another's centerpiece was technological innovation and expansion. A third shunned advance planning and was called 'muddling through.' The fourth assumed that Colorado would become a national sacrifice area from exploitation of its wealth of resources. The final scenario dealt with a future marked by economic stagnation.

The poll taken at the forums showed the 1,200 respondents *expected* that Colorado's future would be marked by muddling through and exploitation. But those same participants *desired* a future which uses technological improvements and maximizes decentralization. Front Range citizens had begun to discover where they wanted to go, even though they didn't expect to get there.

But knowing where they wanted to go, as the Cheshire Cat said, was better than not knowing. The next step was to begin looking for the roads toward the desired future, and it started September 26-27 in Denver, when more than 500 Front Range residents gathered in the first Front Range Conference.

After opening speeches and presentations from each of the task forces, participants broke into afternoon workshops for final sessions on the suggested action items,

further exploration items and individual initiatives. As those workshops got underway, a group headed by Visions Task Force members gathered to develop a final draft of a Desired Future Statement, a document which was drawn up to create a general theme for further activities of the Front Range Project.

As the second day of the conference opened, the statement was approved by participants unanimously. They then turned to the business at hand: give some priorities to the action items and further exploration items developed by the project.

But there had been a twist. The workshops, which had been given action items and 17 further exploration items for final discussion, had expanded the list considerably, and returned with a list of more than 100 items to be considered. Welles, when he opened the second day of the conference, said the list of items-to-be-considered had grown so large that the day's activities had been revised. "The only thing that hasn't changed," he said, "is lunch."

High priority items for further exploration included subjects of funding for public transit, increased reliance on the free market and private sector, Stapleton International Airport in Denver, conservation of human and natural resources, and better definition of the role and responsibility of government.

But many more of the items considered received strong support, and following the conference the staff began using the complete conference results to develop a set of 'clusters' for attention in the second year of the project.

At the final meeting of the project's Coordinating Board, October 16, 1980, the staff presented those clusters developed from the voting at the conference and recommended that they be used to form the basis for project study and action in the second year. The board made some modifications to the clusters and recommended to Lamm that the project be continued into a second year.

The eight clusters of issues emerging from the conference were: Energy and Minerals; Housing, Land Use, Planning and Process; Mountain Areas; Open Space and Agricultural Lands; Public Transit and Transportation Planning; Roles of Government, Delivery of Services and Financing; and Water. In addition, there was a recommendation that a Futures group be formed to continue developing thoughts about the future in each of those cluster areas.

The Front Range Conference was the end of the beginning for the project. It was the result of 117 meetings of county committees, 50 meetings of task forces, 75 meetings of various subgroups and 20 meetings of the Coordinating Board. About 2,000 residents of the 13 counties had participated in one way or another in a project which had done what it set out to do: It had developed a grassroots effort to reach a consensus on many issues, which themselves had been identified as important steps toward a desired future. □

A DESIRED FRONT RANGE FUTURE

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

VISION OF THE FUTURE: A FUTURE CREATED BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE

Despite the wide differences in the nature of the counties in the Front Range, e.g., between Teller County and Denver County, the information we received suggests there is a common theme that links attitudes in rural and urban areas. We should make decisions cooperatively at the lowest appropriate level of government. That is: more local control with more personal responsibility in the community.

What will human lives be like in a Front Range that stresses personal responsibility for oneself, responsible and responsive government, concern for community and neighborhood, a highly advanced communications system, and a cared for and nurtured environment? We envision a future that puts people, homes, work, and governments into a framework that is complete yet small in scale compared to the great businesses and government bureaucracies we know today. People live and work in closer proximity.

We aim for "human scale" in our man-made environment. Such a future challenges the notion of economies of scale — bigger is not necessarily better or more efficient. People control their lives, work, and government rather than being controlled. We have a sense of responsibility to others and anticipate the consequences of what we and our communities do. We cooperate and collaborate with one another. We acknowledge that we are interdependent rather than each standing alone. We value quality over quantity and we advocate choice rather than chance. In this desired future, are we seeing the seeds of a sweeping change, not only for the Front Range, but for society as a whole? Impossible? Not necessarily so. We think it is possible. Remember, "where there is no vision, the people perish."

COMPOSITE VIEW: FIVE MAJOR ASPECTS

Our composite view of the future is echoed again and again in five major aspects of the single theme of creating the future "by the people, for the people."

The Individual. People are looking for opportunities to strengthen family and neighborhood/community ties, and to live in closely knit communities. We want to be self-reliant and create for ourselves a more meaningful life experience. We urge more pride in work and new work situations to foster such pride. All of us should take more responsibility for our own health. We look for opportunities close to home for life-long education as well as for recreational and cultural activities. We want community involvement at community centers. We want an acceptable quality of life available to all Coloradoans.

The Public Sector. Along with a greater sense of personal responsibility for our own lives, we very

strongly expressed a desire for personal involvement in government. Government should be at the level closest to the people which can provide services in the most economical and effective way. We look for an informed electorate by bringing government closer to people and their own communities. We recognize the need for centralized authorities to provide some services, but want to achieve those services with inter-governmental cooperation at the lowest levels of government possible. We want government to be accountable and to encourage public participation in planning.

The Private Sector. We have concern for the creation of a sound economic base and the adaptation of work procedures to the changing times. We should maintain and promote a free market economy encouraging less regulation and more consumer responsibility. A diverse industrial and commercial base combined with the support of a growing cottage industry is important. The ongoing creation of jobs for Coloradoans is imperative. We need to review the context of work as it relates to changing lifestyles and work ethic. A new breed of employee seeks work consistent with personal values and compatible with physical and mental health.

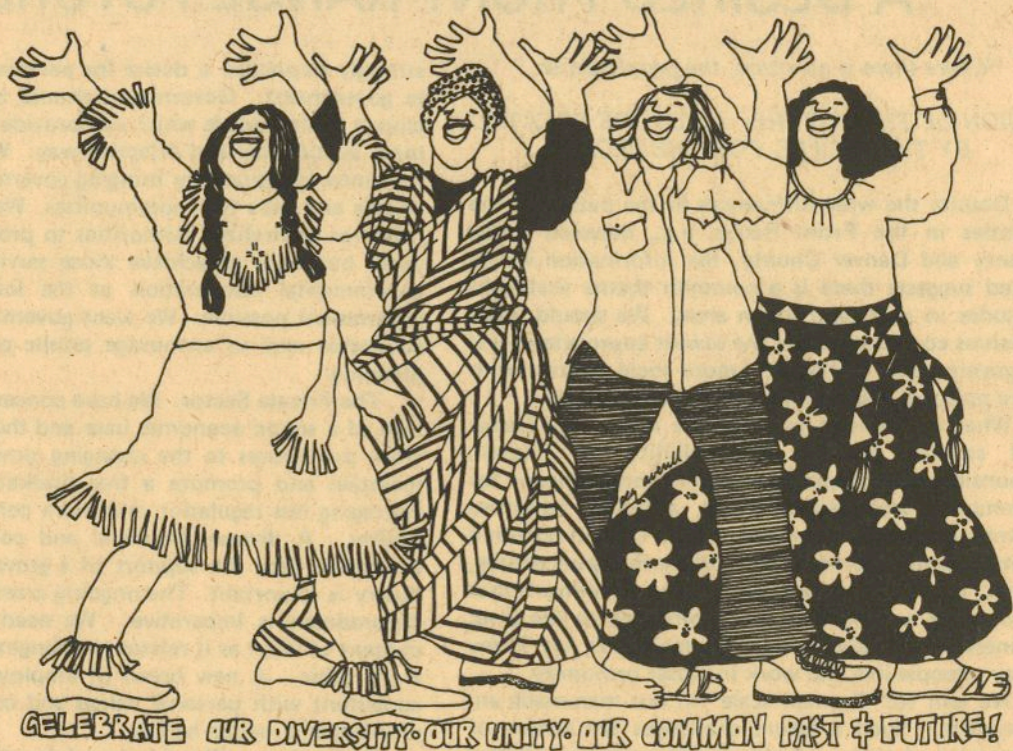
Technology. The "desired future" of many people contains rapid technological advance which allows for smaller groups of workers and for people to live closer to their work. New communications techniques provide the opportunity for some work to be done at home. This means a return to a kind of "cabin craft" philosophy coupled with a broad employment base. A range of fast, efficient public transportation along the Front Range should decrease dependence on the automobile and reduce petroleum dependency. Alternative energy sources should be tapped with minimum exploitation of non-renewable resources. Recycling, resource recovery, and a willingness to make and accept difficult decisions reflecting long-term rather than short-term benefits, should provide opportunities for less waste and more efficient use of energy.

Environment. People believe that attention to the environment is critical, from the need to preserve open space and prime agricultural lands to better utilization of land and water. We want the character of the Front Range to be preserved. We believe that combining the aesthetics of past, present, and future will serve to reinforce community identity. Attention to open space, wildlife habitats, and restoration and improving what we have is essential. Growth should recognize private and public needs. High quality, well designed, affordable, energy efficient housing should become available.

Adopted Sept. 27, 1980 by participants in Front Range Conference I, to "guide both government and business as they establish priorities and create a common mind among Colorado's people as they embody its spirit in life and deed."

□

Regional Pop:



a Proutist, populist perspective

by Paul Bergner

*So I'll just lie down again
Like the big Ford plant closing down.
Only this time
If I get up again
I'll be working for myself.*

For the past several years, members of Proutist Universal in North America have been studying and experimenting with the potential for regional populist movements on the continent. The world Prout organizations have a global strategy of setting up such movements in every area of the globe, establishing them within natural cultural or social groupings of people. The long term goal is to establish regionally based economic units which will cooperate with each other globally.

The basis for the boundaries of such units is not always the same. In Africa, for instance, tribal gatherings are most important. In India, language provides the best basis for division. In Ireland, Scotland, and Brittany, it is the

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traditional culture which is most important. In some places, an area of common economic development potential is chosen. What is common to all areas, however, no matter what the basis of division, is that within each one the people are unified by a common sentiment.

In the U.S., we have talked to people from virtually every area of the country to get their insights into the popular sentiments in their areas. And everywhere, when we talk to people about the region that they love, we find the same thing: they become more enthusiastic, their eyes brighten, they are ready to offer all sorts of information, and are often vigorously certain that their area could and should be more self-reliant. We found one man who insisted that even the state of West Virginia could become a food exporting state with proper utilization of land. We've found this enthusiasm in people on the so-called 'right' as well as on the 'left'; it is apparent in educated and non-educated people alike. It seems that there is a tremendous well of sentiment for such regional movements that remains thus far untapped by progressive and humanistic organizers in the U.S.

Now any popular political organizer appreciates the importance of sentiment and emotion in popular politics. People will not rise to action for an idea alone. That idea has to be fused with strong emotion before people will picket, march, protest, demand, and assert themselves enough to win a political goal. In fact, possessed of a powerful sentiment, people will mobilize even for illogical things. Witness the recent outpouring of sentiment as the hostages returned from Iran. Now if logic prevailed, people would have to sympathize with the Iranians, who suffered under the tortures of the C.I.A. and the Shah for thirty years. Yet powerful nationalistic emotions and wounded patriotic pride brought hundreds of thousands of Americans into the streets to celebrate the return.

I hesitate to describe regional movements as movements for 'economic self reliance.' For one thing, cultural sentiments are a vital ingredient in any populist movement. In fact, in oppressed cultures, such as those of Appalachia or the American Blacks, a cultural movement is vitally important before any economic movement could even succeed. So our 'self reliance' will have to include cultural strengthening in order to overcome defeatist attitudes afflicting most Americans who are either the victims of racism, or who judge themselves by television standards. But the term 'self reliance' itself tends to be misleading. It may suggest economic isolation, an idea that the American people will see as utopian and impractical. What's more, planners of such movements will be forced to choose an area with highly diverse popular sentiments if they try to meet the modern requirements for 'self-sufficiency.' If you include steel production as a requirement for modern self-reliance, then the areas of requisite size in the U.S. would be so large that they would lack any potent common sentiments to fuel a populist movement. On the other hand, if we aren't too strict about the term self-reliance, then the size of the units can be more appropriate for a unified powerful movement. The state of North Dakota, for instance, is much too small to be able to claim economic independence, yet it was the scene of the dynamic farmer's movement portrayed in the movie **Northern lights**. In that World War I era struggle, populist farmers set up their own banks and grain marketing institutions. It is no historical accident that those farmers also shared a common Scandinavian background, which added emotional power to their movement. So by regional movements for 'self-reliance' we mean movement for more economic empowerment, for increased local production of the basic necessities of life, and for a strengthening of the regional folk culture as well.

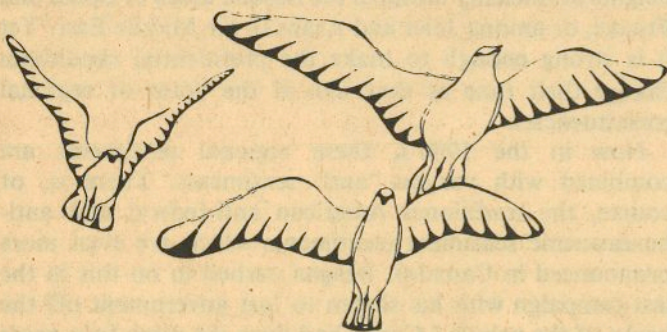
The unique potential of such regional movements in the U.S. — one which is lost entirely in national scale politics — is that they combine a number of sentiments at once. Regional sentimentality is mixed with anti-exploitation sentiments for added potency. The traditional American love of one's own area, folk culture, and dialect is a positive sentiment. It transcends political labels, and is thus good raw material for a unifying humanistic movement. It is fundamentally non-competitive; people have no need to impose love of their region on people in other areas. It is also likely to be an enduring sentiment (useful for any long-term political movement).

This American regional patriotism rarely reaches the heights of intensity found in the Basque areas of Spain and France, or among Jews and Arabs in the Middle East. Yet it is strong enough to make the presidential candidates change their tune as they aim at the votes of regional constituencies.

Now in the 1980's, these regional sentiments are combined with various 'anti' sentiments. There is, of course, the traditional American anti-federal and anti-bureaucratic sentiment (sentiments which are even more pronounced in Canada). Reagan cashed in on this in the last campaign with his slogan to 'get government off the backs of the people.' Carter had done the same four years before with his promise to 'throw the insiders out and put the outsiders in'. Over the last decade there has also been an increasingly strong anti-corporate sentiment as the corruptions of the corporations have repeatedly come to light.

The two developments which may bring all these sentiments to a boiling point in the coming decade are the growing economic and ecological crisis. What is most important about these is that they are affecting different regions in different ways; the response to them will vary from place to place, and further define regions of popular sentiment. For the residents of the Adirondacks and southern Canada, for instance, the problem of acid rain may be the stimulus that ignites radical popular sentiment. For the people of the Black Hills, strip mining may provide the spark. In Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana, plant closings may be the catalyst for popular movement. For the farmers of East Colorado and Kansas, where the Rocky Mountain synfuels industry is threatening their scarce groundwater, the spreading desertification of the area will be the issue. And throughout the country, pollution from various chemical and nuclear dumps is raising the tempers of middle Americans to the boiling point. The point is this: these crises are striking regions selectively and are influencing them in radically different ways. A series of regional populist movements which combine the popular sentiments of the regional folk culture with anti-exploitation and economic survival sentiments could well be the cause of the eventual decentralization of the U.S. corporate economy.

What this approach offers is a uniquely American approach to 'socialism.' But don't mention that word to Americans; to most it means more federal bureaucracy. Yet while we couldn't foresee Americans clamoring for a 'socialist' government, it would not be too far fetched to expect to see the people of Detroit or Youngstown demanding community ownership and worker control of the closed down factories. Even if the conservative farmers of Kansas may never allow themselves to be called 'socialist,' they may well come forward to demand regionally-controlled commodity boards to market their grain (especially if the government continues to use their crops in a 'food is a weapon' policy). So as the developing crises strike each region, there arises a unique challenge to grass roots organizers to move that region toward the ideal of democratically controlled collective economic system, at least in the key industries and modes of livelihood, and in the minimum necessities of life.



We have also found in talking to people, that the traditional U.S. regions are mostly inadequate for this sort of work. New England, for example, is one of the oldest cultural regions in the U.S. Yet within that region there is a fundamental conflict. The people in Upper New England, in the inland and mountainous northern areas, tend to resent the cultural and economic domination by the more populous southern and coastal areas; yet the people in the coastal cities often seem unaware that there is any problem at all. In fact, Massachusetts and Connecticut have some of the highest standards of living in the nation, while Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire have some of the lowest. In the traditional Southwest, the urbanized southern deserts are vastly different from the northern plateau and mountainous areas, both culturally and economically. And even in the hill areas of the Southwest, the Colorado Plateau in the Four Corners area is dramatically different from the Spanish-speaking Upper Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico. The different farming areas of the Midwest may look alike, but the corn and hog farmers of Illinois and Iowa have problems quite different from those of the spring wheat farmers in North Dakota or the winter wheat farmers of Kansas. The South may have seceded from the nation 100 years ago, but today the Black tenant farmers of the Mississippi Delta, the steel workers in Birmingham, Alabama, and the small dairy farmers and mill workers of the Carolina Piedmont may as well live in countries foreign to each other.

An important aside to this discussion is the ever-present 'minority problem.' While the kind of movement we have been discussing could easily allow the Native American Indians their own land and culture, the problem with Blacks and Chicanos is quite different. Any regional movement in the Southwest would have to contend with very serious Anglo-Hispanic clash. And Blacks are so diffused around the country that the regional movement would certainly continue to treat them as second-class citizens. So, demands for a land-base for these groups have to be considered seriously. But in addition, we will have to recognize 'non-geographical regions.' Indeed there have been and continue to be movements for Black cultural and economic self-reliance even without a land base. The point is that these should be respected and seen as parallel to the movement for geographical decentralization and not in conflict with them. Cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinski refers to the effects of today's transportation and communication systems on cultural regions of the U.S. He says that these technologies have enabled new 'regions' or

groups to emerge which stand to the old traditional land regions as do flocks of birds to groups of land based reptiles. There is still solidarity among the birds. Such is surely the case with some of the diffused minority cultures of the U.S.

The accompanying map shows some examples of the different bases for delineating populist regions in the U.S. and in surrounding areas. The borders are drawn to provide a general idea of the area, not to delineate them strictly.

- 1) Upper New England. The mountains and wooded rural areas. Not shown are lands belonging to Native Americans, which are distinct areas themselves.
- 2) The 'Plant Closing Region,' now suffering from the slump in the auto and steel industries. \$60 billion in federal taxes was drained from this area in the last 5 years.
- 3) Upper Michigan. The rural residents of this area resent being dominated by the industrial southern part of the state. They want their own state, called 'superior.'
- 4) The Southern Appalachian Mountains, with their rich folk culture, self-reliant traditions, and severe economic exploitation.
- 5) The Piedmont area. This hilly area has many small dairy farmers. It was against secession during the Civil War, and had little slavery. It is now the center of industry, education and communications in the southeastern portion of the South.
- 6) The Southeast Coastal Plains. This once-vital area is now depressed. Industry has passed it by, leaving a high percentage of poor Black tenant farmers.
- 7) Southern Illinois. The southern third of the new state is dominated by the population center in the north, and by the large farm interests in the center of the state. Unemployment is high and a once self-reliant local economy is being destroyed.
- 8) The Mississippi Delta. This is the only area of the country, except for scattered urban centers, where Blacks can claim a large majority.
- 9) The spring wheat growing areas of the Upper Midwest and Canada.
 - 1) The winter wheat growing areas around Kansas and Eastern Colorado. This area is facing serious and long-term water problems.
- 11) The Upper Rio Grande Valley. This rich cultural center stretches from Santa Fe north up the Rio Grande. It is the remaining stronghold of the original Hispanic culture in the Southwest, but is a spiritual center for Native Americans and Anglos as well.
- 12) The Colorado Plateau. The Native Americans here are desperately fighting for survival against the onslaughts of the energy corporations, which want their resources.
- 13) The border areas of southern Texas. This area, which extends into Mexico, has predominant Spanish language.
- 14) The Sonora Desert. The fragile ecosystem here is being upset by reckless urbanization.

15) Northern California. The issue uniting people here is water. Powerful interests in the south are diverting whole rivers away from their natural courses through the area.

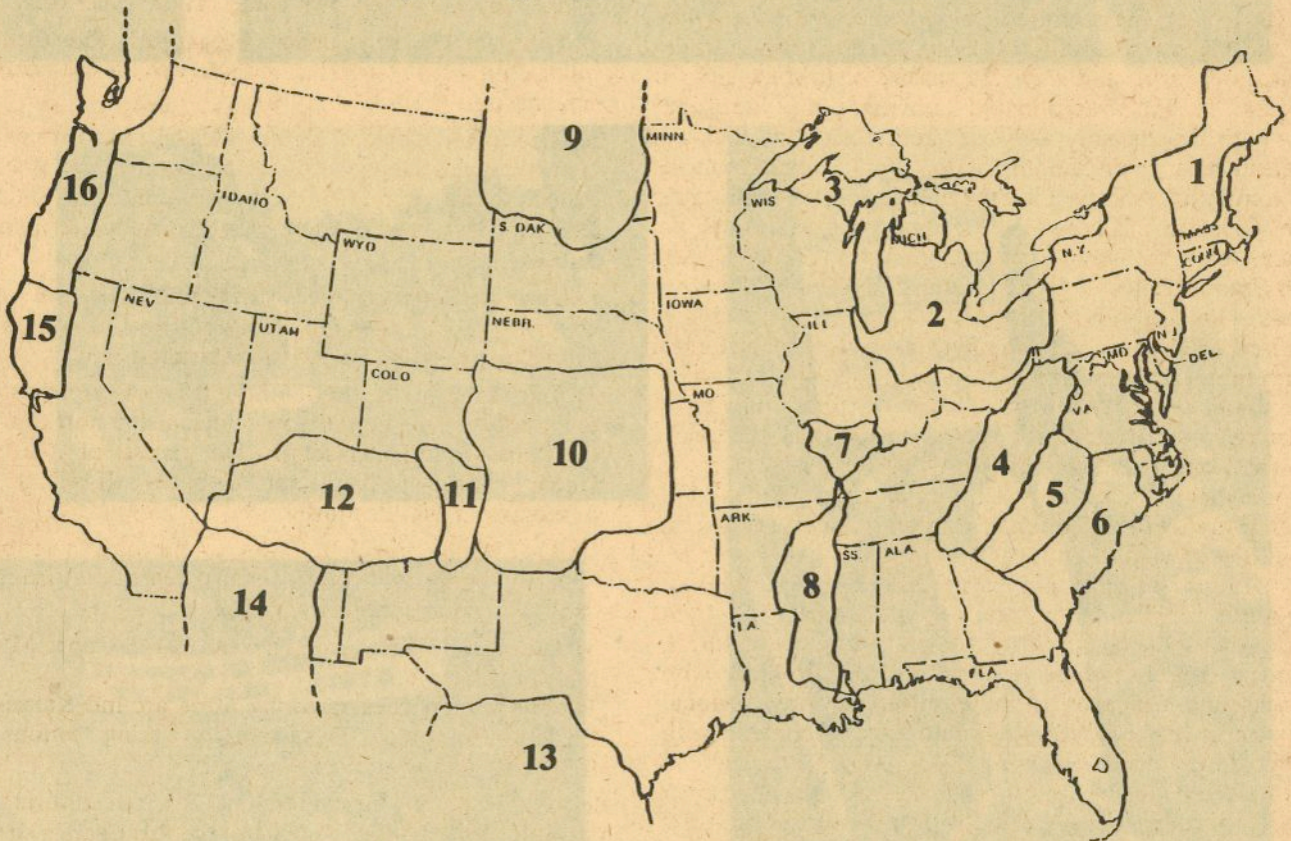
16) 'Ecotopia.' The strong environmental sentiment in the Northwest binds the people together.

These are by no means all the natural divisions within the U.S. They are given as examples to clarify the points made above. Some of them are core areas, from which populist movement could rapidly spread to other areas. A movement for local control of coal and oil resources in southern Illinois, for instance, could spread to central Illinois and Westward. A movement in the same place for aid to small farmers and planning for self reliance could spread eastward to southern Illinois and southward to Kentucky. Likewise a Hispanic nationalist movement along the Texas border or in the Upper Rio Grande Valley could spread to surrounding areas throughout the Southwest. Ideas and institutions which evolved to remedy the desperate crisis in Michigan and Ohio could be taken in New York or in lower New England where the same problems exist in a less severe way. Finally, Black

nationalist gains in the Mississippi Delta could have ramifications throughout the nation.

The ultimate vision of self-reliant units in North America is not necessarily one of separate political units. 'Socio-economic' units is the better term. Cooperation between all units is implied, and participation in some larger national or international governing body would be essential. But this governing body need not resemble the bureaucratic calamity we are now witnessing in the U.S. A higher government that serves the lower areas through research communication and coordination would stand to the larger national governments of the world today as would a nurturing parent to a petty autocrat.

In the present political climate it is hopeful to remember the rich populist traditions of the American people. These traditions are not dead; they will surely come up again in the present crisis. Remember the Chinese character for crisis is a combination of the symbols for 'danger' and 'opportunity.' The crisis which the Reagan Administration's policies threaten will bring with it the great opportunities for progressive change.



Prout is a synthetic philosophy, blending spirituality and social action into a coherent unity. Spiritual goals guide the social action — and the social action, taken as karma yoga and service to the divine, become a broad spiritual path. It is a comprehensive philosophy, including political theory, economic theory, a theory of history and dialectics, social concepts and a spiritual philosophy of life. The cornerstones of its economics are decentralism and cooperative institutions.

PROUT stands for the Progressive Utilization Theory of P.R. Sarkar. Sarkar is also known as Anandamurti, and is the founder of the Ananda Marga movement. Proutist Universal is a global organization working alongside Ananda Marga to implement the Prout philosophy in the political and economic spheres. It has been established since 1975 in the U.S., and has its national office at 1354 Montague St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20011 [202] 882-5579. □



LOVE

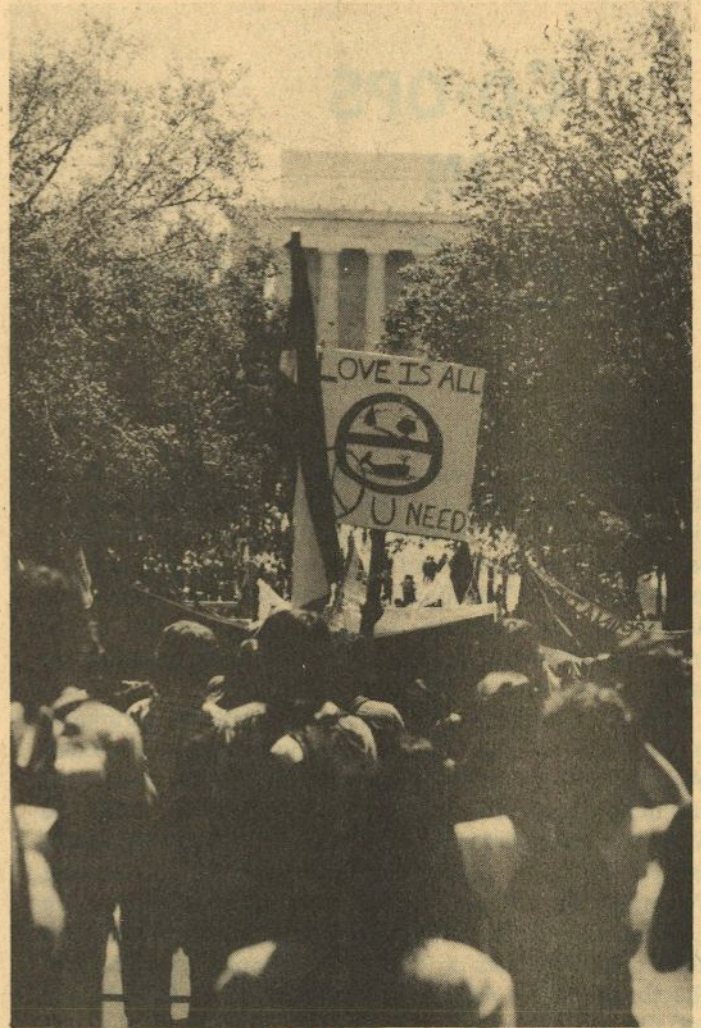
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WELL, THEY CLOSED THE SCHOOL ANYWAY

times: top left, right, center, lower right, middle from the El
 May 3, 1981. Depending on who you believe, 20,000 to
 tors showed up in Washington. The national response was
 convince the Reagan administration to back off their
 pronouncements. A nice bit of work, though I must say
 ments I wondered what I was doing (besides seeing old
 ng to some of the dullest speeches ever. *Bottom Center:* The
 mains a valuable resource for progressive politics. Their
 are in Washington; the conference was held outside
Lower left: Well, they closed the school anyway. But...two
 voted out the Republican mayor, and elected a woman from
 rd who had helped lead the fight.



by Paul Freundlich



CO-OPS IN EL SALVADOR

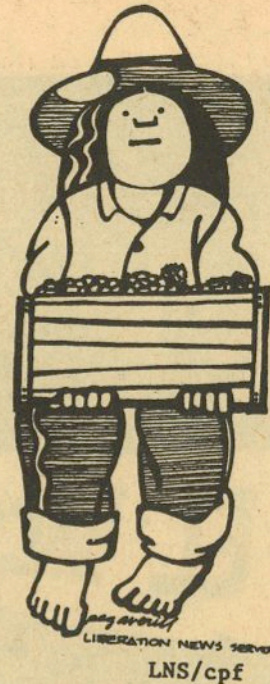
by Bob Pickford

A critical situation exists today in the nation of El Salvador. No doubt, you are all aware of the political violence that currently devastates that country. You may be unaware that co-ops and co-op leaders are among those members of the Salvadorean population who have been singled out for repression by government security forces and by government sponsored, or tolerated, paramilitary organizations such as ORDEN.

Peasant cooperatives emerged in El Salvador primarily as the result of Agency for International Development (AID) efforts to create a mechanism through which US dominated land reform might be effected. In 1968, the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), using AID funds, organized the Salvadorean Communal Union (UCS), a federation of twenty cooperatives with 4,000 members. These US-sponsored peasant cooperatives then complemented a handful of indigenous co-ops. Shortly thereafter AIFLD was expelled from El Salvador and not allowed to return until 1979. During its absence, the UCS co-ops achieved true cooperative political independence from US foreign influence politically in rural areas among the peasant population.

During the last two years the political situation in El Salvador has intensified terrifically. A series of governments has led the nation first in the direction of moderate reform and then, increasingly, in the direction of severe oppression. Peasant cooperatives were seen as a threat to the landed oligarchy and the military which serves it. The present government is entirely unable to control its own security forces and cooperatives. Cooperative leaders, along with schoolteachers, union organizers, political opposition figures, and many others, became targets for assassination, torture and harassment.

On May 3, 1980 twelve members of the cooperative of San Francisco Gualovo were taken from their homes by National Guard Troops and shot. In other cases, cooperatives have elected officers, sometimes at the behest of the government, only to have them shot the following day. In early January, the President of the UCS, Rudolpho Viera, was shot and killed along with two AIFLD employees in the San Salvador Sheraton. These indignities have led the UCS to break with the government's land reform program and to criticize that government for repression of the people.



As American cooperators we have a responsibility to take note when a government directly or by default violently attacks cooperatives and their leaders.

Similar events took place in Germany in the late 1930's. I feel strongly that it is our duty to inform our own government of these events and to oppose further support by our nation to El Salvador. In addition to contacting our Congressional representatives, it is appropriate for us to ask our lobbying organization, CLUSA, to use its influence to bring a halt to further military assistance for El Salvador because that government is unable to control its own military and is implicated in the murders of co-op leaders there.

The Catholic Church, the World Council of Churches, Amnesty International and virtually all of America's allies oppose further US assistance for the government of El Salvador. I urge you to contact Morgan Williams, Allie Felder and Stewart Kohn at CLUSA and request that CLUSA join the growing body of socially conscious organizations throughout the free world that demand an end to US aid for a government run amok. Truly, this is a matter of life and death for our brothers and sisters in El Salvador's cooperatives. Virtually the entire leadership of these independent cooperatives has been killed or forced underground.

I am in the process of gathering more specific information about this matter. I am attempting to make direct contact with primary information sources, primarily the Catholic Church's Legal Aid Program. I would be happy to provide documentation and background information on this subject to those who request it.

In addition to contacting local Congresspeople and the President, concerned people should contact CLUSA, The Cooperative League of the USA. Their address is 1828 L Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. □

Bob Pickford is with the Federation of Ohio River Coops, and the article is reprinted from Food For Thought.

Feminist Political Strategies

as seen from Tallahassee

by Tana McLane

It is late 1981. Where is feminism and what are its political strategies? This question requires a complex answer, for here we are dealing with a living revolution — of political change, but more importantly, of ways of seeing and imagining. This modern, 'second wave' of feminism is now more than a decade old, and its influence has begun to be felt despite the New Right and the many backlashes we see going on before us these days.

The struggle for women's liberation takes place on two major levels: the outer struggle for social change, and the inner, delving, re-defining and reordering of the world — to which feminist thinkers have applied their creative resources. Both these levels of work are necessary, but this difference in emphasis points to the major division among feminists. Our work must continue in both directions, or we will fall short of our goals.

For political struggle — activism — is what achieved such gains as abortion rights and affirmative action. It has been the force which pushed for the inclusion of women in decision-making roles in government (slight), organizations and unions, and somewhat in the workplace. There is still a very long way to go, but we must recognize what has been achieved.

Often feminism is hinged to other oppressions, and it is deeply connected. But it is also, we believe, the major revolution of our times. Feminism ranges across all other boundaries of race, religion, class, nationality, regionality, and joins women in their commonality of experience *as women* in a world that has been male-centered to the exclusion of female input for a very long time. It is the first revolution of social justice or of philosophy that affirms how much has rested upon the shoulders of half the human race. If women today suddenly refused to fulfill their roles as housewives, secretaries, sole child-carers, virgins, whores, baby farms, and all the other non- or low-paid labor we perform, the world would suddenly stop until men figured out how to meet each others' needs for love and maintenance. It would immediately cause a reprioritization of all the grueling, cyclical work which human life requires, elevating it to a place of reverence. Either that or certain races or classes of *men* would be shuffled into those jobs, leaving part of the problem unresolved, but creating a point in history in which a major reevaluation of life and social structure would be possible, in the hands of freed women.

The majority of feminists do not advocate that extreme,



Tana McLane is a freelance publisher and writer. She organized and continues to produce Spectrum: A Cooperative Newspaper for the Tallahassee Community. She has been involved in issues of cooperativism and feminism for the past seven years and produced Communities' section on cooperativism and other political activities in the Southeast in 1980.

yet wonderfully free-ing vision outlined above. Some do, preferring to let the chips fall as they may for the male culture, focusing instead on what it would mean for women. Others, however, foresee a future in which they continue to struggle with men within our existing society, informing them and working toward a time when our place in the culture will be recognized and affirmed — from the nurturant to the politically powerful, spiritually powerful, or powerful in any role women wish to achieve.

This will be done despite the gleeful pronouncements of the New Right, the mass media, and sadly, the Left — that the women's movement has failed, has gone away unrewarded. Women awakened to the reality of their lives every day. All it takes is each one waking up and penetrating the mirage. Once you have seen, have heard, the long and tortuous history of women in patriarchy, the tortuous lives of women on this earth right now, and realize *why*, you can never be the same. You will demand that everything change: your relationships with your partner and your children, the products that are sold and how they are marketed, the male-centered cosmos of all major religions, your right to eat and work and create and travel and walk down a street alone in the dark. You will demand that men deal with rapists and pornographers, and with legislators who work daily to put a lid on this dangerous knowledge and political gain. You will demand that the man/men in your life learn to do the emotional laundry between human beings, as well as the physical chores that maintain us. And you will demand of your women friends time and deep commitment with each other, to love and build a life for women, a life that unbinds our feet and our spirits, that no longer threatens us with torture and death, and that no longer isolates us from each other (women and women, women and men, women and social decisions).

Our struggle must continue on every level. Abortion rights, so narrowly won, are again (still?) in danger of being lost. Write to congressmen and legislators about this, talk to your neighbors and family about the importance of a woman's right to safe and effective birth control as a priority in our culture, and to abortion if she makes that decision. A woman's right to legal abortion assures her *right* to motherhood, not her destiny. There are only a few months left until the Equal Rights Amendment is either gained or lost. Everywhere ERA offices are springing up for a final all-out push to deadline. Imagine living in this country after that date if you, as a woman, are not considered equal to men under the Constitution. Do you trust the Reagan administration, Jerry Falwell, or your locally powerful anti-woman legislator with your rights? Your life? Become informed on the issue of pornography, and separate the issue of 'free speech' and 'censorship' from the reality of what pornography means to women's lives. We as a culture no longer recognize free speech as a valid justification for incidents of racial abuse. Though racism continues to exist, we have made a first step toward eliminating such overt degradation from our art, our media and our education. In contrast, sexual violation and violence toward women is intensifying. There are some excellent books being written on this subject right now. (See Sherry Rauch's article). Find these books, ask your

public library to order them. Women are not to blame for pornography, but it is our responsibility to pressure our male relations to work on other men on the subject, and to *name* pornography for what it is: rape, war, murder . . . regardless of how artfully it is produced.

And read the books of such pioneering thinkers as Mary Daly, Adrienne Rich, Susan Griffin, Andrea Dworkin, Audre Lourde. Unleash your spirit to the wilderness by reading Annie Dillard's *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek* and China Galland's *Women in the Wilderness*.

Reading and discussion, like the original consciousness-raising groups early in this wave of feminism, are the beginning of the network we must continue to build, of mutual support that allows us to step into the unknown and dare express our new ways of thinking. We will help each other along, counsel each other through our distresses, and emerge reconnected to life. Oppression does not glorify the spirit, but it does teach a few things. So many women are beginning to awaken to the impact it has had upon our lives that the ripple-like shocks are spreading out across our culture. Women have dared to reach out under the blanket of this culture and grasp hands, learning to cross our race and class lines. We won't let each other disappear again.

Finally, women must publish. We must record our tracks so often that we can never be skimmed over and erased again. There are many ways to get published, from starting your own publication to pressuring existing publications to begin including articles that are meaningful and inspiring to the lives of real women. There have been millions of strong, intelligent women in our history, and until recently, we didn't even know their names. To rediscover them has taken the enormous energies and talents of many feminists researchers and historians. Let us pervade our times so thoroughly that we can never be forgotten. □



Tana McLane

Threat to Choice Threatens Us All

By Zoe Kopp and Laura Newton

Abortion is not a single issue. It is a complex moral, religious, personal and legislative issue. The public has been whipped into a fervor over the rights of a fertilized egg to the point that they are ignoring the impact that the Human Life Statute/Amendment will have on the rights of the women who carry those cells as well as the right of all individuals. As early as the spring of 1982 our legislators will begin considering a bill which will attempt to define when human life begins. They will attempt to resolve, with legislation, a philosophical and theological debate which has lasted for centuries. If we allow this incursion of religious prerogatives into our government we will have a constitutional crisis that will allow no limit to how far Congress could go to destroy any right now protected by the Constitution. Those who cherish our constitutional freedoms, religious liberty and responsible parenthood should actively communicate their opposition to both the Human Life Statute and the Amendment to their elected representatives in Congress.

In an attempt to make the legislation of morality more palatable the proponents of the HLS/A have dealt with abortion as a single emotional issue. They are banking on the desire to be 'good' in each of us and on the possibility of convincing us that the only way to be good is to be anti-abortion. The implication is that to be pro-choice is to be 'bad.' The issue is infinitely more complex than this

narrow approach implies. To be pro-choice is to believe that the work, families, health and lives of women are valuable enough that they should be given precedence when the decision to terminate or carry a pregnancy to term is made. To be pro-choice is to believe that the question of when human life begins is a matter of philosophy and theology, a private individual matter, and to provide safe and healthy alternatives to women facing problem pregnancies is deeply respectful of the human lives of those women.

The 'New Right' has attempted to disarm us by putting pro-choicers in an untenable position of having to defend something that we realize is complicated and distressing. None of us can fail to acknowledge or to experience the deep ambivalence that an unplanned pregnancy provokes. Nor, can we fail to see the pain and difficulty involved in making the decision to carry to term or to terminate. What we can and will do is recognize that women have incredible strength and integrity, and only they can determine when they can and will nurture a life.

In the Supreme Court decision in *Rowe vs. Wade*, 1973, the decision which legalized abortion, the court stated that question of when life begins is a philosophical and theological question that human beings have not been able to resolve after centuries of debate. Justice Blackmun stated that the court was not in a position to decide such questions for individuals. One serious threat of HLS/A is that they challenge the fundamental premise of the Constitution which guarantees freedom of religion. A publication of the United Methodist Women states that to define the fetus as a person from the moment of fertilization jeopardizes religious liberty by establishing one theological and philosophical understanding in the constitution and compelling all U.S. citizens, regardless of their personal, religious beliefs, to make their choices based on that religious understanding.

The impact, however, is not only moral or religious; the choice not only between pro-life and pro-choice forces. The ramifications of HLS/A have already hit many poor women who have been refused federal funding for abortions by the Hyde amendment. The ramifications will soon hit many other women, both poor and monied, who have not had to decide about unwanted pregnancy because they have relied on the IUD and birth control pills to prevent unwanted pregnancies. Because the IUD and some pills are presumed to prevent the implantation of an already fertilized egg, they are presumed to prevent pregnancy by causing a very early abortion. If the HLS/A becomes law these methods will be illegal.

Legislating against abortion will not stop abortions. For

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centuries women have been forced to resort to abortions due to lack of knowledge of their bodies and their reproductive systems, rape, incest, and imperfect methods of birth control. Even today, with all our scientific advances, no method of birth control is 100 percent effective, and none are without side effects. Making abortion illegal will not change the judgement of untold numbers of women than an unplanned pregnancy will be too damaging to themselves or their families to risk. These women will find their way to the illegal and often unsafe abortionist or attempt to abort themselves, risking hospitalization, impaired fertility, or death from infection and hemorrhage. Making abortion illegal will make an already difficult situation more humiliating, terrifying and dangerous for those who decide they must choose it.

The implications of the HLS/A for the legislative structure of our government and our lives are overwhelming. Declaring a fertilized egg a person under the Constitution would force the religious beliefs of a minority upon all citizens. It would additionally redefine the role of the supreme court, which has previously been to define the individual rights. This change, according to Duke Law Professor William Van Alstyne, "... would mean the end of the Bill of Rights guarded by the judiciary." Giving rights of citizenship to a fetus would necessitate state and/or federal governments to pass laws making abortion a crime equivalent to murder. Enforcement of such a law would require invasions of the privacy of both personal and family lives, such as search and surveillance, in order that each and every pregnancy be monitored. The HLS/A would set precedents that could undermine the basic philosophy of the Constitution.

According to recent polls, 75 percent of the people in the U.S. favor legalized abortion. We, the majority, need to let our representatives know that we oppose the HLS/A. The minority who call themselves the moral majority are vocal, powerful and monied. President Reagan supports the idea behind the HLS/A and has appointed many officials who

support this stance. Although it may seem that they are too powerful to beat, they are not. There is time for those of us who recognize that the HLS/A is a serious infringement of our personal and family lives to show ourselves. □



Zoe Kopp



Laura Newton

Pornography and Silence:

Culture's Revenge Against Nature

by Sherry Rauch

It's here again, the anger, the recognition, the tears. I walk around the apartment alternating between thought of violence and utter helplessness. The anger floats around with me, asking for direction. And since I am determined that it will not be turned inward, I write.

I've been reading **Pornography and Silence: Culture's Revenge Against Nature**. Before I even saw the book, I had read a couple of reviews, or rather, non-reviews. Whether man or woman reviewed the book, they could not say (read; could not name) what the author, Susan Griffin, was saying. This is also true of Andea Dworkin's new book **Pornography: Men Possessing Women**. The reviewers talked of first amendment rights. More importantly, they

Sherry Rauch is a feminist writer and activist in Tallahassee. She has recently been studying to be a plumber. Currently she is organizing and editing the special issue of Spectrum, "The Tallahassee Feminist Project."

ended up saying that, *well, they and their lovers, well, they got off on pornography, it brought excitement to their sex lives, and damn it, they weren't going to let anyone tell them that it is wrong or not good for them.* Well we all like sugar, but that doesn't prevent us from looking at the ways in which it is unhealthy. And pornography is unhealthy, no matter how addicted this culture may be to it.

These authors are trying to explain the connections between the pornographic mind and what happens to women like Millicent Wilson, Tallahassee's latest, and obvious victim of male violence and rage. Why is it that women are not murdered outright but are so often, so typically, sexually abused? Tortured, nipples bitten off. This is not the doing of one individual man, it is part and parcel of this culture's pornographic mind. Every woman a victim, every man an assailant.

Griffin draws parallels between the racist and pornographic minds, or rather, delusions. She shows how when this delusion is threatened with reality, violence occurs to insure the continued existence of this delusion.

She uses the graphic example of the Holocaust to illustrate her point. She shows how Jews were described in Anti-Semitic propaganda previous to Hitler's rise to power. Jews were associated with the 'feminine,' considered 'the dark ones.' They were accused of 'polluting' pure Aryan blood and causing the breakdown of traditional sex roles.

It is not surprising, then, to learn that when Hitler joined the German Worker's Party he immediately took over the management of propaganda, because he felt this department was 'by far the most important.' Propaganda, he said, was needed to 'spread the idea of the movement.'

Griffin goes on to state:

It is a mistake to think that the Nazi propaganda against the Jews existed only to justify the eventual murder of the Jews. On a certain conscious level of the mind this is true. But on a deeper level, the truth is that the Nazi murdered the Jew in order to justify his propaganda. For racist propaganda constitutes a delusionary system. Like the pornographer, the racist desperately needs to believe in his delusion.

The delusions resemble actual events which in turn make us believe the delusion is real. Drawing a parallel between what happened to Jews in the 1940's to what is happening to women today, Griffin says:

We see a film in which a woman is murdered. Or a series of women are murdered, or beaten, or raped. The next day, we read in the newspaper that a woman has been shot to death by a stranger. We hear that the man next door has several times 'broken down' and threatened the life of his wife, his son. An advertisement for a novel depicts a woman's throat cut open and bleeding. And in our minds all this is woven into a fabric which we imagine as inevitable.

We begin to look on the violence of men toward women as a kind of natural phenomenon. And slowly, our own behavior become a part of the

delusion which we have called reality. If we are women, we grow up with a fear which we come to believe is as common as hunger, or thirst, or anger. This fear becomes so much a part of us that it forms a background to all our movements, and we begin to believe this fear is a part of ourselves, born at the same moment as our souls. If we are men, acts of violence toward women become part of a range of behavior which we think of as human.

Hitler, with his propaganda, allowed the German people to participate in a mass delusion. The torture and death of million of Jews happened in order to support this delusion.

Today, pornography is allowing the masses to believe in another delusion. Pornography (read: propaganda) leads us to believe that women love to be whipped, chained, beaten. We are led to believe that pornography is 'liberating,' that pain brings orgasm. That, in the end, sexual expression leads to death. That is what the film, *Snuff*, was all about. In this movie, a woman is **actually** beaten, raped, mutilated, and killed. The murder of a real woman brought to you in living color. It may seem outrageous, but Griffin reminds us that this is not unusual for the pornographer. The Catholic Church made detailed notes on the torturing and burning of witches. The Nazis, although they didn't want the public to know, kept precise records of how each Jew was killed. Pornography today gives detailed accounts of male violence against women in movies, photographs, and books.

But why **do** men create pornography?

Griffin says that men cannot deal with nature. That they are afraid of nature, the power of nature to have the last word, the power of nature not to ask permission, but to just overwhelm. Like Mt. St. Helens. But nature is intrinsic to every living thing. Men also contain nature, an irrepressible, uncontainable volcano. But man wants to control nature, so he projects this nature onto women. That is why women are associated with nature, closer to the earth, earth mama. And man sets out to control that nature: with whips and chains, by saying woman ask for rape, claiming women love it, turning the virgin into a whore. But since nature continues to give life, demands to grow, man must continue to conquer it. Hence: the proliferation of pornography. Hence also, mind split from body, desire from love, a splitting apart, a rape of ourselves.

I remember reading Mary Daly's book, *Gyn/Ecology* several years ago. In the middle section Daly lists some of the atrocities that have been committed and are still being committed against women: the crushing and deforming of Chinese girls' feet, the mandatory and forced live burning of widows of all ages in India, the popular knee-jerk American diagnosis of uterus removal as a 'simple' cure-all, and the razoring off of young girls' clitorises in Africa. It was during the part about genital mutilation that I began to cry, began to hit my pillow, yet read on through my tears. In some cultures in Africa young girls are initiated into the role of woman by having their clitorises removed, sometimes by a sharp piece of glass or whatever other sharp object is around. This is done to insure she is a

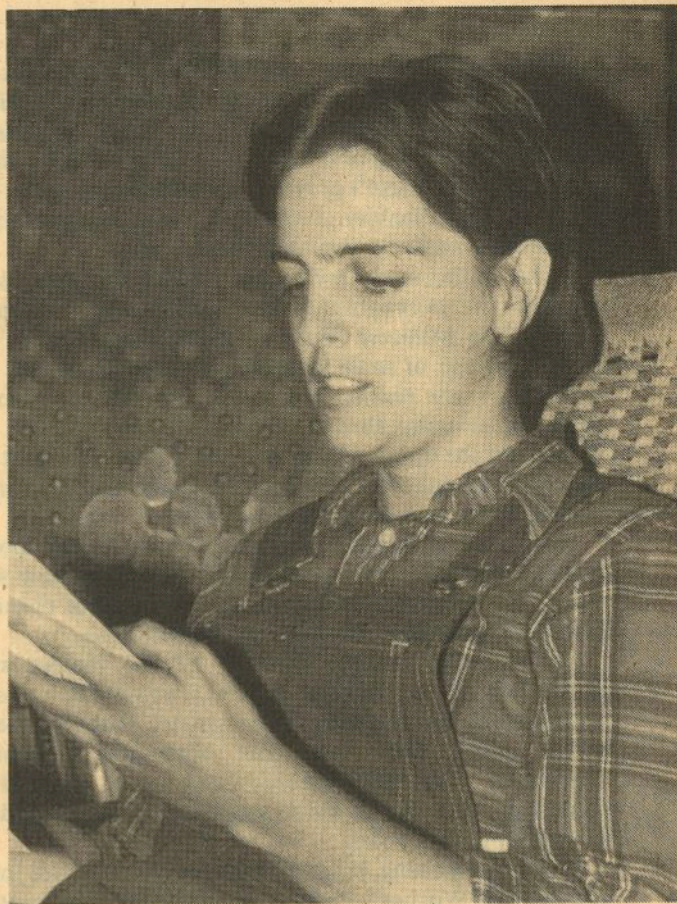
passive breeder and not an erotic being who seeks a lover. And if it is not done, she is an outcast.

I identified with these women, not just because they are women and I couldn't believe something like this could ever happen, but also because in some ways I was those women. I too had been divorced from my clitoris. I never really know where it was, or how it functioned, never even touched it until I was twenty-one. Never took a mirror and looked at it until I was twenty-two. Men look at, feel their penises every day. They are taught how sexuality brings pleasure. Women are not taught where their seat of pleasure is. If the clitoris, vulva, vagina are talked about at all, they are usually referred to as 'down there.'

At twenty-four I am still amazed how internalized pornographic images, and especially self-body hate is in women. Even radical feminists have a hard time getting rid of these images: one woman wants to have her face sanded because of two tiny scars she is convinced ruins her beautiful face; another swears that if her breasts sagged she would spend her last dollar having them lifted; and myself, no matter how hard I try, am embarrassed by and want to hide the hair that grows on my upper lip, on my chest, stomach, my upper thighs. I have not yet learned to feel proud of, encourage even, the free growing of my nature.

It would seem that after reading **Pornography and Silence** I would be outraged, angry, and depressed. I was, and still am, but something else is happening, also. Griffin doesn't end her book with a chapter on 'now that we know the problem, we can respond/resist in the following ways.' But she gave me something more. She told me, over and over again throughout her book, that I was a whole human being, no matter how much male 'culture' wants to divide me. All of us, she says are whole beings. We are born whole, with the capacity to lead healthy lives. She describes this child:

The beauty of the child's body. The child's closeness to the natural world. The child's heart. Her love. Touch never divided from meaning. Her trust. Her ignorance of culture. The knowledge of her own body. That she eats when she is hungry. Sleeps when she is tired. Believes what she sees. That no part of her body has been forbidden to her. That anger, fear, love, and desire pass freely through this body. And for her, meaning is never separate from feeling.



Sherry Rauch

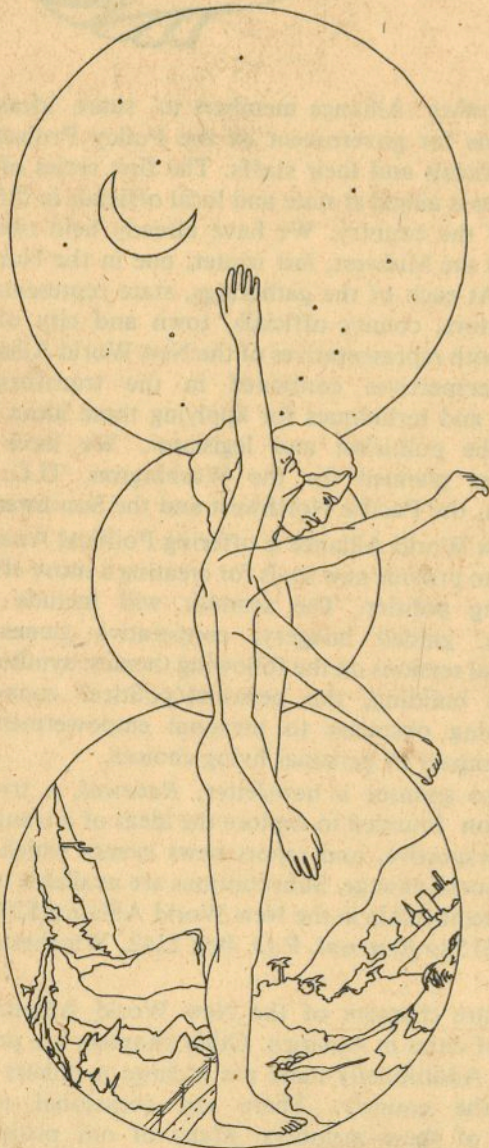
Although so often our 'child' is repressed by male violence, Griffin reminds us that there have been people who have existed as whole people in this world (Fannie Lou Hammer, Paula Modersohn-Becher, Ball Shen Tov, Master of the Good Name, Frederick Douglas, George Sand, Zora Neale Hurston — the list could be as long as a book, she says). These people are a part of us. "We cannot say we have entirely forgotten," she says. "The heart. The circle. We have emblems. The triangle. We have knowledge. The rose. We have choice." □

These articles are part of the Tallahassee Feminist History Project, covering a decade of thought and activism. They are available for \$1.00 from Spectrum, 625 E. Brevard St., Tallahassee, FL 32308

The scale of society's endeavors should be as appropriate as possible to the goals of the small community, the neighborhood, the association, the congregation, and the workplace. It is on this scale that the values of individual initiative, mutual aid, cooperation, and democratic participation are the most easily and directly experienced.

— from the *New World Alliance Transformation Platform*

NEW WORLD ALLIANCE



Is a truly new politics possible? Can a political movement synthesize the best values of the left and the right; the spiritual and the political; and most importantly, commit itself to creating a more loving and humanistic process of achieving its goals? This is the task that the New World Alliance is involved in.

Our initial gathering in December of 1979 was catalyzed by Mark Satin (author of *New Age Politics*, and a grassroots networker). The Alliance was formed by people who feel that the greatest need in American politics today is not only new vision, but also a practical process for achieving this vision that is totally harmonious with our ideals and goals. We are a new national political movement representing many diverse transformation-oriented groups from all over the country. We are alternative energy activists, therapists, spiritual community founders, consumer advocates, futurists, globalists, decentralists, etc.

The New World Alliance is a new national political organization that represents a transformational/New Age perspective. We believe that our nation is entering a period of fundamental transition, where it will either decline as a civilization, or find the inner resources to achieve a systematic transformation toward greater individual self-actualization, harmony with nature, decentralization, social justice and global cooperation. The New World Alliance seeks to break away from the old quarrels of left-versus-right and to help create a new political consensus based on a realistic appraisal of our nation's problems and our highest shared visions of a better future. The Alliance is not a new political party, but something more fundamental: the New World Alliance is a movement for political transformation that seeks to revitalize our nation's political process and sense of purpose.

We are developing the following projects to accomplish this political revitalization:

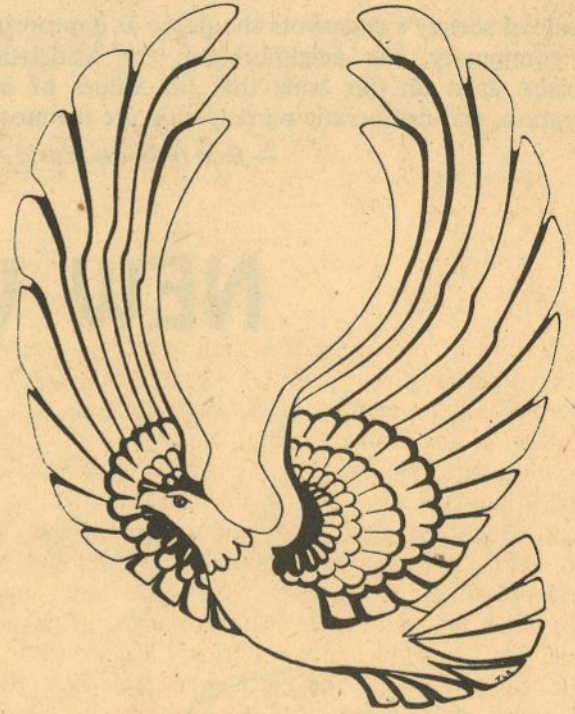
The Policy Project was founded to develop the core values of this new political perspective, and the implications of these values in a broad range of policy areas relating to local, state, federal government. The first effort by the New World Alliance to do this resulted in

the transformation platform — a 100 page document addressing global security, economics, energy, land and natural resources, health and education, community development, transportation, crime and justice and science and technology. (Copies of this platform are available from the New World Alliance office, 733 15th ST., Suite 1131 NW Washington, D.C. 20005 for \$5)

The Consultation with Government Officials Project

What Does The New World Alliance Advocate?

- **A Politics of Hope** that treats the problems and scarcities before us as opportunities to clarify our sense of what is truly important in life.
- **A Politics of Healing** that goes beyond traditional polarities of left-against-right and us-against-them and in all matters promotes cooperation and community, understanding and mutual-aid.
- **A Politics of Discovery** that rekindles such traditional values as self-reliance, wholesome living, thrift, generosity, neighborliness, community, and the honoring of excellence.
- **A Politics of Human Growth** that fosters the fullest development of each person's potential by working to improve our birthing and parenting, our nutrition, our health and fitness, our family and community life, our education, our arts and sciences, our way of growing old and our way of dying — all the things that make us fully human.
- **A Politics of Ecology** which understands that we are only one part of a seamless web of life, that damage to any part is damage to the whole, and that we are responsible for life on Earth.
- **A Politics of Participation** that provides every member of society with a full and equal opportunity to influence the political and economic institutions affecting their lives, and that fosters personal responsibility to fulfill that task.
- **A Politics of Appropriate Scale** that eliminates needless bureaucracy, removes the special privileges which maintain unnecessarily large concentrations of wealth and power, and wherever feasible encourages smaller industries, businesses, cities, and farms.
- **A Politics of Globalism** which recognizes that we are all citizens of an emerging planetary civilization in which we must observe the rights and needs of people everywhere as fully as our own.
- **A Politics of Technological Creativity** that develops the full potential of contemporary science by putting it in service to constructive activity, and guiding it by humanistic and ecological, rather than technocratic values.
- **A Politics of Spirituality** which understands that we are at one with all creation, that each human being possesses a core of infinite worth, and that the way we do things is as important as the things we do.



brings together Alliance members to share ideas and implications for government of the Policy Project with elected officials and their staffs. The first series of these conferences is aimed at state and local officials in different regions of the country. We have already held two: one focused in the Midwest, last winter; one in the Northeast this fall. At each of the gatherings, state representatives, state senators, county officials, town and city officials gathered with representatives of the New World Alliance to discuss perspectives contained in the transformation platform, and techniques for applying these ideas to the role of the politician and legislator. We have other conferences planned for the Washington, D.C. area, California, the Pacific Northwest and the Southwest.

The New World Alliance is offering Political Awareness Seminars to provide new tools for creating a more effective and loving politics. The seminar will include group discussion, guided imagery, cooperative games, and experiential sessions on the following themes: synthesizing, consensus building, the personal/political connection, transforming obstacles to personal empowerment, the political impact of personal living choices.

We also sponsor a newsletter, *Renewal*, a tri-weekly publication founded to explore the ideas of a transformational perspective, and report news events which reflect relevant social change. Subscriptions are available either as part of membership in the New World Alliance (\$20), or by sending \$15 to *Renewal*, P.O. Box 3242, Winchester, VA 22601.

There are chapters of the New World Alliance in a number of cities in America. Other chapters are presently forming. Additionally there are at-large members spread around the country. There are occasional regional meetings of these members. Many of our projects are co-sponsored with other networks and organizations working for similar goals. □

NEW WORLD ALLIANCE: Explorations

1. From Paradigm To Politics

by David Spangler

Every culture is the product of a world view — a *paradigm* — that represents that culture's understanding of the nature of reality. Generally, this paradigm is not only a description of how things are but also a prediction: it sets up the boundaries of what that culture will consider to be normal, natural, and real, the boundaries of its expectations, its opportunities and its limitations. Any phenomenon, any idea or behavior, that does not meet those expectations or otherwise fall within those boundaries is either ignored or considered unreal. For example, one element of the paradigm of European culture in the Middle Ages was that the earth was flat; to consider traveling around the earth was regarded either as fantasy or suicidal folly.

Of course, reality with a capital "R" will always exceed the boundaries of our definitions of it; we will always discover that there is something more beyond the boundaries of normality that we have set for ourselves or our society. We may choose to reinforce those boundaries and ignore that 'something more.' There will continue to be experiences and phenomena, however, which challenge those reinforcements, as well as courageous individuals who dare to explore beyond our accepted frontiers of knowledge and thus also become messengers from a wider reality. In time, the weight of evidence in support of the wider perspective of reality becomes irrefutable. Then, the boundaries shift and fade; the familiar paradigm is revised to become part of a broader definition or normality. New boundaries are set, and the process begins to repeat itself.

Each time the boundaries of the familiar are breached, each time the paradigms shift, society changes. New factors come into play which policy makers must begin to consider. Sometimes these new factors are relatively small or affecting only a small proportion of the population; other times, they overthrow entire cultures. Consider, for example, the change wrought in European culture with the rise of science. This change was not due just to new discoveries. The transformative power of science is that it is a way of knowing. It offers a way of relating to the universe that does not depend on a hierarchy of authority. Where previously higher officials in the form of the Church and the aristocracy could define reality and therefore the nature of the social state, through science, any individual willing to educate himself or to take the time and care to observe could, through observation and experimentation, determine for himself the nature of the world. Science restored sovereignty to the individual questioning mind, one of the contributing elements to the rise of democracy as we know it and the decline of the authority of the Church as a political institution.

Also, the description of the universe offered by Sir Isaac Newton through his equations of gravity and motion extended this process by allowing the emergence of the image of a 'clockwork universe,' one that required no God at all since its workings could seemingly be adequately explained simply through Newtonian mechanics (an image, by the way, at which Newton himself would have been aghast). The notion that the universe is more like a machine than an organism ruled by blind laws of motion rather than by the living consciousness of Deity was one of the contributing factors to the rise and progress of the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of the Industrial Society in the form that these processes took.

The politics of today is very different from the politics of three hundred years ago precisely because of these changes in world views brought about by new visions of reality. Now, in our own time, there are many who say that a similar paradigm shift is presently occurring which will have as a consequence a transformation of society (and of the politics and policies that govern it) at least as significant as those which so profoundly altered European culture.

It is always easier to see such transformations in hindsight than to discern them when one is in their midst, unless a person is gifted with a prophetic depth of insight. When paradigms shift, one is more likely to experience the confusion and disorder that accompanies such a transition than to see clearly the emergence of the new. Such an experience often leads people to cling more tenaciously to the familiar and thus inspires social policies that are conservative and even repressive until finally the weight of the change is too great to resist.

It is painfully obvious that the modern world is in the throes of disorder and change. The breakdowns in society are generally highlighted while the breakthroughs into a new kind of society are often ignored, often because they are not recognized as such. That such breakthroughs are occurring, however, is apparent to anyone who looks for them, and they are generally taking the form of the emergence of a new cultural paradigm.

The futurist, Willis Harmon, from Stanford Research International, defines two broad aspects of this new paradigm as expressions of 'the ethological ethic' and the 'self-realization ethic.' From ecology we are learning of the interrelatedness of existence and of our interdependency on a larger whole of which we are only a part; from the self-realization movements, which would include the whole domain of spirituality, we learn that there is an inherent tendency towards growth and development within all levels of that wholeness, that the universe works to encourage change and growth (whereas human society all too often,

in defense of the known and the familiar, covertly or overtly works to discourage these qualities or to channel them into accepted areas, which is basically the same thing).

In fact, the extent to which the universe is a wholeness possessing an inherent imperative to grow and evolve has been emerging from scientific laboratories over the past forty years, and the results are as transformative to our familiar ways of thinking as Columbus's trip to the new world was to the flat-earthers. What is emerging from many branches of science is an image of a universe in which everything is connected to and somehow contained within everything else, in which wholeness is the operative principle, in which everything appears to be a function of consciousness or mind (and thus requires us to redefine those terms to free them from a purely human perspective), and in which reality is very much stranger than anything we might have suspected.

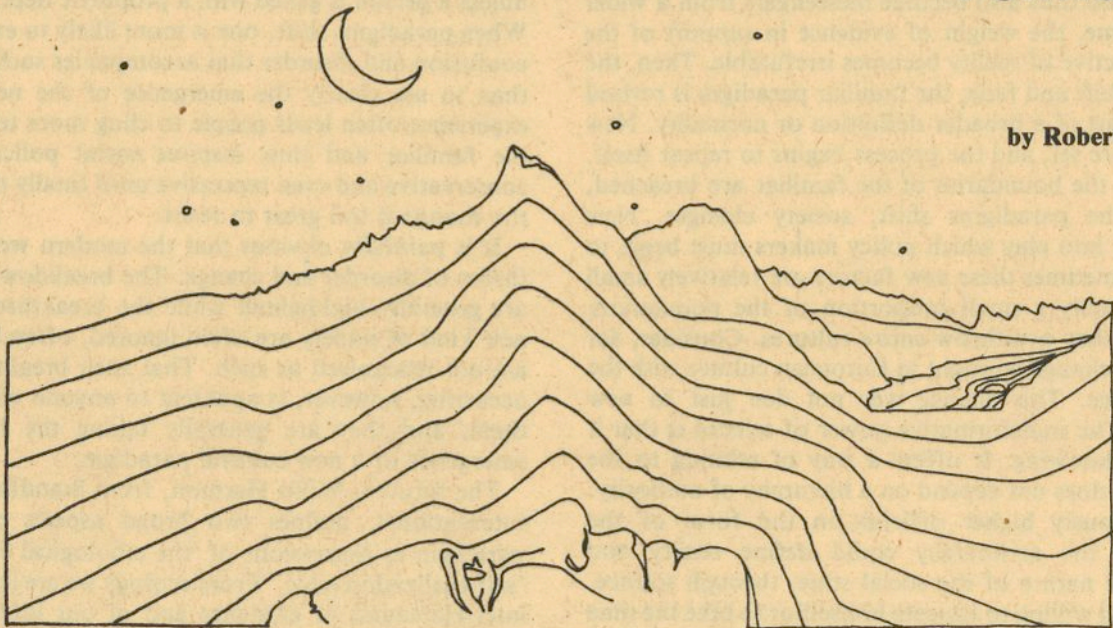
This image of reality is supportive to those grassroots movements that are currently seeking new (or renewed) forms of community, of harmony with nature, of synergy between the individual and the whole and of personal and collective governance. What might be the politics of a

holistic culture, of a culture based on Harmon's two ethics? What might be the politics of a culture whose paradigm of reality included the idea (now being seriously proposed and investigated by science) that the earth itself is a living being? What might be the politics of a culture where the boundaries of normal human perception dissolve before the deeper connections represented by ESP and other psi phenomena?

In short, we are witnessing the emergence of a paradigm that radically redefines the nature of our world, the meaning of life, and the nature of the human being and his or her capabilities. As with similar shifts in the past, the result will be a restructuring of the society. The nature of the politics that will guide such a society, where the central ordering principle of the new paradigm is wholeness and the knowing and harmonious participation in processes of planetary evolution, is still unknown territory. What is clear, through, is that in the midst of this change, a different politics will emerge, either one that seeks to delay or prevent that paradigm shift through increasing repressive policies or one that accepts the responsibility of a new vision and seeks to assist this transition to be as peaceful and skillful as possible. □

2. Unitive Politics: an approach for the transforming politician

by Robert Buxbaum



We live in a time marked by crisis and conflict. Yet under the growing pressure for creative solutions, more and more people have begun searching for a new model of problem solving, one which goes beyond the standard 'I win, you lose' approach.

The new model recognizes that much of the conflict that exists today stems from unnecessary polarization, from excessive division of issues along ideological lines, from the failure to discuss long-term mutual interests in contrast to short-term interests, and from the projection of unresolved

personality issues onto political situations. It is designed to break through what Washington Monthly editor Charles Peters recently called the 'automatic response' where political discussion 'divides along predictable lines.' It cuts through the confusing discussion about pressing national issues which seem riddled with complex social problems and to be successful in electoral politics.

Two main insights form the core of the new approach:

1) Self-knowledge and ongoing personal growth are essential to effective political life. They are necessary to deal with the pressures of public life, to maintain objectivity, and to communicate effectively.

2) The best solutions to complex social problems are rarely generated by ideological perspectives or by simple compromises. Rather they are developed through a creative synthesis of the best elements of a number of views into a wholly new perspective.

SELF-KNOWLEDGE AND PERSONAL GROWTH

Greater self-knowledge increases your political effectiveness in two ways. First, it helps you deal more clearly and appropriately with others. A basic rule of thumb is: *The more self-aware you are, eg., the more your perceptions are in reality and the less dependent you are on others for your sense of value, the more clear and effective you can be in your dealings with others.* For example, most people find it difficult to assert themselves appropriately. They tend either to hold back assertion or to be overly aggressive and intimidating. Often a person errs on each extreme alternately, depending on the type of situation he or she is in. The difficulty asserting usually stems from childhood situations and from learned behavior. Awareness of the ways you assert or fail to assert yourself with people, and of the inner reasons behind your behavior make it easier to deal directly and appropriately.

Self-awareness also increases political effectiveness because it helps you understand political issues more clearly. A second rule of thumb is: *Your ability to solve a problem in the world around you is directly proportional to your awareness of and ability to solve the same problem in yourself.* Most political and social issues contain a large psychological element. You will often find that the underlying psychological dynamics of a policy issue are similar to problems you have found in yourself. This is particularly true when you have a special concern about the policy in question. By applying your personal solutions, you can find creative new approaches to the policy issue.

Unitive Solutions

Whenever there is a conflict or divided opinion on an issue there is some essential element and some distortion contained in each side. This does not mean each side is equally right or wrong and that we should strike a compromise at a mid-point between the two positions. Rather, it means that by incorporating the positive element of each alternative the best solution can be found. In her book, *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, Marilyn Ferguson describes this as the Radical Center. "It is not neutral, not middle of the road, but a view of the whole road. From this vantage point we can see that the various schools of thought on any issue contain valuable contributions along with error and exaggeration."

This new insight provides useful applications to public relations, issue analysis and conflict resolution. For example, pro-choice groups have been accused of being immoral and callous about human life. Although these are generally false charges, they indicate other weaknesses in the pro-choice position: not giving full weight to the seriousness of an abortion for a woman, not sufficiently emphasizing prevention of unwanted pregnancy, or failing to discourage the use of abortion as a contraceptive.

The extreme position of pro-lifers contains within it an appropriate concern for the seriousness of a decision to abort a child. By taking this concern seriously, pro-choice groups could correct a major flaw in their position and the way they communicate it to the public. Such a change might well diffuse support among the more marginal less extreme members of the pro-life constituency.

The unitive approach contradicts traditional political wisdom concerning public relations. The traditional wisdom is that of the partisan approach which maintains that only extreme positions and fear and anger can generate political support. It says that by admitting any truth in the other side and moderating your stand you weaken your position. However, the vast majority of Americans are so fed up with this approach and the pretense and exaggeration it involves that the traditional wisdom may be outmoded. It may well be that the unitive approach — when applied to any divisive political issue — is tremendously effective in developing broad-based public support for legislation and in dealing with policy issues during political campaigns.

The unitive approach also applies to issue analysis. One example is the issue of U.S. military strength. Led by Senators Gary Hart and Sam Nunn a group of U.S. Senators and Representatives are saying the U.S. should be strong enough to respond to real threats and yet should not waste funds or develop shows of strength as a compensation for domestic weaknesses. Their position emphasizes developing a lean, effective conventional force while attempting to end the arms race. This position accepts the essential concern of those supporting military buildup — that we need the strength to respond to real threats. Yet it answers this concern in a way that also responds to those who are alarmed by excessive spending and militarization. This type of solution has the potential for broad appeal; it responds to the essential concerns of two sides on the issue without compromising either.

Finally, the unitive approach is essential for conflict resolution whether the conflict is within your staff or between constituent groups. In *Getting to Yes*, a recent book by Roger Fisher and William Ury of the Harvard Negotiation Project, the authors describe this process in detail. One of the keys is focusing on interests rather than on positions. Positions are static and tend to exacerbate conflict. The interests those positions were designed to satisfy, on the other hand, can often be fulfilled by a variety of other solutions. Once the interests of the two parties are clear, you can more easily invent 'options for mutual gain.' This approach can help you to resolve otherwise intractable conflicts and to play an important role as an elected representative.

Putting these two insights into practice creates a new breed of elected official, noticeably different from the traditional politician. These new politicians will be seen as independent thinkers, focusing on the issue rather than on ideology or partisanship. It will be impossible to categorize them as liberal or conservative. Some people may accuse

them of being inconsistent or wishy-washy, but they will also almost certainly be widely respected for their honesty, openness and conviction. And they will likely be personally happier, leading more rounded lives than politicians of the past. Most important, they will be effective in forging new solutions and in creating a safer, saner and healthier world.

3. A New Value Base For Politics

by Robert Olson

Hundreds of books and articles have been written in the past few years on the theme that our society is in transition from the industrial era of our past to some form of post-industrial future. These writings contain many disagreements and differences of emphasis, yet they come to strikingly similar conclusions about changes that are needed in our society's guiding values.

The 'core values' that consistently appear in these writings include the classical values of our cultural heritage, but they also include values that contrast with the more recent value orientation of industrial society. Some examples are listed below:

Values of industrial society **Emerging post-industrial values**

Conquest of nature	<i>Harmony with nature</i>
Masculine qualities	<i>Balance of feminine/masculine</i>
Personal material success	<i>Self-realization, balanced satisfaction</i>
Consumption maximization	<i>High quality of life</i>
Labor productivity	<i>Energy/Capital/Labor productivity</i>
Bigger is better	<i>Human scale</i>
Formal economy (money and jobs)	<i>Informal economy (also home production, barter, self-reliance)</i>
Centralization/hierarchy	<i>Decentralization and networks</i>
Competition	<i>Synergy</i>
Nationalism	<i>Global, national, regional, local identity</i>
Mobility	<i>Community and network participation</i>
Short-term realism	<i>Foresight, long-term realism</i>
Specialization	<i>Contextual thinking</i>
Homogeneity	<i>Diversity</i>
Standardization	<i>Customization</i>
Synchronization	<i>Time flexibility</i>

Different movements in our society have been converging on the new post-industrial values for different reasons. The ethnic movements of oppressed minority groups are directed against racial hierarchy, economic exploitation and cultural homogenization, and are a major force for cultural diversity. The counterculture rejected virtually all of the distinctive values of industrial society and sought a cooperative and materially simple way of living based on most of the new values. However, it sometimes overreacted to industrial values and went to opposite extremes like 'anti-technology' attitudes or a rejection of all 'time discipline.' The ecology movement of

the middle class stresses harmony with nature, synergy, and contextual thinking. The human potential movement promoted all the new values, especially self-actualization. The women's movement has influenced several values, including time-flexibility, as well as legitimating many feminine qualities. The 'futures' movement of thought stresses foresight and global identity. Various technology reform movements (solar advocates, appropriate technologists, etc.) favor decentralization, customization, human scale, energy productivity, harmony with nature, etc.

Opinion polls and survey research, newspaper content analysis, and other types of evidence suggest that most of these post-industrial values have spread (in diffused form) to a majority of the population. The key question is whether these value shifts are superficial fashions, or important but temporary fluctuations, or deep changes that stem from a fundamental restructuring taking place in philosophy and science, technology, and our social structure. If the shifts are fundamental, then politicians and entrepreneurs who are sensitive to and receptive to the new values are likely to be increasingly successful over time, and those who are not are more likely to fail.

Some Books — alternative views of the transition to a post-industrial society:

- Duane Elgin, **Voluntary Simplicity** (1981)
- Marilyn Ferguson, **The Aquarian Conspiracy** (1980)
- Buckminster Fuller, **Critical Path** (1981)
- Johan Galtung, **The True Worlds** (1981)
- Willis Harman, **An Incomplete Guide to the Future** (1976)
- Hazel Henderson, **The Politics of the Solar Age** (1981)
- Karl Hess, **Dear America** (1975)
- Yoneji Masuda, **The Information Society** (1981)
- New World Alliance, **A Transformation Platform: The Dialogue Begins** (1981)
- James Robertson, **The Sane Alternative** (1978)
- Theodore Roszak, **Person/Planet** (1978)
- Mark Satin, **New Age Politics** (1980)
- Peter Schwartz and Jay Ogilvie, SRI Internation, **The Emergent Paradigm** (1980)
- Alvin Toffler, **The Third Wave** (1980)
- Kimon Valaskakis et al, **The Conserver Society** (1979) □

The Faire's the Thing

By D. A. Barber

In early October Los Angeles took a big step towards raising co-op consciousness within the city. Driven by the relentless energies of Lois Arkin, founder and Director of **Cooperative Resources and Services (CRS)** — a non-profit information clearing house and training center — the county government designated October as "Co-op Month." But this was only the beginning. The real event for Los Angeles was the **First Los Angeles Co-op Faire**, a project CRS, with a steering committee of local co-ops, worked on for over a year. The idea: Bring together a variety of co-op enterprises and their supporters to get a sense of their numbers and diversity, promote co-ops as a social change movement and educate the public. Indirectly, the Faire also illustrated that co-ops are **not** tied to any one particular cultural group.

Los Angeles has seen its share of co-ops — both successful and not so successful. Recently the city was one of six selected by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to create a model for limited yield co-op conversions (i.e. **affordable**).

Statewide there are about 70 cooperative food stores in California and at least one buying club in every city with a population of 40,000 or more. In Los Angeles, food co-ops have been struggling along for quite some time, with many going under in the past decade. Those that have survived are the ones that usually offer other services beside food — such as child care.

But L.A. is still having co-op growing pains to this day, like other cities. The Southern California Cooperative Warehouse, a federation of more than 40 co-ops, is a major bulk supplier for most of Southern California and is one example of problems the local movement is experiencing. Both local and intrastate transport has been handled by small trucking firms that folded over the summer. But the L.A. movement pushes on.

Community Self Reliance Through Cooperation

With such a growing interest in the economic alternatives offered by co-ops, the key and major challenge of the movement is educating the non-co-op public to think in terms other than merely **food** co-ops. At the Faire, a cross-section of the some 40 groups participating easily

illustrated the local movement's diversity. They included; the Humanist Construction co-op, Santa Monica Consumers Union, Recreation Equipment, Inc., University Cooperative Housing Association, Peace Press, "Free For All" (a skills and services poll), Southern California Cooperative Warehouse, Consumer Federation of California, a crafts marketing co-op sponsored by the Los Angeles County Senior Citizens Department, Parent Participatory Nursery Co-ops, Concerned Citizens for Intentional Communities, the Provisional Theater Collective, California State Department of Consumers Affairs Co-op Development Program, Los Angeles City Community Development Department, Los Angeles Funeral Society and the Sunkist Growers Association.

With its theme as "community self reliance through cooperation," the free Faire was held at Exposition Park (to take advantage of the public crowds that the nearby Museum of Science and Industry normally draws on the weekends). It was six hours of films, entertainment and speakers. Says Lois Arkin of CRS, "The major thrust of our efforts have been, and will continue to be, educating people about what a co-op is. We believe you can't have co-op development without co-op consciousness — and we don't mean that in a metaphysical way. People have to know what you're talking about when you use the word, 'co-op'."

No doubt the Faire served this purpose. Among the speakers were Helen Nelson, of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., and former California congressman Jerry Voorhis, the executive director of the Cooperative League from 1947-1965 and one of the co-op movement's most articulate supporters. Harry described the idea of worker co-ops as a way for "people to protect their jobs, because," he continued, "little business is going to be in bad shape pretty soon." Jerry told the crowd that probably "only big business is going to get much consideration from this administration."

The First Los Angeles Co-op Faire illustrated that the movement is alive at a local grass-roots level, as well as at an international level. Both are important and both say something about the kind of social changes cooperating brings about.

Helen Nelson, of the Cooperative League, described her experience at recent International Conference of Coopera-

D.A. Barber is a free-lance writer travelling the west.

tives in Helsinki, Finland as "fantastic." Finland is a country that is the essence of co-op thinking on a *national* scale. Says Helen, "The biggest construction company in Finland is a co-op. Many of the major restaurants in Helsinki are cooperatives (as well as) the major insurance company."

In all, about 67% of the food business in the whole of Finland is conducted by cooperatives for their members.

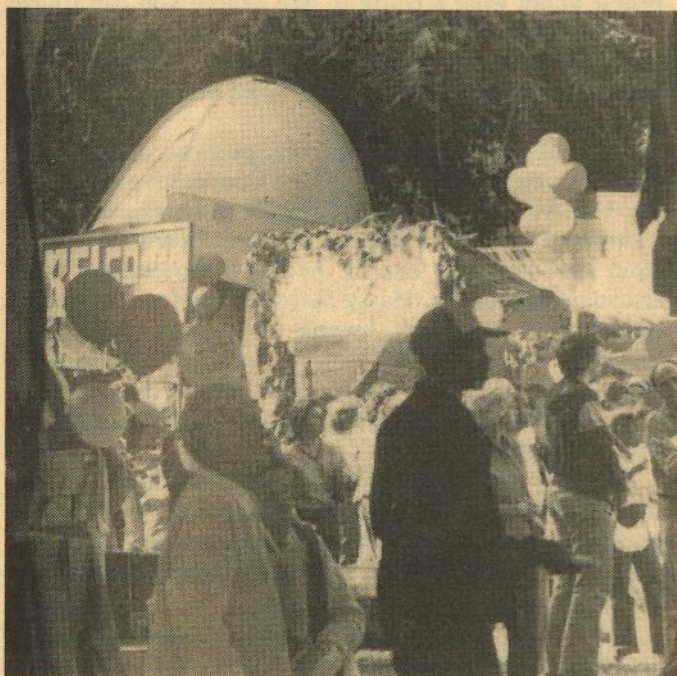
"It is a reality, and it can be a reality for us here in California."

While the co-op movement is flexing its muscles on an international level, the inner city co-ops serve a more immediate purpose — *survival*. The Watts/Willowbrook/Compton Food Co-op was among the assorted food co-ops represented at the Faire. Deep within the Los Angeles inner city, the Watts community suffers from a new form of prejudice that is working its way into poorer neighborhoods across the country. It is called food **redlining**. With higher operating costs and vandalism, the large supermarket chains are retreating from the poorer areas. As many as half of America's inner city supermarkets have closed in the past fifteen years, according to the **Food Marketing Institute**.

Talking with Reggie Nisby, Chairman of the Board of the Watts Co-op, one realizes what a serious problem food redlining is when one of the only sources of food in the area is a co-op. In fact, the role this particular co-op plays is so important for the area that it opens its doors at 7 AM.

"We're located directly across from a housing project, so consequently there are four hundred to five hundred families within walking distance. Within a five mile radius we may have two or three (commercial markets). Safeway moved out. Vons moved out and there were two other commercial markets that moved also," says Nisby.

The opportunity for co-op development in low income inner city communities poses one of the truly great challenges for the movement.



For the few thousand who attended the Faire, there was one booth represented that caught many new to the co-op movement off guard — The Sunkist Growers Association. Like Ocean Spray, Diamond Walnut, Sun-Maid and Sunsweet, Sunkist is a multi-million dollar co-op success story, and the nation's largest agricultural co-op. In fact, it is because of their size and the large percentage of the market they dominate, that the Federal Trade Commission has been wrestling with anti-trust cases against these huge cooperatives — some of which are in the ranks of the Fortune 500. But while the FTC struggles with whether or not it can attract these co-ops — protected under the 1922 Cooper-Volstead Act which allows them limited immunity from anti-trust laws, much of the general public, as well as the co-op community is not even aware that Sunkist is a cooperative.

Why is it such a well kept secret? "I don't know," exclaims Sunkist representative Terry McElhamey at the Faire. "Actually we need to get out and do more events like this because when you see the name you don't realize that it is a farmer cooperative. We're trying to spread the word." Their booth at the Faire was Sunkist's debut into the contemporary co-op movement. With more than six thousand grower-members, from the sixty they started out with in 1893, Sunkist is considered *the* most successful of the enterprises following a co-op philosophy. With Sunkist at the Faire, CRS's Arkin feels that a major step toward bridging the gap between consumers, producers or marketers, and worker co-ops has been made.

All in all, the Faire was a success in getting the message of co-ops out — the message of a more democratic economic system.

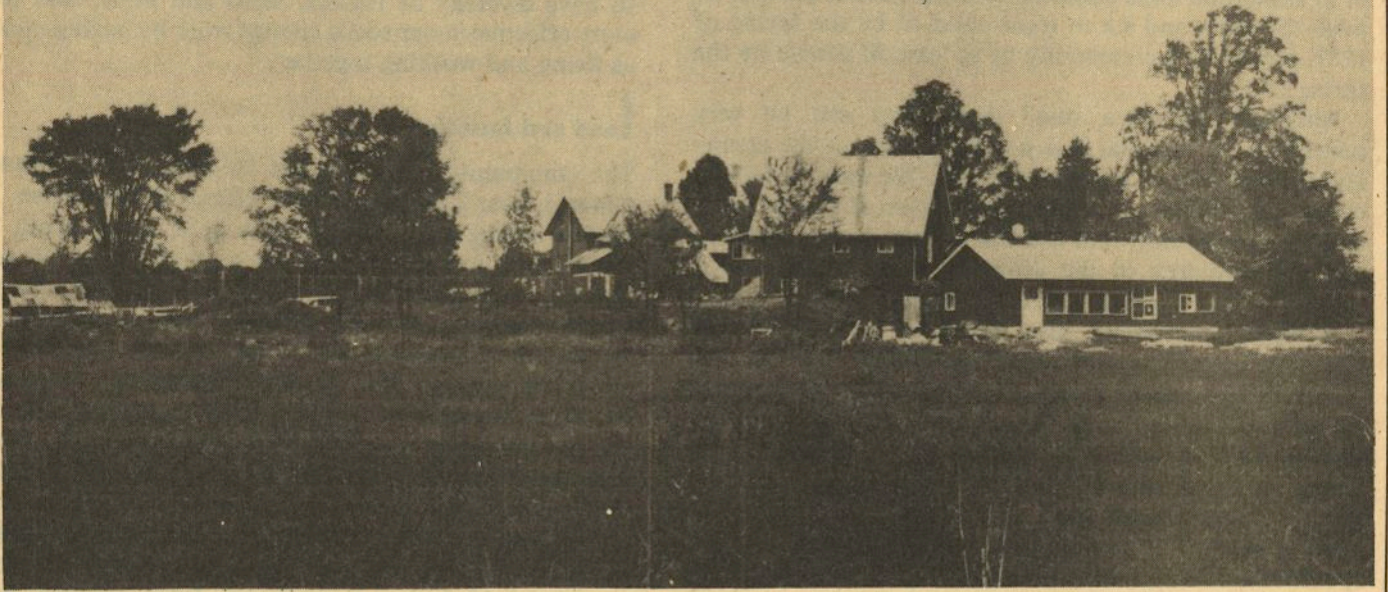
"The wonderful thing about co-ops is that they are compatible with Capitalism," says Lois. "Now it may be two hundred years down the line — this is going to be a gradual evolution of a new economic system more in the direction of Economic Democracy, which co-ops are an extension of. What we are saying is that people have a more equitable say in their lives, that includes their economic systems."

Jerry Voorhis agrees, "We're living in a New Age, a lot of people don't know it but we are. We're living in an age when it no longer will work to have exploitation of either the resources of the earth or of the people. 'Me-Firstism' is a passing phase and it will kill humanity unless it's stopped. We cannot have organized greed and selfishness anymore, partly because there are so many of us on this Earth, and partly because the resources of the Earth have already been depleted to the extent that they have been. We've got to carefully conserve those resources and we've got to be ready to share them equitably according to the needs of people."

If the message of co-op got out to other cities, as CRS hopes it will, then there should be co-op Faires sprouting up in major cities across the country. If not to teach about co-ops, then simply for fun. □

CRS will have a complete co-ops Faire 'kit' available in the Spring of '82. Write: CRS, 849 S. Broadway, #310, Los Angeles, CA 90014 (213) 626-1453.

DANDELION



Dandelion is a six-year old intentional community which centers its life around values of equality, cooperation and non-violence.

Inspired by both B.F. Skinner's utopian novel, **Walden Two**, and the achievements of the Israeli Kibbutz, we live communally on 50 acres in southeastern Ontario, sharing all of our resources, caring for each other, and working to create a society that benefits all of its members, where we all cooperate for the common good and where the happiness of one member is not incompatible with that of the others.

We strive to blend the best of both urban and rural living in a cooperative culture where our work and play, business and domestic, public and private lives form a unified whole. We have built the facilities for a self-contained living centre, become involved in agriculture to provide our own food, and maintain a program of 24-hour child care. We have a labor system that insures that work gets done when and how we desire it, an accounting system that keeps track of our money and labor, and a decision-making process that encourages the responsible participation of all members.

Yet our community is more than land, buildings and systems. We are a community of people committed to a new way of life; a part of a world-wide movement involving thousands of communities, including the Kibbutzim in Israel and our own Federation of Egalitarian Communities in North America, intent upon creating a more peaceful, cooperative, egalitarian and joyful way of life.

Our beginnings

In 1948 psychologist B.F. Skinner wrote **Walden Two**, a book based on the premise that modern social problems are largely the result of social and environmental conditions, not an unchangeable 'human nature'. Skinner believes that it is possible to create a better environment for human interaction; an environment free of injustice, exploitation and aggression.

He envisioned a movement toward self-sufficient communities of 200 to 2000 people, capable of careful planning and responsive to the desires of their citizens. Together these communities could form the necessary foundation for a new economic, social and ecological order.

In 1967 Twin Oaks Community in Virginia was established using this model. Now a community of 80 people, Twin Oaks has been a catalyst in the beginning of half a dozen or more egalitarian communities across the continent.

Dandelion was started at a conference at Twin Oaks in September of 1974. Some of us has lived together in an urban cooperative in Ottawa and we were ready to commit ourselves to something more long-term. We spent the winter saving money, visiting established groups, planning our social and governmental organization, and writing our charter and bylaws. In February 1975 we published our first newsletter. That May we incorporated as an Ontario cooperative, bought our farm and moved onto the land. For the first ten months the community was largely

supported by 'outside work', with some members working for wages in nearby cities and towns.

Now we are well established, with our own industries (recycled tinware and handwoven rope hammocks and chairs) and agriculture, and a population that has ranged from 8 to 14 members for the past three years.

Growth

At this writing (October 1981) Dandelion is a community of 17 adults and three children. It is our goal to grow to 25 adult members and six to eight children by the spring of 1983, and to be a community of at least 50 people by the spring of 1986.

Although life in a small community can be very rewarding, we feel that it is too dependent on the energy and commitment of a few individuals. We want to build a community that is stable and viable, even if people come and go; a community that will still be here for our children and grandchildren in the years to come, as well as a community in which we can enjoy living today.

A large community also provides the social and economic base for a wide range of activities and facilities not available to small groups. We wish to provide quality recreational and cultural facilities for activities such as gymnastics, yoga and martial arts, a variety of arts and crafts, dance, theatre and music. With a larger group in mind we have already built a swimming pool which we hope to enclose in a solar greenhouse. We want to have special educational facilities designed for use by the elderly and disabled, and workshops suitably equipped for such

important projects as alternative energy development.

In addition, we want to continue to provide a challenging environment where people can learn and grow as skilled and competent individuals. As a larger community, we will be able to offer even more opportunities for study and training, as well as more places where new skills can be put into practice.

Most of all, we want to see Dandelion and the communal movement grow, so that a cooperative and egalitarian way of life is available to all those who desire to live it. We want to have diversity of friends, ideas and skills, and to be more effective in our social change work by having more of us living and working together.

Land and facilities

The community is located on 50 acres in southeastern Ontario, near Kingston and the village of Enterprise. The land is rolling on both sides of a quiet road, about half woods and half clear. There's a small stand of sugar maples, a cedar grove and we recently planted 1500 pine and spruce trees. A small stream crosses the property.

The soil is somewhat stoney, but mostly tillable and our ever-expanding gardens produce abundantly. The rest of the fields are sown to hay. We grow as much of the food for our primarily vegetarian diet (including milk, cheese, eggs, and honey) as possible. Some of us periodically eat chicken, as a by-product of our egg production, and fish.

We live in a frame farmhouse to which we have added a large dining space, offices, and porch, and a recently completed 15 bedroom residence. Each member has a



small private room. New members are welcome to bring their favorite possessions to decorate their rooms according to their own tastes.

Our shop building, completed in 1977, houses our industries and woodworking, plus a small greenhouse where we can produce salad greens throughout the winter. There are also dairy and storage barns, a chicken house, various conference shelters and an 18 x 36 foot swimming pool.

As you can see we are continually building, so these descriptions will be rapidly outdated.

We are currently finishing a 1,000 square foot Children's House which will allow us to expand our children's program. We hope to have this building completed by the late fall of 1981. We are also expanding and renovating our main bathroom facilities and improving the community's conference facilities to keep up with our expanding conference program. And as we grow we plan to expand the community's kitchen-dining facilities, build more residence space and buy more agricultural land.

Our work

We support the community through our industries: our tinnery which recycles tin cans into candleholders, planters, lamps, etc., and our handwoven rope hammocks and chairs. We publish a quarterly newsletter, operate a mailorder bookservice, and regularly speak at colleges and universities. We also hold summer conferences and workshops exploring communal living as an approach to social change, and offering practical training in areas ranging from group process and conflict resolution to organic gardening and appropriate technology. Working for social change, whether in building the communal movement or fighting nuclear development, is an important part of the community's life and work.

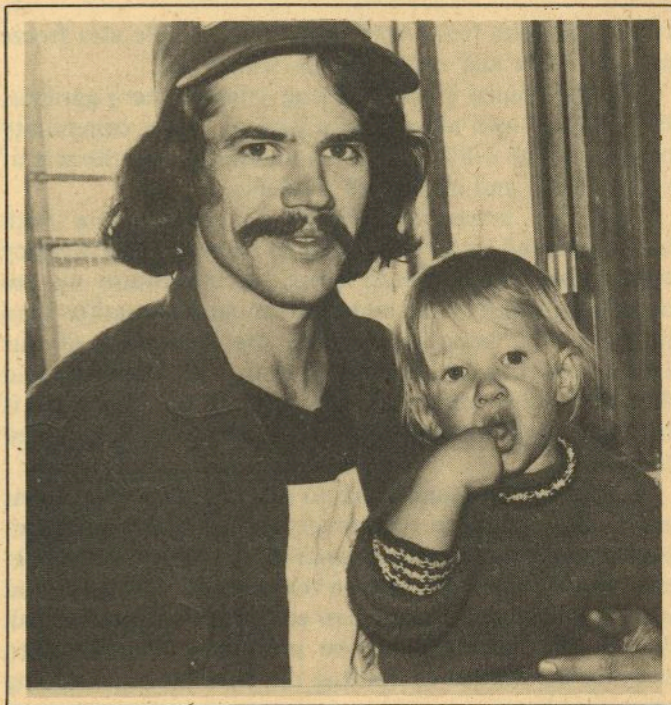
We have also taken up the challenge of building a whole new society from scratch, growing much of our own food, handling our own accounting, building our own buildings and cutting the wood to heat them, all with our own labor. This means hard work and lots of it. Although we do try to balance our lives with leisure and recreation, we are a pioneering community made up of people who are excited about working for our collective future.

The labor system

Sharing the work of the community, and doing work that we enjoy and find meaningful are important sources of satisfaction for us. We try to employ the talents of all of our members and give everyone opportunities to learn new skills.

We share our work through a labor credit system designed to distribute it as equally as possible and to maximize the enjoyable work of each member. It also helps us organize our work and thus work more efficiently, and its records help us evaluate our past efforts and budget and plan for the future. Most of all it lets us translate our belief in equality into practice and leaves us secure in the knowledge that we are all doing our share.

Everyone does a share of the domestic work. Otherwise



members are free to choose their own work areas. Some like to do a variety of different tasks while others decide to specialize and become more skilled and efficient in a particular area. Newcomers often have to wait for training openings, but the longer one stays, the more opportunities become available.

While the kind of work each person does varies, the minimum hours required, or quota, is the same for everyone. A quota of work ranges from 42 to 50 hours per week.

Members who regularly work their quota earn about a month of vacation in a year plus a small weekly allowance. Many people work more than the minimum, however, and earn extra vacation. Certainly some of our happiest members are those who are deeply involved in their work.

Self-sufficiency and right livelihood

As we grow we expect to further diversify our means of support, placing greater emphasis on primary products and services such as food, shelter, health and education.

Moving toward our goal of food self-sufficiency is a gradual process, since equipment is expensive and our skills and experience were initially quite limited. We are, however, steadily producing more of what we eat and modifying our diet so that we're eating more of what we can produce.

With two dairy cows, we can produce all of the milk products we need, and our chickens provide us with both eggs and the occasional meat meal. We have two productive bee hives and tap a dozen trees for maple syrup. And we have half a dozen mature apple trees, as well as a variety of other fruit trees in our young orchard.

Our vegetable garden covers about half an acre, companion-planted in French-intensive beds. It provides the community and our various conference programs with

fresh vegetables from April until October. We also freeze and can fruits and vegetables for winter use.

The community is also planting extensive herb gardens, both for our own use and as a part of a new community business which will include herb workshops and the sale of young plants and other herb products.

While we intend to continue to manufacture both hammocks and tinnery, working to improve the efficiency and organization of both areas, in the future we see ourselves putting more emphasis on services rather than products. We hope to continue the expansion of our Conference Centre, both improving the facilities and diversifying our programs, and one of our members is currently training to become a teacher of prepared childbirth.

In general, we remain open to new business suggestions and evaluate these in the context of our economic plan, considering the investment required, the potential income, and how the work fits in with the community's goals and ideology. And, as with any new community project we ask that at least one member be personally committed to carrying the burden of starting the business and training other members.

Appropriate technology

Dandelion does not reject technology, neither do we blindly embrace it. The community uses oxyacetylene welding equipment, a drill press and drum sander in its industries. We use a power mower and tiller in our garden work, and a chain saw to cut our wood. We believe that technological development has the potential to provide us with new tools and ideas to improve our lives; to eliminate tedious or dangerous jobs; to increase our efficiency and free our time for more creative work; to provide us with equipment and materials, like more efficient wood burners

and better insulation, that can help us solve many of our problems.

We remain aware of the dangers involved in unlimited technological development. One advantage of our way of life is that it forces us to be responsible for our use of technology. Living intimately in the environment which our behaviour affects, we are constantly faced with the consequences of our actions.

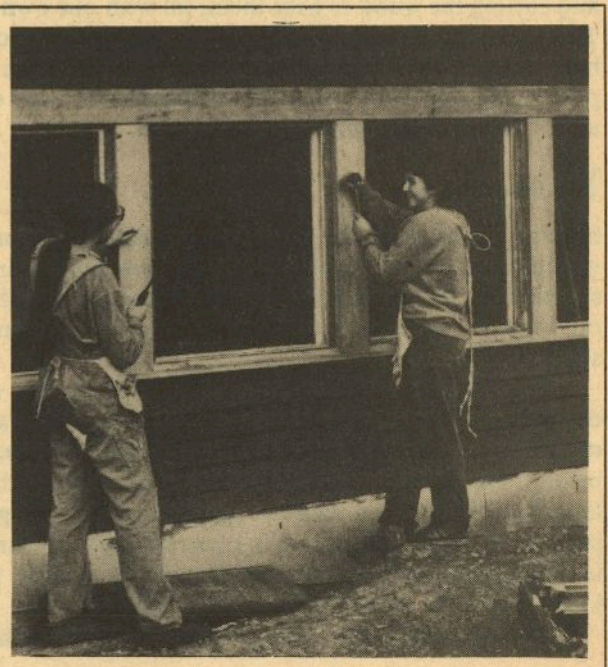
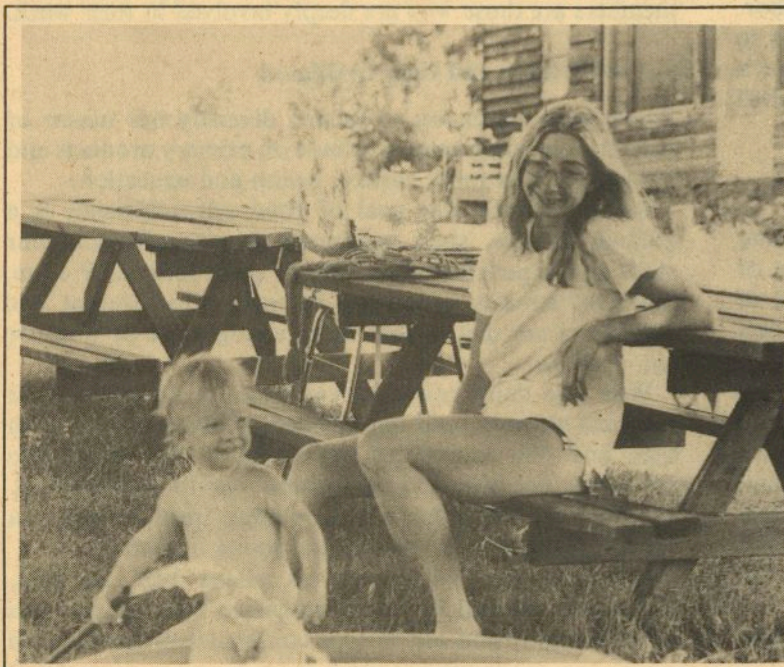
As a cooperative community we are also able to achieve certain economies of scale which allow us to operate more efficiently and thus lower our consumption per person. We have fewer vehicles, washing machines, ovens and telephones than a population our size would normally maintain, and we use these items less per person than would be normal elsewhere.

Yet we do not consider this enough. We are always trying to make better, more efficient use of our resources. All of our buildings are built with a southern orientation to take advantage of solar heating possibilities, and our major source of heat is wood. We have an outdoor solar shower and a composting toilet as well as more conventional bathroom facilities. And the community has recently made a commitment to spending a minimum of \$500 per year on alternative energy projects.

Dandelion still has problems to solve regarding our appropriate use of technology, particularly in relation to our industries which use polypropylene rope and polyurethane varnish. As we try to solve these problems it is easy to see the fine balance that must be maintained if we wish to build a society that remains in harmony with the rest of our environment.

Government

As a community we share the basic belief that we can only be effective if we cooperate and work together. Therefore



we need a way of making community decisions, and we have all agreed to abide by these decisions as long as we remain in the community.

Community decisions are made by a majority of the full members guided by three planners who are responsible for making sure that we keep our long-term goals and general survival in mind. Planners serve staggered 18 month terms and meet regularly to assess our progress toward our goals.

Community meetings are held every other week and anyone may contribute to the agenda. We attempt to work out consensus decisions whenever possible, using a meeting format that encourages the participation of all members. On those occasions when we cannot reach consensus, decisions are made by a majority of the full members. It is important to remember that we are deliberately a diverse group with a variety of opinions. However, once decisions are made we expect members to uphold them until they are changed.

Most day-to-day decisions are made by managers who have been given responsibility for various areas of community life such as health, garden, kitchen, tinnery, etc. Those of us who want to get involved can get as much of this kind of responsibility as we can handle.

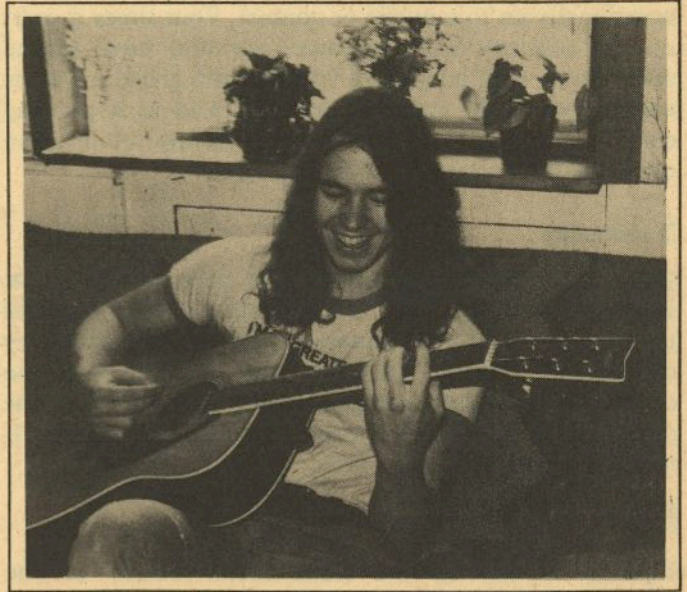
Managers operate within money and labor budgets set by the community on a six-month basis. Planners and managers receive no privileges for their work other than the satisfaction of doing their job and serving the community. Any managerial decisions may be appealed to the community by any member.

Interpersonal relations and personal growth

As we live and work closely with each other, how we get along affects both what we can accomplish and how much we enjoy our lives together. Living in a communal group can be hard in the sense that people always have to be aware of the effect their behavior has on others.

Our behavior code specifically describes both positive and negative behaviors, as agreed upon by the group. These are some of the agreements we feel are important to the style and quality of life at Dandelion:

- *We try to maintain a positive environment by talking about things we like and through other positive behaviors (smiling, listening, being affectionate). We do not grumble about things we don't like in the community, but instead take our complaints to the appropriate person or manager.*
- *We try to clean up after ourselves and to return articles to their proper places so they can be enjoyed by others.*
- *We try to be open and direct in our communication with each other.*
- *We avoid speaking negatively about other members in their absence or in the presence of a third party. If someone does something disturbing, we give feedback calmly and privately to that person, using real and specific examples rather than generalizations.*
- *We try to be open to feedback.*
- *We also try to be patient with the progress we are making, realizing that behavior changes in small steps*



and that we are creating an interpersonal environment we like — a step at a time.

Every evening after supper we have a short meeting where members can report both positive and negative behaviors they have observed during the day. These meetings keep us aware of our agreements and help shape cooperative behavior in the community. We gather weekly to check on how everyone is feeling, to listen to each other's concerns and share what is exciting in our lives. And periodically we use a process called 'clearness' to help individuals look at their life's directions and find the support they need.

As we grow we plan to retain many of the advantages of being a small group — the closeness, the direct feedback and personal support, and the space for personal expression — by having small support groups within the larger community meeting on a regular basis.

Growth also means expanding such things as our co-counselling network within the community (co-counselling is a form of peer therapy which many of us find to be a stimulus to personal growth), and our yoga class. And we will continue to have regular group activities, both work and recreation.

Recreation

Living, working and celebrating our lives together on a day-to-day basis is what maintains our sense of community with each other. We laugh, sing, dance and make music together. Our communal suppers are daily cultural events. Our books, records and tapes entertains us, as well as the woods, fields and changing seasons. In the summer we swim, hike and play volleyball; in winter we ski, snowshoe and skate on the pond. And we play basketball at the local school with more hilarity than competition.

Dandelion survived happily without television. We feel its overall impact is detrimental to the development of a culture based on cooperation and equality.

We do listen to radio, read aloud to each other, and

occasionally go to a movie or concert. Four times a year, on the solstices and equinoxes, we also have special celebrations with music and feasting and group activities appropriate to the changing seasons. And as a growing community, we look forward to having even more opportunities to create our own culture.

Spirituality

Religious or spiritual practice is a personal matter at Dandelion. Members are free to hold whatever spiritual beliefs and engage in whatever spiritual practices they choose, as long as they do not conflict with the community's basic agreements. For some of us the community's agreements are spiritual, as well as practical, moral and ethical.

Equality and gender roles

Equality is one of the fundamental beliefs of the community. We are creating a society where positions of responsibility are not positions of exploitation, where members have equal access to scarce resources, and where we do not discriminate on the basis of race, creed, age, sex or sexual preference.

This does not mean that we believe that everyone has equal abilities and equal needs. It does mean that we expect every member to share equally in the work unless someone has a particular disability. And, we distribute the products of this labor equally or according to need, whatever is agreed upon by the group. This applies to everything from deciding who gets which private room to who will wash the dishes.

Our commitment to equality means that we work hard to help our members overcome the disadvantages of past discrimination through affirmative action in apprenticeships and education programs. And we try to maintain an awareness of breaking down sex role stereotypes in our day-to-day lives.

Women at Dandelion do not have to choose between a career and having children, and men are not pressured to prove their worth solely through their work or financial success. Instead, a wide range of work opportunities and responsibilities are open to both women and men, and members can become involved in a variety of different areas, reducing the need for specialization. Both women and men are involved in childcare, and our flexible work structure makes it possible to spend high quality time with children without sacrificing other fulfilling and creative work.

Growth means that we will be expanding both our women's and men's support groups. It also means a greater diversity of membership in terms of ages and interests, and a larger pool of skills and knowledge to share.

Children

At Dandelion we raise our children communally, sharing in the joys and responsibilities involved in their care and education.

The principle decision-makers and caretakers in our



child program are the metas (from Hebrew 'Metapelet'), a group of committed childcare workers made up of both parents and non-parents. Childcare is scheduled 24 hours a day.

Evenings are set aside for parents and other primary figures to spend time with individual children and maintain their close relationships, and there is ample room in the program for all members to interact with the children. Infants are usually breastfed and thus have lots of contact with their mothers. Older children are less closely supervised than the younger ones and we try to involve them more in the decisions that affect them.

We feel there are many advantages to this communal approach.

Parents who do not wish to work full-time at childcare are free to pursue other work while being assured that their children are being cared for by others who share their basic values. And those who are unable or do not wish to have children can share in the pleasures and responsibilities of raising the community's children.

Children, in turn, are surrounded by adults who find fulfillment in childcare. They are exposed to a variety of role models within the consistent context of shared values, and their economic and emotional security has a broader base than the nuclear family. In the community they can live in both a supportive and stimulating environment where learning is an integral part of everyday life.

Dandelion began its children's program in April of 1980, although our commitment to communal childcare goes back to our beginnings in 1975. We are now actively looking for members with children between six months and two years old, or ten years old or older, since we already have children who fit in both those age groups. We would like to have between six and eight children in the program by 1983.

We will consider other children who fall between those ages but, because of the complexities of expanding our age range, we will probably have to ask the parents of those children for a specific commitment of resources beyond the expectations of regular membership in order to expand our facilities and maintain the program.

At the moment our childcare facilities are in two rooms in the community's main house. Our new Children's House, where the children can live, work and play together, will be completed by October 1981.

We are also committed to educating our children outside of the public school system, either at home under the guidance of qualified members, or as part of a cooperative alternative school. It is our desire to provide our children with a wide range of educational opportunities, both inside and outside the community. We want them to grow up with our basic cooperative values and with life skills which enable them to meet the challenges of the world.

Our children are happy and advancing well and, though our program is still new, we are already experiencing the positive influence children have on the community's spirit. We look forward to having more of them living with us.

Outreach

Community for us is more than just a way of life; it's a political statement. We're building a functioning model of what a new society can be like, and we have federated with similar communities throughout North America because our vision is not limited to Dandelion alone.

We see the building of viable, long-term, socially and economically egalitarian communities which can serve as supportive environments for personal growth and a workable base for the appropriate use of resources and technology, as our first social change priority. We also realize the importance of offering this alternative to more people, especially those oppressed by the socio-economic conditions and systems in the world at large.

Taking an active role in the development of our own federation, maintaining a close connection with social change networks like Movement for a New Society, being



involved in the cooperative movement and the international communal movement, as well as running our own Conference Centre, are all important ways the community can reach out and have an effect on the world.

We also realize that we share many concerns with our rural neighbors and want to be actively involved in the struggle against the economic and ecological exploitation of rural areas, whether that means buying local products or campaigning against nuclear development. Cementing ties and learning to work with our neighbors has been an important process. As we operate more and more out of a history of cooperation, from our experience working with church and civic groups as well as offering our own services locally, we can reach out more often and more effectively. We see the growth of cooperative networks, locally, nationally and internationally, as an integral part of our growth as a community.

Membership

We have three categories of membership; associate, provisional and full. Associate membership is generally reserved for people who wish to return to school in the near future and generally extends for a period of between two and six months each year for up to four years. To retain associate status you must be in residence in the community for at least two months every year.

Provisionals are those who have been accepted for a six-month trial period in preparation for full membership.

When someone applies for provisional or associate status we have a clearness meeting to talk about our agreements, the individual's commitment, etc. To be accepted at this point requires a two-thirds majority of the full members. During the provisional period there is little distinction between provisional and full members except that the former do not vote in long-term community decisions, and may be asked to leave if the community feel their membership is detrimental to the group. The provisional period is a time to discover if our way of life, our philosophy and ideology are compatible with your own, and to decide if you wish to make a long-term commitment to Dandelion. Likewise it is a time for full members to evaluate an individual's contribution to the community and assess our willingness to live with and support that person, possibly for the rest of our lives.

After the provisional period one may apply for full membership whereupon the clearness process is repeated. At this point, to accept someone we want to have consensus of the full members. If consensus cannot be reached, a provisional may remain in the community for an additional six months and clear in as a full member with a two-thirds majority. A member signs a contract with the community agreeing to abide by its bylaws, behavior agreements and property code.

Although there is no membership fee, the communal holding of property and income is essential to our belief in equality. The property code requires that all income received by a member be considered community income. In turn the community provides for all of a member's needs, guaranteeing each one a share of whatever benefits are available. All major property such as land, housing and

vehicles is held in common, but small, personal items kept in a member's room may remain private. There are several different ways in which incoming members may take care of their assets when they join. These include loaning, donating, or putting them in trust for up to two years. Except in the case of donations, this initial contribution is returned should a member leave the community.

Full membership guarantees full support by the community and an individual can only be asked to leave for very specific reasons such as refusing to work, or physical violence against another person.

Visiting

We like having visitors — that's how we grow, but space is limited, so you need to write and make arrangements in advance. Drop-ins usually have to be turned away.

We have found that a visit of two or three weeks is more productive than a shorter stay. It gives you more of a chance to experience some of the variety of community life, and it is definitely less wearing on those of us who make our home here. If you can't manage a visit of at least a week, a Saturday tour can be arranged. Visitors are asked not to bring their pets.

We try, as much as possible, to give visitors a feeling of what life in community is really like. We ask you to share our work, and not make use of resources to which you would not have access as a member unless these resources are shared. Visitors work six hours per day, and pay a small visitor fee for any days when they do not put in their full quota of work.

Although we try to provide a private room for each of our members, as a visitor you will probably find yourself sharing a room with one or two other visitors. And you may occasionally find yourself sharing a bathroom, as our facilities never seem to quite catch up to our expanding population.

It's best to come with as few expectations as possible. We try to make our visitors feel at home, but a community is a complex social organism and it takes time to get comfortable.

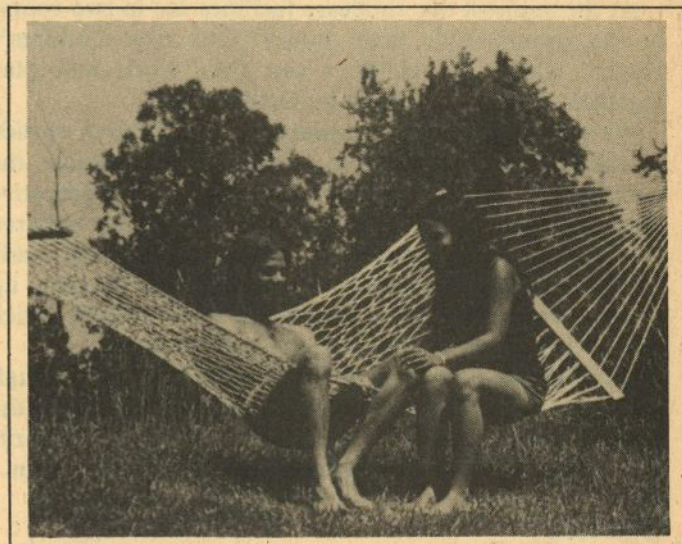
It's good to remember that Dandelion is a home for its members. Many of us see hundreds of visitors every year and, although we would like to have energy for each one, it's not always possible, so, you may feel uncomfortable for a few days. Most people find that by their second week the community begins to feel like home, although you may still feel like an observer in many ways, even after a longer way, even after a longer visit.

We can only reassure you that we do want you to visit with us, that friendships and involvements in community life do grow with time, and that the more of yourself you put into it, whether as a visitor or a member, the more rewarding it can be.

We are definitely not utopia, and we don't pretend to be. We are a good place to live, to grow and to raise children, and we invite you to join us in our joyous struggle.

To arrange a visit, write or phone:

Dandelion Community, R.R. 1
Enterprise, Ontario, K0K 1Z0
[613] 358-2304



Conferences

Dandelion regularly offers conferences and workshops exploring communal living as an approach to social change, and practical training in areas ranging from group process and conflict resolution to organic gardening and appropriate technology. You can write to us for a conference calendar.

Newsletter

Pappus, Dandelion's quarterly community Newsletter, offers a look at our daily lives, our trials and celebrations, as well as some analysis of our communal experiences. Subscriptions are \$3.50/yr. in Canada and the U.S.; \$4 elsewhere; back issues 50 cents.

Lectures

Dandelion members have lectured at colleges and universities and for various groups across the continent. Our lecturers are skilled in public presentations and able to give a balanced and comprehensive picture of community life. Fees are \$50 to \$100 plus transportation, food and lodging when necessary. Contact our lectures manager.

Bookshelf

Dandelion's mailorder bookshelf distributes books on communal and cooperative living. We have 30 or so titles covering rural communes, spiritual groups, neighborhood and workplace organizing, personal stories and several directories of communities. Most are not available in bookstores. Write to us for a complete catalogue.

Community Products

Dandelion supports itself through the careful crafting of various products ranging from handwoven rope hammocks and hanging chairs to lamps, planters and candleholders made from recycled tin cans. These products can be ordered directly from us and will be shipped prepaid or C.O.D.. For descriptions and prices write: **Dandelion, R.R. 1, Enterprise, Ontario, K0K 1Z0** □



REACH

Reach is a free reader service of Communities magazine. Listings should be 50-158 words in length, typewriting preferred. We reserve the right to edit. Dated material requires a minimum of six weeks lead time. Feedback on responses to listings, as well as donations, are welcome.

Thanks,
Gene Lyons

Conferences

☆ International Poster Conference

To celebrate the 10th anniversary of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the first ever world meeting called to deal with the environment. The conference took place in Stockholm in 1972.

The theme is: Only One Earth. This is our environment. What relationship have we established with it? What have we done for and with it? What has to be done in the years to come? The posters may carry a slogan created by the artist. The following phrase has to be included in every poster: "5 June 1982. Ten Years After Stockholm."

There are separate competition categories for children and adults. The posters should be made on paper that may be easily rolled up for mailing and should not exceed 1m x 1m. Posters may be submitted to the Environment Liason Centre through a non-governmental organization (NGO). NGOs in each country are invited to organize a national poster contest and to send to the ELC the three best entries. If no national competition is organized, each NGO is invited to make a preselection and to send to the ELC the three best entries. All submissions must be sent by

airmail so as to avoid customs delays. On the reverse side of each poster it should clearly state the name, age and address of the artist and the name and address of the NGO if applicable. The deadline is January 31, 1982. First prize is \$100, 2nd is \$50, and 3rd is \$25. An international panel of judges will make the selection in March 1982 in Nairobi, Kenya.

For more information or to submit entries, write:

Environment Liason Centre
P.O. Box 72461
Nairobi, Kenya
Phone: 24770

☆ The 17th Annual World Festival of the Unity-in-Diversity Council will be presented in cooperation with the Festival for Mind-Body-Spirit January 15-17 1982 at the Shrine Exposition Hall in Los Angeles.

The Unity-in-Diversity Council will bring together a particularly unique and prestigious program of lecturers and workshop leaders, beginning with a Unity-in-Diversity Celebration in the 6500-seat Shrine auditorium on Friday evening, January 15th. It will also provide an interaction process designed to maximize ongoing cooperation among organizations and individuals throughout the year. The Festival for Mind-Body-Spirit will showcase the organizations and presenters in each of the following areas: wholistic health; environment, ecology and energy; arts and crafts, media; spirituality and esotericism; fitness and nutrition; human and social potential, and much more. For information on the Festival and exhibition space write to:

Unity-in-Diversity
c/o World Trade Center
350 S. Figueroa St.
Suite 370
Los Angeles, CA 90071

Groups Looking

☆ We are a small communal home with a great deal of energy and with what we believe to be beautiful dreams. We are reaching out for more people with whom we can share out life. In order to facilitate this we are offering an invitation for open communication and visitation with all interested people. Presently we are located between Durhan and Chapel Hill, N.C. on an oasis in the woods. We could accomodate upwards of six more adults and their children. The Staff of Life is involved in a number of community service projects. We are also running a natural foods catering service and working on an international vegetarian cookbook.

Our future vision sees our community on a much larger homestead equipped with energy efficient homes, being well organized enough to meet the challenge of providing most of our own food and energy needs. The agricultural projects could also serve the surrounding community as an educational center.

Of course, we are interested in hearing about your dreams and aspirations. We are open to new ideas.

The Staff of Life

Attn.: Cas
3425 C Randolph Rd.
Durham, N.C. 27705
(919) 489-4566

☆ In the land where the hermit thrush sings with the rippling Tannin Waters dwells two gentle Spirit People who seek their balance with Earth, Water and Sky. We garden, forage and gather the native herbs which our Earth Mother so abundantly provides. We're exploring the crafts, spirituality, and lifeways of

our Native Predecessors to learn to grow in the Circle of Balance with our Woodland Kin, and the Circle of Peace with our Fellow Humans.

Coldfoot Creek Community
Rt. 1 Box 110 AA
Pembine, WI 54156

☆Old Mill Farm School of Country Living is seeking a director/manager or organization to lease. Two to three couples would be ideal. The objective of the camp is to bring some of the experiences of rural living to 'city-locked' kids. Send a SASE to:

Old Mill Farm
P.O. Box 463
Mendocino, CA 95460

☆Friendly Homes retirement complex and workers production crews invite you. A co-op community beginning March 1, 1982. 114 beautiful acres, organic health foods, two-hour noon fellowship and meal, all-generational, all are co-op members, spiritual but not sectarian, seniors pre-pay \$20,000 to \$30,000, refunded on departure, payroll deduction for workers, an intentional community. Solar, delete chemicals, pedestrian, clinic, no-till, lake for irrigation and fish and fun, 4 crews divide the work, shuttlebus, dry toilets, self-reliance.

Friendly Homes
111 Bobolink
Berea, KY 40403
(606) 986-8000 (before 8 AM)

☆Star Farm is an 86 acre Christian community near the Uwharrie National Forest. We need people who want to be dedicated Christians; doing God's work (learning and teaching) a significant part of the day. That will be the 'cost' of living here. This community will not be an escape from the world or a retirement home, as many of us will work to spread the news. Of course, the exact type of community will be determined by you who get involved.

Some of the things we are already doing with the land include alternative energy, simple living, organic gardening planting an orchard and recycled and low-cost housing. We have no monthly utility bills. We can show you how to 'make it' — outside the city, outside the ratrace. We have plenty of room for visitors, so y'all drop in anytime and see

how we are living. Please help us by including a SASE.

Star Farm
Ron & Sue Correll
Rt. 1, Box 78-A1
Star, N.C. 27356

People Looking

☆Searching for a community that has or wants to have a Biodynamic French Intensive Garden. I also build mandolins and dulcimers. I presently live in a community that has no organizations and is being evicted from the land.

John Lindsey
P.O. Box 11
Eldridge, MO 65463

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RESOURCES

In keeping with this issue's theme of political action, I have compiled a small sampling of books, publications, and organizations covering a diverse range of issues and approaches. Now more than ever, many people seem to be concerned with the integration of the personal and political. The current popularity of 1984 politics as practiced by the Reagan administration seems to have brought many retired activists out of their encounter groups and back into the political arena. And with them comes a stronger emphasis on the process involved in reaching goals. We can be

doing effective social change and still be feeling good, communicating with our fellow workers, and building alternatives to the institutions we might be organizing against. Hopefully the items in this column will give you a taste of what's going on in the various areas of draft resistance, energy lobbying, street theatre, 'New Age Politics', etc.

As of this issue, I have moved from Twin Oaks and am now living in the Washington, D.C. area helping a friend organize a holistic health community. I will be continuing to write the resource column from here, so if you have

feedback, suggestions, or resource material please send to:

Gareth
Resource Editor, **Communities**
431 N. Fillmore St.
Arlington, VA 22201

I've really appreciated the letters of feedback and encouragement I've been receiving.

*Thanks for sharing,
Gareth*

All reviews by Gareth unless otherwise specified.

In These Times

1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, Ill 60622

In These Times is the only radical news weekly I would recommend without any qualifiers. With little rhetoric and not as much militant whining as other similar papers, *In These Times* covers everything that a straight paper might feature but from a radical vantage point. Contributors include such notables as Nicholas von Hoffman and Michael Harrington, with regular staff members David Moberg, Pat Aufderheide, and Diana Johnstone offering excellent reportage and analysis of news national and international. Although the focus is on labor, Third World and minority struggles, there is still room in each issue to cover art, culture, music and film from a 'people's perspective.'

If you read Time and Newsweek you're only getting half the story. Read *In These Times* for the other half, then draw your own conclusions.

In These Times is published 42 times a year by *The Institute for Policy Studies*. A one year subscription will cost you \$23.50.

Taking Charge: Personal and Political Change Through Simple Living

by The American Friends Service

Committee

Bantam Paperbacks

\$2.25 341 pages

The Shakertown Pledge, an inspiration for this AFSC book, makes the following declarations:

I declare myself to be a world citizen.

I commit myself to lead an ecologically sound life.

I commit myself to lead a life of creative simplicity and to share my wealth with the world's poor.

Six additional points of the pledge cover job accountability, faith, health, relationships, and community.

The task of **Taking Charge** was to compile a manual that would provide practical suggestions for how to make changes in our lives towards a more simple lifestyle as the Shakertown Pledge suggests. Chapters cover the basic areas of Food, Energy, Consumerism, Health Care, and Economics, and describe how steps can be taken to simplify our lives in these areas. The philosophy of voluntary simplicity and personal/political change is also explored by John Shippee. Each chapter ends with a list of questions to ask

yourself, steps that can be taken in affecting change, and a list of resources for further investigation.

Taking Charge is a lively little manual with a lot of heart and plenty of concrete material for how you can make a difference. And best of all, it's a mass market paperback, which probably means it's getting a lot more exposure than it might with a small publisher.

New Age Socialism: Integrating Emotional, Spiritual and Social Liberation

by Michael David Wyatt
New Age Publishing Center
1329 W. Touhy, Apt. 1N
Chicago, IL 60626
\$3.00 63 pages

Unfortunately, this book arrived too close to presstime for me to have read thoroughly. Although the volume is thin and rather innocent looking from the outside, inside it is crammed full with tiny (almost unreadable) type and heavy theorizing on the creation of a new social theory, one that would combine the non-intellectual, intuitive, and other forms of spiritual awareness with the more down to earth forms of political awareness and change. Not the kind of subject matter to breeze through quick-

New Age Socialism:
Integrating Emotional, Spiritual
and Social Liberation

by Michael David Wyatt



\$3.00

ly. Wyatt's writing style, often a bit cumbersome, makes it almost impossible to attempt a superficial observation. As it should be, this book has to be studied and ruminated upon. Whether Wyatt succeeds in stimulating interdisciplinary dialog between these often warring camps of the heart and the head, I'm not able to say from my level of examination. Since I find myself very much concerned

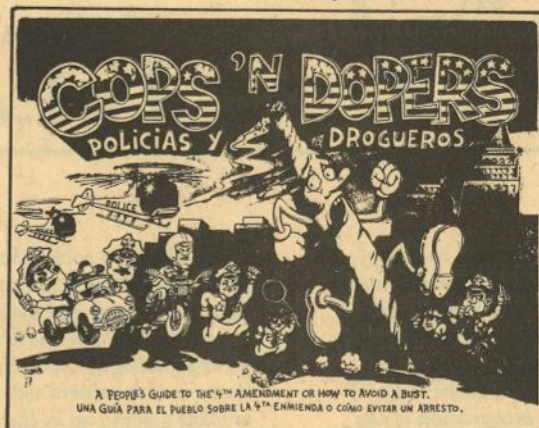
Energy

WISE [World Information Service on Energy], an international energy information service, has several services available to individuals, groups, and publications. They produce a weekly news communicate which includes reports on nuclear and anti-nuclear developments, political action on energy issues, and advances in appropriate energy sources. These communicates are sent out as a news service to subscribing papers, magazines, or activists who want to get week by week updates on the international energy scene. Their news magazine, published bi-monthly, gives readers a peek at some of the more important stories of the past two months. The focus of both the above, unfortunately, is more on the fight against hard path energy sources than the work on soft path alternatives. A monthly newsletter on uranium mining called 'Keep it in the Ground' is also available. Plans are in the works to publish resource booklets on nuclear energy, uranium mining, and related topics. To find out more about WISE publications and services, contact: **WISE**, 1536 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

with the integration of the spiritual/political and other apparent contradictions, I look forward to reading any books like this that do attempt such a marriage.

exercise your rights in the event of an arrest. Cartoons throughout give humorous depictions of not-so-funny situations.

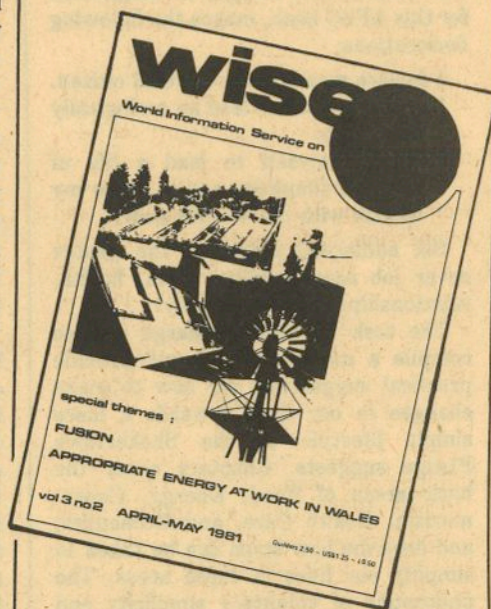
The book was published in 1977 and so may be somewhat dated, but much of the



Cops 'N Dopers
Mayflower Publications
\$4.00

Cops 'N Dopers is a cartoon format, people's guide to the 4th Amendment. The bilingual (English and Spanish) text describes, through the metaphor of 'a game,' how to avoid a bust and how to

material that covers 'probable cause,' 'consent,' and 'plain view' is still sound advice, and besides, the cartoons are quaint in their underground-styled stereotypes. But remember as the book continually warns — this may be a silly game but 'The Game is Real! These are Your Rights!' If you're a smoker you should get well acquainted with them.



The Southern Solar Energy Center [SSEC] is a regional organization, operated with support from the DOE, whose goal is to accelerate the practical application of solar and other forms of renewable energy through ongoing research, education, and the dissemination of free information on alternative technology. Their SSEC News is informative and timely, reporting on the most current advances in solar, wood, and wind technology, mainly as it applies to the South. Current legislation and industry trends also appear within its well designed, fully illustrated pages. For free it's an unbeatable source of news and views in the alternative technology field.

SSEC also publishes a series of booklets providing brief introductions to various aspects of solar, wind, wood, and ocean energy. These are also free to solar professionals and members of the design/building communities.

To become part of their mailing list, write: **SSES**, 61 Perimeter Park, Atlanta, GA 30341.

In March of 1981 a federal law was passed to implement section 210 of the Public Utility Regulation Policy Act of 1978 (PURPA). Under PURPA, individuals and industries can produce their own power and sell the excess back to the power company. With this law on the books, it should be easy to feed your excess juice back to the local utility and get paid for it. Right? Wrong! The utilities fought long and hard to prevent PURPA 210 from passing and now that it's passed they hope to make it so difficult to deal with that you won't want to bother. Fortunately David Morris, longtime energy activist and director of the Institute for Local Self Reliance, has recently published a small handbook outlining the steps necessary for the implementation of PURPA 210. Entitled **Promoting Small Power Production**, the 28 page booklet presents the history of PURPA, the laws and regulations in-



involved, and how you can help implement this significant advancement towards a soft energy future.

Copies are available for \$3.00 from **The Institute for Local Self Reliance**, 1717 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

Women

The Association of American Colleges' *Project on the Status of Women* provides information concerning women in education and works with institutions, government agencies, and other associations and programs affecting women in higher education. Besides their newsletter *On Campus with Women* they publish supplements, bibliographies, and other materials related to women's education and issues of feminism. To receive their most recent Project papers, send \$3.00 to:

Project on the Status and Education of Women
1818 R St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20009

Chris Williamson
Chris Williamson
Olivia Records

'Chris Williamson' — the artist's first studio album — has just been reissued by Olivia Records, a women's recording company. Recorded in 1970 for Ampex, which went out of business six months later, the album made its way to the cut out bins through lack of promotion. Meg Christian, in her search for good women singers, discovered Chris Williamson's album there. In '72 when Chris performed in Washington, D.C., the front

row was filled with Meg and friends. Thus began the connection between the women who founded Olivia Records.

'Chris Williamson' includes mostly original compositions, including 'Joanna,' popularized by Meg. Listeners can recognize the roots of Chris's unique style and vocal talents in this early album. New tracks have been added, including a full orchestra, which in some places distracts from the quality of Chris's voice and compositions. The album offers diversity, from dramatic string arrangements to brightly rocking melodies.

Chris Williamson has a special place in women's music. Her versatility and compassion have made her an artist treasured by many. Chris's music is intertwined with her sense of spirituality and the healing nature of music. In the development of our alternative culture, we need musicians who express our values and draw us together. Her past albums, 'Changer and the Changed' and 'Strange Paradise' are already fulfilling this need.

'Chris Williamson' and other fine women's music albums can be obtained at many women's bookstores or by writing Olivia Records, 4400 Market St., Oakland, CA 904608

Reviewed by
Margaret and Joanie Oaks

Art

Images of Labor
Compiled by Moe Foner
Pilgrim Press
\$16.95 95 pages

'... the truth is that the working class, both as actuality and idea, has never been wholly accepted in American society or adequately reflected in American culture.' So writes Irving Howe in the introduction of **Images of Labor**, an exciting and disturbing book of American labor art. Howe asserts that the labor force in this country goes largely unnoticed and unappreciated in popular culture. He attributes this oversight to the commonly perpetuated myth that America's labor force is not a nameless, powerless working class, but is comprised of rugged, enterprising individuals — the independent farmer, businessman and craftsman (intentional male emphasis) of the American dream. Greatly lacking from our lives are the honest portrayals of factory workers, field hands, coal miners, and all the others who comprise the backbone of our labor force.

The task of **Images of Labor** was to provide a voice, through the expressions of art, for the life and spirit of our working men and women. Artists adept in various media were given quotes from labor spokespeople known (Martin Luther King, Joe Hill, Mother Jones) and unknown (coal miner Hobart Gills, and an Akron, Ohio rubber worker), and asked to provide an artistic interpretation. Thirty-two of these art-quote combinations were compiled by Moe Foner, along with short biographies of the authors quoted and notes on each artist and art piece.

The collection, done in acrylic, oil, ceramic, and mixed media, conveys a somber tone of struggle and suffering. Cruel angles, hard and/or striking colors, and a sense of desolation help to add to a feeling of powerlessness and disenfranchisement. The spirit of the machine, to which many a laborer has felt a servant, can be felt and almost seen behind many of the grim faces and landscapes. Periodic glimmers of hope and transcendence save the book from a totally sour portrayal. For an honest representation of the soul of the working class, I would have included more symbols and expressions of overcoming the oppressor which is also a large part

of the labor class experience. Although some of the quotes conveyed this spirit of solidarity, the accompanying art pieces seemed stuck only in the 'mesmerization of the masses' theme.

Along with the publication of the book, a tour of the artwork will soon be (maybe it already is) crossing the United States bringing its message to museums and galleries. Through this format it is hoped that middle America will be exposed to a reality that they may have little contact with in their daily lives.

The overall idea of *Images of Labor* is a creative one. The arts is an excellent means to convey thought, feelings and even whole worlds. Art is both therapeutic to the artist and educational and inspirational to the art appreciator. It is my hope that similar projects are

initiated in the future. Perhaps a sequel to *Images of Labor* that looks more deeply into the dreams, aspirations, and sources of power of the Worker Class, or maybe a collection of artwork done by workers themselves. (I think most of the artists represented did not come from working class background.) District 1199's National Union of Hospital and Health Care Workers, the book's producer, gets a bravo for this cleverly executed idea.

Theater Work is a newsmagazine which provides a forum for the exchange of creative ideas, philosophies, and experiences in theater as a vehicle for social change. In the first year of production (six issues currently), the paper has already shown itself to be thorough in its

range of treatment (from the heady to the experiential), open minded in its presentation of groups with diverse strategies for change, and professionally executed with plenty of photographs frequently catching theater troupes, mimes, clowns, and street performers 'in the act.'

Those who are already familiar with the unique effect theater/performance can have in changing attitudes and conveying concepts and feelings will find *Theater Work* a stimulating and useful tool. From it, people who are new to change-oriented theater can probably gain a greater sense of appreciation and understanding of the art.

\$5.00 per year from Cherry Creek, Inc., 406 South 3rd St., Saint Peter, MN 56082.

Community Activism

Research for Action: A Guidebook to Public Record Investigation for Community Activists

by Don Villarejo

California Institute for Rural Studies
P.O. Box 530
Davis, CA 95616

I've known several people who have taken it upon themselves to expose their local power utility because of corrupt business practices. One of them was working for the company; another was a citizen's activist. For both of them the experience was rewarding, in that they thought what they were doing was right, and scary because they weren't sure if how they were going about it was the safest, most effective approach. *Research for Action* is one of several resources available when the investiga-

tion of public records is part of your political action (see also *Campaign for Political Rights*, Resources, Issue #48). It outlines in a manual/casebook format the steps involved in many different types of record investigation including land ownership, hospital, tax, and public utility records. The investigation of corporations and partnerships is also covered. Excellent appendices discuss The Freedom of Information Act and how to use it, and other useful information for muckrakers. A Special Resources Appendix lists books, libraries, and organizations that may be helpful. And it's even illustrated with R. Crumb cartoons!

Who said nothing free is ever good? I always get a thrill whenever I find an organization (usually government sponsored) that offers valuable resource materials free of charge. Such is the case with the Minnesota Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, which offers an excellent training manual entitled: *Introduction to Community Interviewing*. This 31 page booklet presents basic pointers and strategies for door-to-door interviewing in the local community. All the basics are covered on building confidence, standardizing procedures, how to effectively and non-threateningly interview someone, etc.

What isn't covered (hey, I said it was free, I didn't say it was thorough) is how to deal with complicated/controversial issues. Most of the material is geared towards community-oriented projects with the expectation that the inter-

viewer can assume interest in and support for the project from those being interviewed. If you're a novice at doing face-to-face interviews, and plan on conducting some, this manual can probably provide some useful hints. Single copies are available from:

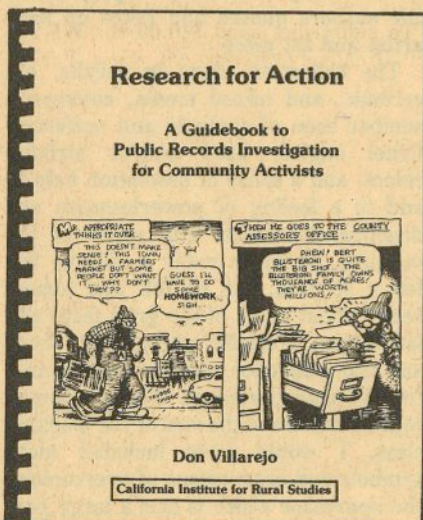
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
311 Walter Library,
117 Pleasant St. S.E.
Minneapolis, MN 55455

The War Resister's League has recently put much of their organizing experience and wisdom into a handbook entitled *War Resisters League Organizer's Manual*. It covers many aspects of organizing from media to fundraising, to organizing demonstrations, public speaking and flyer/leaflet production.

It's available for \$6.00 plus \$1.00 postage and handling from:

W.R.L.
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012

If you're looking for employment in community organizing or community service work, *Community Jobs* might provide some help. Published by the Youth Project, this monthly paper lists hundreds of community oriented job opportunities in urban and rural areas throughout the country. Each issue also contains several feature articles addressing problems and solutions, tips for job hunters, organizing updates, and



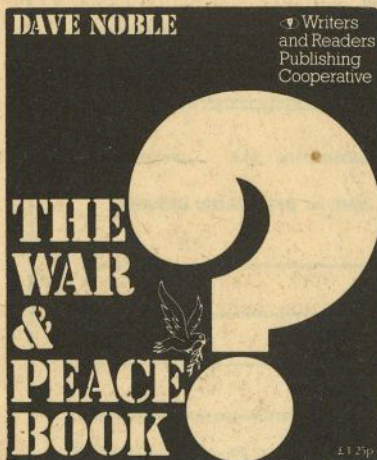
other material pertinent to the field. As their ad declares: Changing society is a big job. Make it your job! *Community Jobs* is a healthy contribution to that end.

Anti-war

The War and Peace Book
David Noble
Writer and Readers Publishing Co.
14 Talacre Rd.
London, England NWS 3PE
\$2.50 96 pages

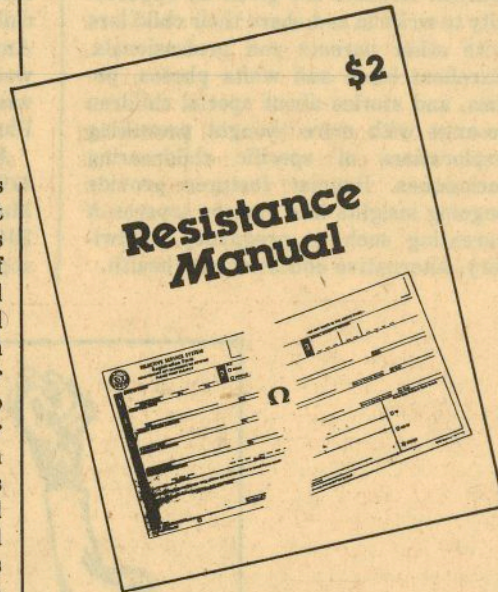
The War and Peace Book describes through words and photographs what the arms race is all about. It contains many of those gruesome pictures of bleeding children, burnt bodies, and acres of bombs, planes, guns, and cemetery markers that have appeared in the popular media. It is an attempt to jar the consciousnesses of those people who have fallen asleep into thinking that war is just a game or simply a necessary form of conflict resolution. The book examines the reasons why people wage war and exposes the myths of conventional warfare and nuclear arms. It discusses the current risk of nuclear confrontation and how that confrontation might be avoided through disarmament.

This might be the kind of book to recommend to someone who is still open to the truth of war's folly but has simply bought the jargon of our politicians. A shocker like this is a crude but sometimes very effective technique for consciousness raising.



To subscribe, send \$8.00 to:

Community Jobs
1520 Sixteenth St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.



The National Resistance Committee is a network of individuals and organizations who are committed to stopping draft registration. The national office provides information and coordinates nationwide events. They publish an excellent newspaper, *Resistance News*, and several books, pamphlets, and other materials. They distribute *Everybody's Guide to Non-Registration*, which contains useful information on the legalities and practicalities of non-registration. Text includes information on the Selective Service System, interviews with registrants and non-registrants, detection/surveillance and how to go through the legal system. They have also written their own booklet entitled *Resistance Manual*, which contains much of the same type of materials as the Guide.

The newspaper sells for \$5.00 a year, the Guide for \$2.50, and the *Resistance Manual* for \$2.00. Not much to pay for information that is invaluable to anyone facing draft registration or wanting to help someone who is. Order from: *The National Resistance Committee*, P.O. Box 42488, San Francisco, CA 94101

Food

People, Food and Land is the publication of *National Land for People*, a membership organization dedicated to advancing through public policies, economic organization, and education, the most efficient sustainable, nutritious form of food and energy production: small resident farmers and gardeners. Similar material to *Food Monitor*. Membership is \$15 per year for P.F. & L., action alerts, discounts on other related books and materials.

National Land for People, 2348 N. Cornelia, Fresno, CA 93711.

Food Monitor is a bi-monthly magazine not so much about food as it is about the politics behind food. As many world hunger organizations have been trying to tell us, it's largely the politics of distribution, not scarcity, that makes the world's poor go hungry. *Food Monitor* takes an in depth look behind the scenes of Coca-Cola factories in Guatemala, land reform programs in El Salvador, and the lives of women in American Agriculture. Small inserts in each article called 'Action Items' attempt to prompt the reader to action, suggesting specific things to do, a much needed addition to any coverage that raises consciousness and stirs emotions.

Food Monitor is one project of World Hunger Year (WHY), a non-profit education and resource organization dedicated to developing people's awareness for the root cause of hunger in order to bring about change. It provides resources and curriculum materials for classroom use, sponsors radiothons, and helps organize community groups around issues of food, land, and hunger.

To subscribe, send \$10.00 to: WHY, 350 Broadway, Room 209, New York, NY 10013.

Coop Food Facts is an ambitious series of publications about food stuffs aimed at the food coop market. The publications come in two series: Fact Sheets and Bin/Shelf signs. The Fact Sheets come in 9 categories (examples: Dairy Products, Grains, Misc. Foods) and contain from 8 to 18 sheets per category. Each sheet poses and answers the following questions: What is it? How do I use it? How nutritious is it? How do I store it? and Where does it come from? The Bin/Shelf signs cover less background, paying more attention to preparation, nutrition and storage. Also on some

signs space is provided for the user to write in where the item was purchased and if it's organic, commercial, local, etc. These signs would mostly be of interest to stores and Community Kitchens, whereas the fact sheets could be of interest to anybody.

A smaller series of publications similar to the **Fact Sheets** is the **Talking Food** series, which includes 20 pamphlets organized somewhat differently. I've felt that I have gotten more information from the **Talking Food** pamphlets than I've seen than from the **Food Fact** sheets on the same foodstuffs, but that overall, the **Food Fact** sheets form a food reference book superior to any other that I've ever run across.

Food Fact Sheets are available from 10 cents for a single sheet to 115.00 for a printed binder containing every one (comes to 300 pages!) The Bin/Shelf signs also start at 10 cents each. A mail-order catalog is available from Food Learning Center (ACA Research Committee), 114 1/2 E. 2nd St., Winona, MN 55987 (507-452-4847); or you can check you coop or warehouse.

A **Talking Food** mail-order catalog can be obtained from Talking Food Company, 12 Gifford Ct., Salem, MA 01970 (617-745-3314).

Reviewed by
Rico Oaks

Children

Mothering Magazine is a glowing tribute to the often under-rated art of creative childrearing. Although the magazine presents a professional, 'slick' format, the editorial style is warm and friendly, creating the feel of a real participatory journal. Readers are given an opportunity to write in and share their child lore with other parents and professionals. Excellent black and white photos, poems, and stories about special children co-exist with more thought provoking explorations of specific childrearing techniques. Regular features provide ongoing insights into various aspects of parenting such as pregnancy, midwifery, alternative education and health.

Recently the perfect-bound, 100-or-so page issues are more like books than magazines, and they're definitely something you'd want to keep around or give away with your baby clothes to a pregnant friend. One question: why *Mothering*? What about fathering, and child rearing outside biological ties? Anyway, if you're involved with kids and want to share your joys, difficulties, and wisdoms with others, *Mothering* is **Ne Plus Ultra!**

Mothering, published quarterly, is \$10/yr. and can be ordered from: **Mothering Publications, Inc.**, P.O. Box 2046, Albuquerque, NM 87103. Single copies sell for \$2.75.

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