



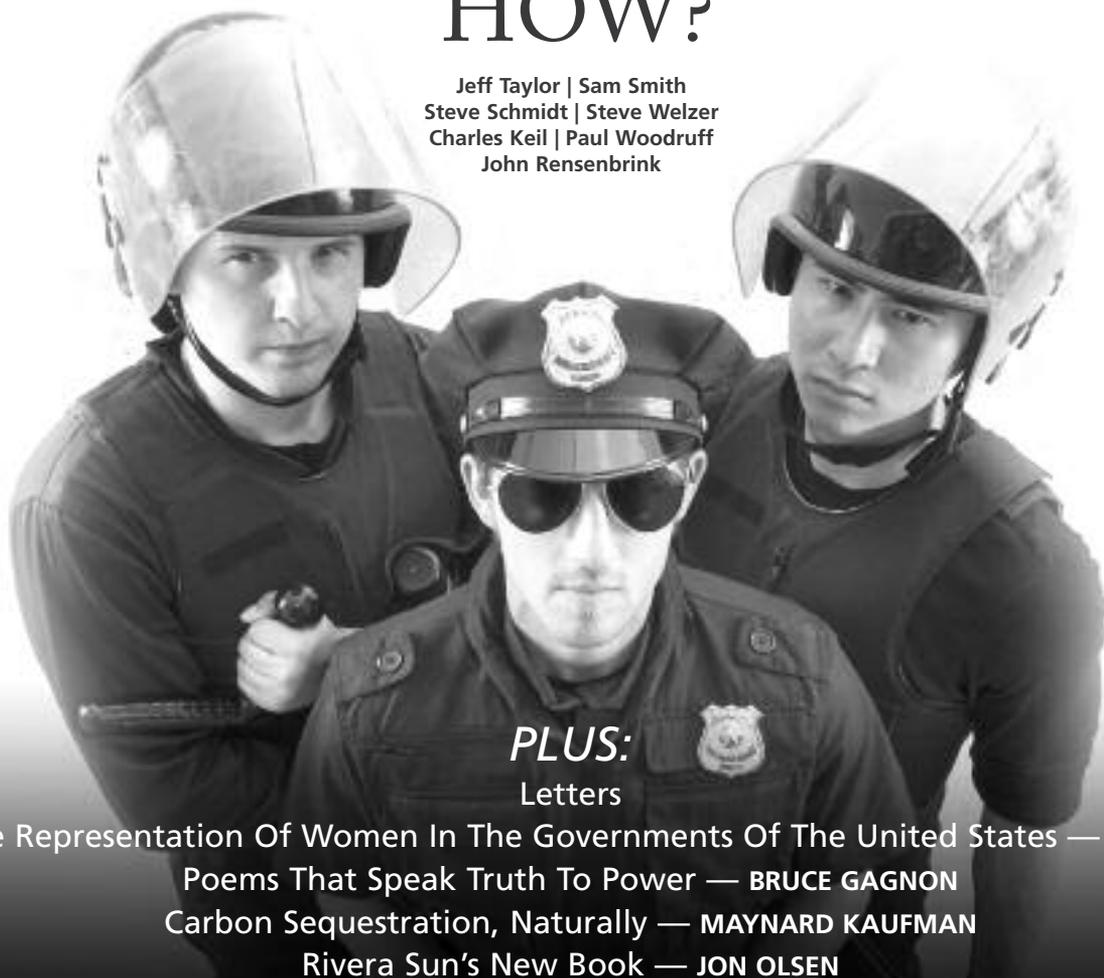
GREEN HORIZON

Magazine

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL PUBLISHED BY THE GREEN HORIZON FOUNDATION

Go LOCAL and Go GLOBAL But as *Tyranny* Looms, Should NATIONAL ACTION Take Priority? HOW?

Jeff Taylor | Sam Smith
Steve Schmidt | Steve Welzer
Charles Keil | Paul Woodruff
John Rensenbrink



PLUS:
Letters

On The Representation Of Women In The Governments Of The United States — **ROB RICHE**

Poems That Speak Truth To Power — **BRUCE GAGNON**

Carbon Sequestration, Naturally — **MAYNARD KAUFMAN**

Rivera Sun's New Book — **JON OLSEN**

Nader did not "Spoil" Gore's Bid for the Presidency in 2000 — **JUSTINE McCABE**

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TRANSFORMING POLITICS ON THE PRAIRIE:

Building the Green Party in the Midwest

This was the theme of the Prairie States Green Conference held June 13-15, 2014 at the scenic Heartland Center, Parkville, MO.

Thirty seven Midwest participants attended the conference sponsored by the Greater Kansas City Greens. Jill Stein, Green Party presidential candidate in 2012, gave a rousing key-note address on the critical challenge and opportunity the Green Party has in presenting its transforming, vital message for the 2016 national election.

Excellent workshops were held on timely topics: including “Green Imperative in Dealing with Climate Change”, Single Payer Health Care”. “Fighting the Grand Bargain”, “Running Green Candidates”, “Transforming Politics”.

At the concluding session, break-down discussion groups by states were held dealing with next steps: Kansas participants set up a future meeting to work on forming a Kansas Green Party. Missouri

participants were energized to form a working group to consider starting a petition drive in 2015 to get the Greens on the state ballot in 2016. They also considered action to have the U.S. Green Party presidential candidate on the ballot in 2016, as well as run a candidate for state office in Missouri. Two participants volunteered to explore interest in holding another Prairie States Green Conference in 2015.

— Ben Kjelshus
Kansas City

European Greens

The European Green Council will be meeting in Istanbul November 7 to 9. They will be meeting amid the turmoil throughout the Near East. We look for wisdom on the knotty and explosive issues and wish them well in their deliberations. This meeting is the 21st Council meeting of the European Greens. —Editors.

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THE TEAM

PUBLISHED BY THE GREEN HORIZON FOUNDATION • FALL/WINTER, 2014 • VOLUME ELEVEN #30

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Green Horizon Magazine is indexed in the Alternative Press Index, which is available from:
Alternative Press Center, PO Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218

Yes! Go Local & Go Global

BUT AS TYRANNY LOOMS MUST THE NATIONAL HAVE PRIORITY? CAN WE FIND A WORKABLE BALANCE?

For this issue, we pose some critical questions but without claiming to have final answers to those questions. Four questions especially.

Considering the state of the world, is local the way to go or is global the way to go for the survival and happiness of our species? Second: but what about the national level? Third: does it make sense for strategists and activists in the United States to work and hope for a “Big Tent”—one that brings parties and movements like the Greens and progressives for peace, climate change responsibility, and social justice together with forces and movements on the right that are critical of imperialism, denial of personal freedoms, and centralization? A fourth question: If tyranny is the wholesale subjection of all the citizens to the top-down and arbitrary force of one or more persons (a cabal or a class)—and we believe it is—then in what direction can we hope to dismantle it—at the local, national, or global level? Or at all levels at once? The first and fourth questions are linked.

Keep these questions in mind (adding other questions of your own) as you read the articles that follow, by Jeff Taylor, Sam Smith, Steve Schmidt, Charles Keil, Steve Welzer, Paul Woodruff, and John Rensenbrink. We start with Jeff and Sam on decentralism. We then go on a planetary excursion with Steve Schmidt, Charlie, and Steve Welzer. You will notice the interesting and exciting overlap of all three.

In the issues of the past several years, you may have noticed, we have fore-fronted local resurgence and then also we have posed the question of global governance, arguing the importance of taking an authentically planetary stance about a world in deeply worrisome crisis. But we have treated the local and global separately. True enough, we did bring in the principle of subsidiarity to point to a way of linking the levels of local and beyond. Sam Smith returns to subsidiarity in his article, pointing out that it is a workable principle to follow in linking local and global patterns of governance. But we have not until this issue put the local and the global side by side.

To continue: having presented two articles on the local and two articles on the global, we pause to listen to Paul Woodruff’s voice recalling us to what the ancient Greeks warn us about tyranny—a startling way to pose what is dangerously facing us in this nation and in the world at large. In the article that follows his, I take up the questions “What about the national level?” and “How best can we deal with the rising tide of tyranny?”

The national level confronts us as a conundrum, a baffling one. On the one hand national sovereignty is losing ground in the face of powerful corporate and commercial forces now girdling the globe; and in the face of what seem to be uncontrollable explosions

of injustice, impoverishment, homelessness, rape and torture not just within the borders of a country but across borders everywhere. Climate change, air and water pollution, ocean warming and acidification—which respect no national sovereignty—deepen the problem and produce new dimensions of impending horror. The national level seems helpless to do anything about it in a timely and alleviating way. This is even true for a hugely dominating and aggressive country like the United States.

On the other hand nationally organized power still dominates the world scene. It is both an obstacle to world peace and justice and it is also a security blanket for many peoples in the world—and highly prized because of that. The myth inhabiting the dominating few in the U.S. (the 1% at the top) is that the U.S. and its allies can provide security and progress for all peoples and nations—even those nations and peoples who still won’t listen to the U.S.-NATO way (meaning: submit). Yet even that myth is exploding in the face of realities—the dire ecological threat of impending oblivion, the obvious demand of most nations and peoples to follow their own star, the rise of other super-powers, and the repeated narcissistic failures of the U.S. government and its dominant class to face these realities.

Consequently, as the shattering of the myth penetrates throughout the nation and the world, we see the tendency by the top class to turn more and more to tyranny (both soft and hard tyranny) as the only way forward. More on that in my article. I conclude that article with a return to the question of local, national, and global. How should we think about a new world that can unite all peoples at all these three levels in a framework that works against the rise of tyranny in all three—a framework that promotes peace, safely, justice, good livelihood, and equality of power for all?

But there is much more in this issue. Lively letters from readers around the country and in Canada; Maynard Kaufman on the crucial question of carbon sequestration; Rob Ritchie on the representation of women in governments in the United States; Justine McCabe on the false claim that Ralph Nader “spoiled” Albert Gore’s bid for the presidency in 2000; two arresting poems by Bruce Gagnon; and a pertinent book review by Jon Olsen. —JR

[NOTE: Dear reader, you have probably noticed that by far most of the articles in this issue are by men, all but one. I am sorry. Several women would have had articles for this issue, but they were unfortunately unable to do so for a variety of very good reasons. In the pipeline of articles for the next issue, we have many female authors. JR]

Presenting the KEY VALUE of Decentralism (PART ONE)

JEFF TAYLOR

A government that presides over a vast expanse of land and a multitude of people does not necessarily bring greater happiness or justice.

Government functions should be as close to the people as practicable.

Power needs to be held in check, partly through decentralization, because power holds a great attraction for humans.

Addressing progressive, fair-minded Americans on the subject of states' rights and other manifestations of decentralization, is to swim upstream. It evokes images of the Klan, of lynchings and burnings, of Bull Connor and Lester Maddox. We can understand why. Modern liberalism usually means putting a premium on the value of equality above all else. "States' rights" has been the rallying cry for several well-publicized crusades for inequality over the past 150 years. Keep in mind, though, that these crusades for slavery and segregation—in the Civil War, Jim Crow, and Civil Rights eras—were manifestations of a single cause: white supremacy, with a special emphasis on the southern economic elite. The real evil was the end, not the means.

On an international scale, all of the great political monsters of the past century have exemplified the opposite of the decentralism principle that underlies states' rights. Totalitarianism, in both its communist and fascist forms, was about concentrating power in the hands of the few, at a level far removed from the common people. For instance, it was not as though Hitler had too great a regard for the desire of local people to govern themselves. Quite the opposite. Resistance to political centralization and its frequent companion, economic centralization, is not antithetical or alien to the progressive tradition. There has always been an anti-statist, anti-bureaucratic variety of socialism. For every Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and Mao, there has been a Bakunin, Proudhon, Kropotkin, Goldman, and Orwell.

Deep in American soil, there is the decentralist tradition of Thomas Jefferson, John Taylor of Caroline, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Paine. Sam Adams, the great democrat of Boston, thought "the best government" was the one which "played the least part in men's daily affairs" and who believed in a "negative political theory of natural rights" which "caused him to fear every increase in the central government's power."

Anticipating Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* thesis, Tom Paine wrote, in *The Rights of Man*, "A great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government. It had its origin in the principles of society and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was abolished. The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has in man, and all the parts of a civilized community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together." Paine also believed that "The more perfect civilization is, the less occasion has it for government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs and govern itself."

DECENTRALIZATION AND THE GREENS

The Green Party, partly descended from the Counterculture and the New Left, has three decentralist positions among its Ten Key Values: decentralization, grassroots democracy, and community-based economics. Nonetheless, Greens often default to a knee-jerk defense of federal, or even global, bureaucratic control in policy debates, thereby acting more as an auxiliary of the Democratic Party than as a genuine alternative to big government liberalism. This approach undercuts one of the original appeals of the international Green movement/party: its slogan "We are neither Left nor Right; we are in Front."

When it began, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the West German Green Party (*die Grünen*) attracted mostly disenchanting Social Democrats but also some populist,

eco-minded Christian Democrats. Gradually, its ideologically-transcendent nature diminished as it became more conventionally leftist. The U.S. Green Party, with roots in the Counterculture and New Left movements, was solidly on the Left side of the spectrum from the start. These antecedent movements did, however, have a decentralist or even anarchistic flavor that set them apart from standard Democratic liberals. (See the classic book *Green Politics* by Spretnak and Capra.)

Some Green leaders, such as John Rensenbrink, have emphasized a deep ecology philosophical basis for the party in a way that gets past conventional modern liberalism. They have also attempted to build bridges to the populist Right but these efforts have not met with much practical success. The Nader campaigns have been only marginally more successful in this regard. Still, expression of common interest in decentralization is a significant effort to tap into the wide American tradition of being suspicious of concentrated power, of disliking bigness whether in business or government. It partly explains why Wendell Berry is admired by both left-wing ecologists and right-wing traditionalists.

HUMAN POLITICS

Human behavior is a mixture of competition and cooperation, of individualism and integration. Each side of the equation contributes something of value to life. It is a tricky thing to structure government in a way that helps to maintain social equilibrium. Liberty and order are both important. A strong government will hinder freedom and rights. A weak government will fail to promote justice and commonweal.

Part of the desirable equilibrium is a sense of proportionality. Some sizes, some amounts, some levels are more appropriate than others. A person should not eat fifty slices of pizza during one meal. No one should lock up a naughty one-year-old child for fifty years in a maximum security prison. Everyone should realize that one size does not fit all, that one body of law cannot be entirely appropriate for fifty diverse geographic areas.

Bigger is not always better. A government that presides over a vast expanse of land and a multitude of people does not necessarily bring greater happiness or justice. A proud empire does not necessarily foster greater security than a humble republic. Often the reverse is true, as the empire entangles itself in other people's affairs, stretches its military thin in distant places, creates unnecessary foreign enemies, fails to secure its own borders, and fails to protect its own people. This scenario should sound familiar to Americans.

Decentralism is the best political tool to ensure equilibrium, to promote proportionality, and to obtain appropriate scale. Power distribution should be as wide as possible. Government functions should be as close to the people as practicable. In this way, individual human beings are not swallowed by a monstrous Leviathan. Persons are not at the mercy of an impersonal bureaucracy led by the far-away few. Decentralism gives us politics on a human scale. It gives us more democracy within the framework of a republic.

The old cliché says, "You can't fight City Hall." It is even more difficult to fight the Governor's Mansion or the White House. The City Hall cliché is an overstatement. Sometimes average citizens do prevail against the misguided will of city government and local elites. But odds of successful popular insurgencies become slimmer as they face larger and more remote powers. More often than not, local government is better than national government because it is more human. More human forms of government are more likely to produce more humane functions of government.

THE LURE OF POWER

The acquisition of power is addictive. Once gained, it is rarely given up voluntarily. There is a certain trajectory in politics that is clear. When is the last time you have seen a governor decline to run for reelection but instead seek a seat in the state legislature? When have you seen a sitting member of the U.S. Senate try to join the U.S. House? When have you seen a president decide to retire after one term? These things are not done. More power is considered to be better. The holder of power rationalizes that it is not about power for power's sake. It is about power for the sake of helping people. Democrats want to help the "disadvantaged." Republicans want to help the "middle class." But, really, they are helping themselves even more.

Power needs to be held in check, partly through decentralization, because power holds a great attraction for humans. Recognition of this human tendency is the first step in guarding against it and getting back on a better path. Concentration of power in the hands of the national government was almost inevitable after 1789. It was the natural, if dangerous, course of things in a world of misplaced priorities and perverted values.

Decentralism, or any other way of governance, is not a cure for all that ails us. A change in the mechanics of our politics is not going to automatically change the meaning of our culture. With its self-indulgence, materialism, and superficiality, American culture is morally degraded in many ways. People's minds and hearts need to change. But a shifting of power closer to the grassroots and away from corrupted national elites in Washington and New York would be helpful.

It is true that the common people are also corrupt, their natural human flaws encouraged by media, business, and political establishments that trample on truth, commodify everything, ignore social justice, and keep us stuck in a state of perpetual adolescence. In an age of bread and circuses, does the will to change our politics exist? Do the people care about where our authority lies in a decadent era? Probably not. Our instincts remain good but, in many cases, our minds have been turned to mush by entertainment and our emotions have been short-circuited by hucksters.

And yet... You are reading this. It is something. It is a start. First let us figure out how we got here, then we can work on getting to a better place. There are others who care. More important movements than this have begun with smaller numbers. One advantage we have is that those of us who care about restoring

Standardization is not a natural fit for humans.

politics to its proper scale need not agree on everything. We are seeking a tool that transcends policy differences. We can work together to set new ground rules and afterwards work-debate-vote among ourselves how we want to proceed with particular policies to address common concerns. We do not have to agree now. Or later. We just have to recognize that we all have a stake in our society and we must be willing to respect one another as fellow citizens.

Humans are complex creatures who are characterized by great diversity. Standardization is not a natural fit for humans. Within certain basic norms consonant with natural/divine law, the policies of human government should be as diverse as humans. While political principles can be universal in a time-and place-transcendent way, their application as policies will vary. If they are not allowed to vary, the body politic suffers. A political straitjacket ill-suits human beings. That is why scale matters. Complexity and individual conscience, diversity and free will, all demand a politics proper to who we are as people. They argue for multiformity and accountability in government.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In an American context, the word *federalism* usually refers to the division of power between the federal government and the fifty state governments. Political scientists call this vertical federalism. It connotes a sharing of social responsibilities, a constitutional two-way flow of the line of authority. In contrast to a federal system of power distribution, a unitary system is one in which most or all power is concentrated at the upper level and a confederal system is one in which most or all power is concentrated at the lower levels. A federal system is a compromise between unitary (centralized) and confederal (decentralized).

When the United States' form of government shifted from the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution in 1787-89, concentration of power in the hands of the national government was feared by Anti-Federalists, who preferred sticking with the Articles. Such concentration of power was rhetorically dismissed as a possibility by *Federalist* no. 45 and ostensibly protected against by the Bill of Rights. As time unfolded, as judges interpreted, and as politicians acted, the concerns of the Anti-Federalists proved to be justified, the assurances of Madison proved to be empty, and the protections of the Constitution proved to be impotent. Decentralism, even in its weakened federal form, has been an elusive principle.

A.W. Tozer once wrote, "Truth is like a bird: it cannot fly on one wing. Yet we are forever trying to take off with one wing flapping furiously and the other tucked neatly out of sight. I believe it was Dr. G. Campbell Morgan who said that the whole truth does not lie in 'It is written,' but in 'It is written' and 'Again it is written.' The second text must be placed over against the first to balance it and give it symmetry, just as the right wing

must work along with the left to balance the bird and enable it to fly." If this is an accurate insight when applied to theology, the same can be said for any discipline, including political theory.

When it comes to statecraft, perhaps truth is more like a butterfly than a bird. Butterflies and moths have two pairs of wings, for a total of four wings: left forewing, right forewing, left hindwing, and right hindwing. Decentralized political power is similarly characterized by four values.

FOUR CRUCIAL VALUES

The quadratic persuasion of decentralism includes four philosophical underpinnings: democracy, liberty, community, and morality. Democracy is championed by the philosophy of populism. It is linked to equality, majority rule, popular sovereignty, we the people, and competitive elections. Liberty is championed by the philosophy of libertarianism. It is linked to freedom, individualism, natural rights, civil liberties, and a pluralistic society. Community is championed by the philosophy of communitarianism. It is linked to love your neighbor as yourself, fraternity, the common good (commonwealth), and united we stand. Morality is championed by the philosophy of traditional conservatism. It is linked to social ethics, virtue, personal and social improvement, righteousness exalts a nation, and the beatitudes.

Philosophies committed to each of the four values can be found in the American agrarian thinker and practitioner Thomas Jefferson. Elements of his thought are congenial to populism, libertarianism, communitarianism, and traditional conservatism. This is one reason Jefferson's influence is still widely found in American society and found across the political spectrum. (This interplay or balance of seemingly contradictory, or at least different, ideologies is not unique to Jefferson; a different set can be found in J.S. Mill: utilitarianism, libertarianism, socialism, and feminism.

The root word of politics is *polis*. It was a city, not a colossus. It is time to get back to our roots. To the once-were city states of Greece, to the could-be ward republics of Jefferson, to the should-be reserved powers of the Constitution. We are human beings. We are not cogs in a machine of epic proportions. Let us have politics on a human scale.



JEFF TAYLOR

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How DECENTRALISM *Helps the Green Party Cause*

SAM SMITH

One of the most powerful yet under-rated tools at the Green Party's disposal is its blend of progressive and decentralist politics. As I wrote a few years ago, "There's a myth that progressives have to love big government and the right has to hate it. And so they do. And we tend to sit contentedly in the rows the media and politicians have assigned for us. But, in fact, the idea of the devolution of power has crossed ideological lines many times. For example, the American left in the 1960s was deep into community, decentralization of power and the local. Today, the buy local movement reflects some of the same values."

The data is there. It's just ignored. For example, the Pew Research Center last year pointed out that "63% say they have a favorable opinion of their local government, virtually unchanged over recent years. 57% express a favorable view of their state government – a five-point uptick from last year. By contrast, just 28% rate the federal government in Washington favorably. That is down five points from a year ago and the lowest percentage ever in a Pew Research Center survey."

What's even more fascinating is that while only 4% of Republicans viewed local government less favorably than Democrats and virtually tied in their opinion of state government, the federal vote is 41% favorable for Democrats but only 13% for Republicans.

Why are we not made aware of this big split in how we view government at different levels? One little noted reason is that in recent decades, Democratic liberals have shifted from being a movement emphasizing broad based economic decency to a demographic characterized by, among other things, a well educated elite – a status that can carry an assumption of superiority in making decisions and planning the future.

I covered my first Washington story over a half century ago. At the time more than half the reporters in the country only had a high school education. I didn't tell anyone on the Hill that I had gone to Harvard because it would have been regarded negatively by many. As late as 1971, only 58% of reporters had more than a high school education. Now, according to Harper's 98% have a college degree.

Meanwhile, in the 1950s universities were turning out less than 5,000 MBAs a year. By 2005 they graduated 142,000 MBAs. And between 1970s and the turn of the century the number of Washington lawyers increased nearly sever fold.

The result in Washington has been a trend towards government by a gradocracy, a highly educated elite comprised of lawyers, MBAs, economists, and journalists who assume they have the skills to run the place without more than token contact with what we used to call the citizenry.

Here, for example, is the hidden story behind such problems as Obamacare, the misbegotten war in Afghanistan, and the assumption that Washington experts are the best to instruct teachers in how to educate our children. The capital no longer is a haven for the socially intelligent politician, the country lawyer, or the guy who made

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love big government
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hate it. And so they do.
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What if we treated politicians the same way as we do corn or bread and label those relying on local and reasonable funding as organic pols, while regarding the rest as generically modified by oligarchs (or GMO)?

it all work back in Boston. Now it is filled with data drones, process junkies and designers of legal labyrinths.

This is not a matter of taking sides towards big or small government, but in dividing government into rational segments based on what the Catholics used to call subsidiarity: government at the lowest practical level.

The problem now is that an increasing number of Americans see the federal government getting into what used to be more local turf. You can argue that when these issues come to the fore they are often not too significant in a fiscal or policy nature yet by their very trivial trespassing they stir up not only resistance to the specific policy but anger against the federal government as a whole.

Consider, for example, the school nutrition rules that are putting the clamp on bake sales for sports teams and other high school organizations. Go back a few decades and you could hardly find one Washington politician dumb enough to contribute to such a conflict.

Or consider the problem in Maine, where federal highway law, as interpreted by the state, determines which attractions rate a sign along a freeway or turnpike. It is clear that the law was written by those living in large, dense communities. But in an expansive but low populated state like Maine, the nearest motel to an exit may not be close enough to meet the standards. For example, the Portland Press Herald pointed out:

Some towns ... would lose signs directing drivers to them because they have populations of less than 10,000 and are not considered major attractions.

After the Maine Mall opened in 1971, the state refused to put a sign for the Mall on the turnpike. So ... the mall's first general manager, got the city to rename Payne Road to Maine Mall Road in 1975, and the Maine Mall Road exit sign served the purpose...

Todd Shea, town manager of Arundel, said it would be unfair to remove a sign for Arundel, while pointing out that more than five miles of the turnpike go through the town.

The aforementioned are clearly not major ideological issues, but rather represent a cultural shift in who gets to decide what.

The danger has been there from the start. Alex de Tocqueville, for example, noted that "Decentralization has, not only an administrative value, but also a civic dimension, since it increases the opportunities for citizens to take interest in public affairs; it makes them get accustomed to using freedom. And from the accumulation of these local, active, persnickety freedoms, is born the most efficient counterweight against the claims of the central government."

On some days this would help progressives, on others conservatives. But it is not a question, as liberals constantly suggest, of endangering individual rights since such matters are clearly a matter of uniform national policy. This is, rather, about the rediscovery of a true democracy.

When I lived in Washington, I learned about this serving as an elected advisory neighborhood commissioner. The decisions we frequently confronted were ones about which the city government had failed its citizenry, yet when confronted by those actually affected by them, the discussion generally became more rational even if no less complicated.

When I moved to Maine, I found something similar, such as a meeting at which 100 people gathered to discuss the effect of runoff from farmland on nearby clamming. It did not look likely to succeed what with a crowd that included several members of the town council, representatives of four different state agencies, clammers, farmers and the game warden standing in the back with a gun on his hip. But an hour or so into the discussion I turned to the man sitting next to me and said, "We ought to send all these people to Washington." The lack of haranguing

The capitol no longer is a haven for the socially intelligent politician, the country lawyer, or the guy who made it all work back in Chicago. Now it is filled with data drones, process junkies and purveyors of legal labyrinths.

and hyperbole, and the honest effort to make things work for everyone produced a result all could live with.

Can this work in a larger fashion? I believe so as I have argued:

For example, both social security and the earned income tax credit function well with little overhead. In such programs, the federal government serves primarily as a redistribution center for tax revenues. On the other hand, an environmentalist who ran a weatherization program told me that she figured it cost \$30,000 in federal and local overhead for each \$1600 in weather-proofing provided a low income home.

Similarly, a study of Milwaukee County in 1988 found government agencies spending more than \$1 billion annually on fighting poverty. If this money had been given in cash to the poor, it would have meant more than \$33,000 for each low income family -- well above the poverty level.

Even when you don't want to devolve power out of the federal government -- and in many cases you don't -- the programs themselves can be brought closer to people. Some agencies already are quite decentralized, including US Attorney offices, the Coast Guard, the National Park Service and the delivery of mail. In such cases, the federal government is represented by a small unit (or even an individual such as your postal carrier) with considerable autonomy within a defined turf.

The principle could be applied to other agencies. Why not, for example, have 50 state directors for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, each, as with US Attorney nominations, okayed by the state's senators and each given a budget, a menu of programs, and considerable autonomy in how to handle them? I would wager that there would be at least two results: (1) citizens would have a better idea of what was going on in federal housing programs and (2) the programs would get better.

And here's something we could do right now. A successful progressive effort these days has been the local food movement.

What if we were to apply some of its principles to our politicians? What if we treated politicians the same way as we do corn or bread and label those relying on local and reasonable funding as organic pols, while regarding the others as GMOs, i.e. generically modified by oligarchs? Clean local money vs. dirty offshore money?

Churches, small business groups, and non-profits could reach a consensus in a community as to what constitutes clean campaign funding for local candidates. We don't need new law, we just need a label to give to those politicians who agree to these standards. If it works for carrots it might work for state legislators as well.

But the main point is that there is nothing inconsistent with the decentralization of power and progressive politics, especially as practiced by the Green Party. And the context should not be a false dichotomy between big and small government but a society in which the big and the small work together to preserve a political ecology for the benefit of all.



SAM SMITH

editor of the online *Progressive Review*, has been editing alternative journals since 1964. Before moving to Maine in 2009, he covered Washington during all or part of nine of America's presidencies. He is the author of four books, two at the request of editors. His work has appeared in more than two dozen publications. Smith has helped to start a half dozen organizations - including the DC Statehood Party and national Green Party. He has also served as an elected DC neighborhood commissioner and a school parents' association president.

For the Earth, Our Planet: an eOS Proposal (PART THREE)

STEVEN SCHMIDT

Editor's Note: Continuing his series of articles entitled eOS, an eco-operating system, Steve Schmidt looks over the horizon as he encourages “green best practices” that fully utilize the unprecedented developing worldwide Web/Internet. The future of online networking has potential to redefine politics, both locally and globally, in ways that are green, resilient and sustainable. Steve introduces the concept of ‘globally connected citizens’ as planet citizens (with a new website even -- www.planetcitizen.org). *Green Horizon* is pleased to look over the horizon again with Steve, who played a central role in the US Green Party’s formation and the drafting of the 2000 national platform. We hope you find this further development of his eOS vision as positive and promising as we do.

*An eco operating system
brings together successful
green best practices and
distributes them via the
worldwide web.*

We’re in need of another Enlightenment. We need to evolve to another level very soon... We all need to step up. The last Enlightenment happened because of the printing press. The Internet is that, potentially.

—Steven Soderbergh, July 2014

SEEING THE WORLD IN NEW WAYS

The worldwide reach of the Internet enables green ideas as a powerful ‘value add’ to politics and business as they exist today. Old ways of thinking, ‘business-as-usual’, prevails but green networking as an alternative offers a vision that is urgently needed.

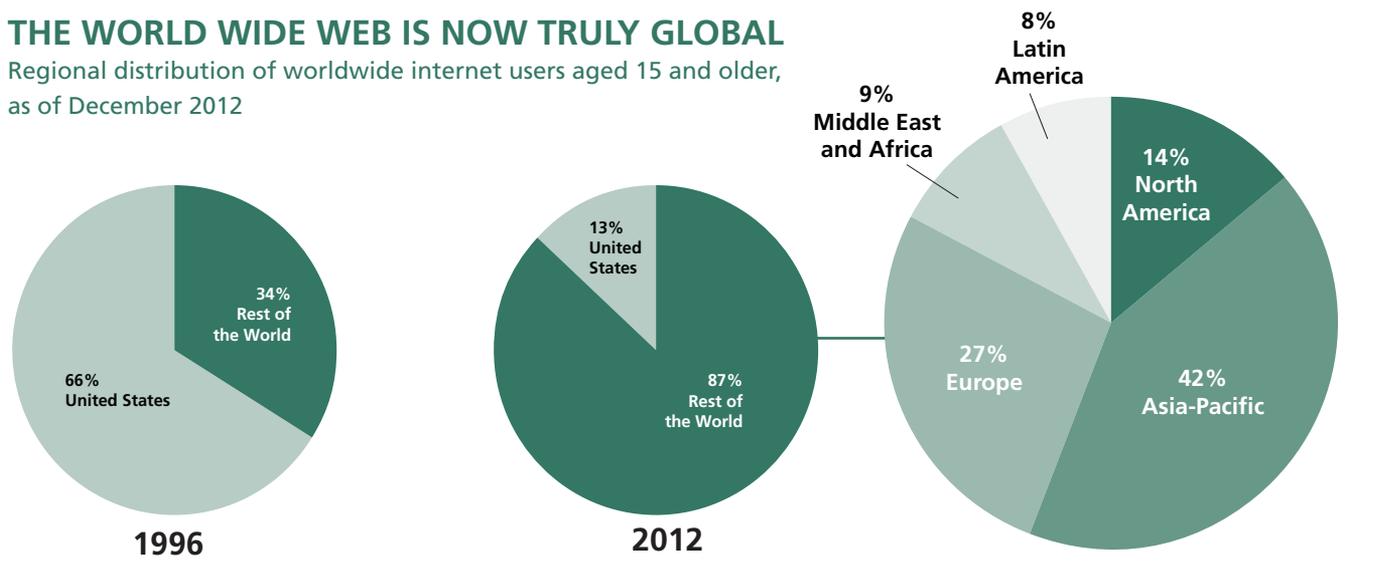
Starting in the 1960s, first as an upstart movement focused on the West Coast of the US, a counterculture then cyberculture¹ has kept on “keeping on”. A “greening” of culture, a legacy of the 60s, now a net counterculture, keeps on expanding frontiers in a liberating, digitally connected world. Linking is a new science². Social networking³, transnational and international connections⁴ and disruptive ‘bursts’⁵ of ideas are creating a new norm.

In Parts 1 and 2 of a green eOS, we spoke of the socially connected Internet enabling waves of change reshaping old ways of politics, economics and even dogmatic religion. Greens are taking up the challenge to change the world and “speak truth to power”. Whether in politics, religion, business, education or simple day-to-day living, green values are pushing policies and ideas for change. Green practices in effect are impacting business and life at every level and better use of Internet technology/IT and the worldwide web by greens will act to reshape the world as it is. Online sharing of green best practices, an eco operating system, brings successful models and templates as green solutions to a world that needs to move beyond ‘old ways’ of doing politics and business.

A big picture vision is needed and greens are the ones to present a transformative vision as an “overview”, a green belief in interconnectivity. We speak of the ecology of our planet, a biosphere where “it’s all connected”, a global planetary reality greens hold worth protecting and sustaining.

THE WORLD WIDE WEB IS NOW TRULY GLOBAL

Regional distribution of worldwide internet users aged 15 and older, as of December 2012



While around us we experience a seeming endless cycle of “perpetual war,” “War, Inc.” with trillions spent on weapon systems, invasions, occupations, excursions, and inevitable blowback, the voices for sanity who argue for saner, smarter policies include greens who put forward alternatives to failed policies. Green parties are now organized in over 100 countries⁶ and green values, policies and practices are presenting considered, far-reaching and needed solutions.

In eOS, we propose to extend the Internet and its connectivity and multiply a green vision and green ideas, to take green best practices and share them via the worldwide web, social media and mobile ‘anywhere, everywhere, always on’ channels of communication. Green paths to peace and prosperity deserve to be widely considered, on the merits, in opposition to failed policies of the past.

GLOBAL CITIZEN

We propose thinking like a “global citizens”, citizens of the planet. An “overview”⁷ of our planet is a starting point. We see our earth as an oasis in space, a wondrous system, a biosphere of connected life forms, of which we are an integral part. We speak of caring for all people on the planet, not just “our people.” Greens look to be “patriotic” to community and nation – and go deeper to act for peace, resolution of conflict, to offer life affirming values and far-sighted action on behalf of today’s world and generations to come.

Greens see the “big picture” and recognize connections that link us together. “Think globally, act locally”⁸ is a common belief as greens often speak of grassroots politics and day-to-day decisions that are meaningful and measurable as we look to make waves with rippling power. Greens are not naïve, we recognize “bad actors” and threats, irrational, violent extreme behavior and need for defense, while we also recognize old ways of security haven’t worked. Yet, we bring optimism that new answers for old problems are possible.

With the worldwide web and its unique cross-border connectivity, citizen of the planet can share content/media/messaging in historically unprecedented ways. We have the potential to re-make and re-form ideologies and powers-that-be. Green politics is primed to take it to the ‘next level’ – beyond the limits of nations, conflicts, wars and harsh conditions ‘on the ground.’

An expanding body of globally connected citizens⁹, netizens, is rapidly moving beyond previous eras of separation and issues of “us versus them” thinking. Limitations of tribe, ethnicity, religious dogma, nationalism are being confronted by the openness of the worldwide web. Now, with access to knowledge and information, and online engagement via the expanding net’s infrastructure, a proliferation of ideas, not weapons, is transforming old ways of doing business. Business-as-usual is being seen for what it is, and green values are making more and more sense in a new linked world. The interconnectedness greens have been advocating philosophically is becoming a reality as the worldwide net rolls out. The connectivity of the Internet is fostering a global village and prompting the realization that we are all in this together.

OPEN DATA MOVEMENT

The future is already here. New ways of seeing and sharing, for example, are embedded in the open data movement. Open Data resources¹⁰ are pointing toward a new evolving democratic network.

The open data movement is flourishing even as nations, military and surveillance organizations, corporations and other groups attempt to access, legally and illegally, the online activity and behavior of online users. As we discussed in eOS Part Two, the users of the net are often being tracked and privacy rights are increasingly at risk. The sharing of data/content is at times a danger zone¹¹ and threats to the net¹² on multiple fronts are present and real.

Yet efforts to spy on, restrict, limit and otherwise stop the spread of the Internet/World Wide Web¹³ as an open sharing network

*Limitations of tribe, ethnicity, religious dogma, nationalism
are being confronted by the openness of the worldwide web.*

are bound to fail with netizen engagement. As awareness of the Internet's systems and a privacy rights movement¹⁴ grow, greens should continue advocating an expansion of rights, a core belief in the US Green and Euro Green platforms, and be out-in-front on behalf of a digital Bill of Rights¹⁵ and, as WWW originator Tim Berners-Lee has called for, an online Magna Carta¹⁶.

Greens should be in the forefront of an international/global movement to expand Internet rights, as we have advocated in our Green platforms to expand human/civil/environmental rights. Greens as global citizens, interactive netizens, have the Internet and its digital extensions to enable a new enlightenment, with advocacy of reason and science, information and knowledge.

PLANET STEWARDSHIP

Green perspective has never been more critically important, even vital, as we talk how best to employ the tools of the Internet and look to our planet as a common ground community. We share a mutual defense pact, as it were, to look out for the health of the planet as a community. When it comes to threats to security, 'national security' is no longer merely self-interest. The fact is it's no longer the 19th century or the 20th century with millions of deaths attributable to extremes of nationalism.

Greens speak of security threats beyond nationalism, debilitating wars, denial of science, global warming/climate change, rising seas, extreme environmental threats, nuclear risks, resource depletion, biodiversity devastation, water shortage and more. Greens are the ones who have raised concerns that need to be raised and are not exclusive to any one nation. Green beyond-the-horizon thinking is global citizenship, a reality check that says we need to re-think and act in different ways if we are to solve problems we've created (to restate the familiar quotation attributed to Albert Einstein -- "We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them.")

Let's look at one global citizen initiative that is not traditionally associated with greens but could be an example of how greens can 'elevate' a green vision in new ways to benefit all of us on earth, in this case, via democratization of earth science/open data being delivered from space¹⁷.

The recent launch of the first "Orbiting Carbon Observatory-2"¹⁸ will provide, beginning late in 2014, a stream of data monitoring the carbon dioxide in the earth's atmosphere in a 360° survey that

will be the most comprehensive ever undertaken. Here is where 'global citizens' have an opportunity to access open data that can demonstrate an 'existential security threat.' The data will be made available to us, the public, to study, analyze in case studies, report on and project threat levels into the future. The OCO open data will provide a first time, first ever opportunity for a green 'army' to go into the field and wage a scientific campaign to protect (a new definition of) common-ground security, that is, security for all of us, the biosphere of earth.

Choose a challenge that works for you and use the data... perhaps focus on your latitude/longitude, e.g., check out the carbon signature over your city or go further with the data that is now being made openly available to study and report, tag, distribute and share as nextgen #earthsciences -- OCO-2 and the challenge to join in¹⁹ and micro-satellites delivering a nextgen of earth monitoring and earth systems awareness²⁰.

The 'greening' of our culture, our politics, business and environment is to watch greens @work. Going forward, the green counterculture will always be an alternative to destructive policies. Green work will offer choices, options, new ways to approach problems we have inherited. A green way is going beyond borders (like the organization, Doctors Without Borders) and thinking of us all together and our common needs and issues.

GREENS AND SCIENCE

One of the guiding principles of green thought is a reasoned approach to identifying and solving problems, whether simple or complex. The natural world is a system of systems, and to interact successfully, in harmony with our natural world as it were, we need to manage carefully. It has been said that "you can manage only what you can measure" and to manage with success in the natural world, we need to measure carefully. Greens need to look at science as a way to interact with our earth systems for successful, sustainable results. With a touch of humility, knowing we will never know for certain exactly how earth systems work, the green way is to interact with nature on several levels of awareness -- such that our senses play a part, our feelings play a part, and science plays a part. We are just beginning to geo-monitor the "thin atmosphere" of earth and our biosphere from space²¹, a whole earth point of view.

In the bigger picture, an overview of earth brings a realization that has come to those who have seen the wonder of earth from

space, suspended blue-green with its thin atmosphere seemingly fragile in the vacuum and against a background of deep space.

Beginning with first ever images of our home planet, Earth²², taken from the Apollo era²³, greens have taken the iconic Apollo images of earth, our first “overview” and have gone far from the 60’s Whole Earth catalog and roll out of personal computers. Greens of all stripes are at work these days greening politics and business, bringing forth serious, credible ideas and policies in a connected world.

From an ecological perspective, conscious of the interdependence of life and environment and the necessity of a sustainable eco-nomics, we have a world of reasons to support #earthsciences, #greenvalues, and #greenbestpractices. An eOS, an eco operating system, utilizing the full scope of the Internet/World Wide Web, is there for all of us as a tool in a green #planetcitizen tool kit.

The founding Green Party platform²⁴ of the US Green Party, in its structure and focus on democratic participation, social justice and environmental/economic sustainability, is based on an ecology that sees us all together. A thriving global, open Internet has the potential to become an e-platform for Green platforms across the planet as we link up and join together to create waves of change.

When we speak of a Blue Marble, a Pale Blue Dot, our home²⁵, I hear blue-green citizens. We can all be #planetcitizens.



STEVEN SCHMIDT

founded Global Policy 360 and Green Institute online. He is co-author, with Roger Morris, of *Strategic Demands of the 21st Century: A New Vision for a New World* <http://bit.ly/12DWYAB>, the Green Institute’s initial policy paper and organized the Surviving Victory conference in Washington DC with the Institute <http://bit.ly/1277ZiX>. A key drafter of the founding national Green Party Platform <http://www.gp.org/platform2000.shtml>, Schmidt chaired the original platform committee, serving from 1995 to 2001. He initiated the first Common Ground platform between the Association of State Green Parties and European Federation of Green Parties and assisted in the proposal to draft the first Green Global Charter. In 1994 he ran for Lt. Governor on the Green ticket in New Mexico with Roberto Mondragon, achieving major party status for the New Mexico Green Party, and over the course of the 1990’s worked to organize a legally recognized U.S. Green Party http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steven_Schmidt. From 1995-1999, he served with distinction on the New Mexico State Board of Education. Recently president of a leading interactive firm, he established M Channel to set up a forward-looking online media company <http://www.mchannelonline.com/>. Steven can be followed at Facebook,

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A Vision of the Future: Reclaiming Our Species Being

CHARLES KEIL

“A man is ethical only when life, as such, is sacred to him, that of plants and animals as that of his fellow men, and when he devotes himself helpfully to all life that is in need of help.” “Let me give you a definition of ethics,” he wrote on another occasion. “It is good to maintain and further life; it is bad to damage and destroy life. And this ethic, profound, universal, has the significance of a religion. It is religion.”

— someone on the web quoting Albert Schweitzer on ‘reverence for life’

“Species-being as infinite varieties of classless social being”

— slogan borrowed from the near future

It’s 2040 let’s say; a generation or regeneration from now. After the Great Global Awakening to our true species being, *Humo ludens collaborans* (*Humerous playful collaborator*) in the winter of 2014-15, ecocatastrophic climate change and the Sixth Extinction took just a few years to slow and halt, and then a generation to heal and begin the rebalancing of planetary ecosystems (a 5-10 million year process). Nuclear disarmament and then general disarmament were quickly achieved by constant negotiation and scrupulous inspection systems. Just Enuf (having) and More than Enuf (being) became global, regional and local standards/expectations/intentions within days after the Great Global Awakening occurred. The friendly race to subsistence simplification and local cultural diversification recreated the commons at local, regional and global levels. Three kinds of Natural reserves (parks, boonduks and true wilderness) were expanded; three kinds of commons/public domains and buildings were defined; private property values/zoning regulation bonuses increased in value accordingly.

In 2040 we are living in small direct democracy communities (the size of Tiv compounds, say 30 to a few hundred people; see *Tiv Song: The sociology of art in a classless society*) usually an extended matrilineal family with a few fictive kin where every conceivable source of affinity serves to keep us in solidarity. Communities (nurturing skilled singing, dancing, drumming, story telling, miming, voice disguising, dramas, seasonal dromena and frequent festivals) make full and free expression the norm, not exceptional. Everyone understands the languages or dialects of neighboring communities, a regional lingua franca, and the global sign language (based on the old languages of the deaf).

I can remember visiting Eha-Amufu, a dot on the map up the rail line out of Enugu, Eastern Region of Nigeria and finding that all 7 villages of Igbo people had their own drumming and xylophone traditions. Eha-Amufu contained 7 villages, 7 traditions and 7 different opinions as to where a cluster of market stalls should be built. So our summer work project (Crossroads Africa 1960) of building those market stalls out of mud bricks went unused for some years after Nigerian independence in 1961. Human scale still prevailed in Tivland and Igboland back then. As did friendship, hospitality, honesty, family honor, and deep pride in local traditions of subsistence horticulture.

Such direct democracy compounds or small villages/urban neighborhoods in the

sustainable and resilient future are sending representatives to a provincial or cantonal or other sub-regional assembly as needed to keep the peace and insure that justice and good judgements prevail in the areas represented. And these assemblies will, in turn and in term-limits rotation, send a pair of representatives to a bio-regional or state assembly.

A bio-regional entity or state has roughly a few hundred thousand to a few million people in it. On the human scale of “subsidiarity” Vermont is the closest thing we have in 2014 to a right-sized state (pop. approx. 600,000 people). The small democracies that work best today usually have 5 to 10 million people (Japan, because it is so monocultural, so conscious of tradition, so concerned with human scale, and sufficiently sensitive to issues like gross inequalities of income, still represents the uppermost demographic limit of a functioning democratic state.

Certainly any state bigger than Japan, or any state with diverse nations or regions wishing or striving for self-determination within it, will become a loose confederation, or find a “tri-state” federal solution for stability (e.g. Israel/Palestine/Lebanon and possibly a small part of Syria or Jordan in any sustainable, resilient, happiness and freedom-promoting Middle Eastern future.) Certainly the United States should allow Vermont and New Hampshire to secede separately. Certainly Vermont should allow a corner wanting union with New Hampshire to depart. Certainly their adjoining northern corners could secede and hook up with a similar sized piece of Quebec, giving themselves as a landbase for a Global Organization Of Democracies (GOOD) headquarters in North America. A portion of Jerusalem with some hinterland in the West Bank could be a capital for the GOOD in the Middle East. Those little rocks in the ocean that Japanese hypernationalists and Chinese hypernationalists want to fight over as the beginning of WW3 could be given to the common GOOD and taken off the chessboard of the fast becoming obsolete Power Politics Game.

Further examples of what John Rensenbrink insists on calling “subsidiarity” could be multiplied in every part of the world where wars and/or “ethnic cleansings” and/or “ecocides” are ongoing and worsening ‘as we speak.’

Steadily, gradually, not rocking the boat and not capsizing it, we can gracefully remove ourselves from the existing social structures and functions of domination to pursue joy or happiness in simplicity, living out our true Species-Being, *Humo Ludens collaborans*, in an ever wider variety of human scale Social Being modes.

How do we get to a radiculose (re-rooted in Communitas) 2040 from here? The following imperfection spirituality chart “from back to” suggests many interpenetrating interbeing paths to paradise. All these principles/readings are compatible with the Green 10 Key Values and are properly “reactionary”, that is, reacting to the life-destroying nightmare that “civilization & progress” has become.

Reclaiming Our Species Being: *Humo Ludens Collaborans*

ARTICLE 1 OF UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason & conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brother/sisterhood.

THE NINTH AMENDMENT OF THE US CONSTITUTION

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

toward reclaiming reason and conscience
 thru the ‘ignorance-based’ worldview (W. BERRY AND W. JACKSON, D. MACDONALD)
 from war to peace (BUDDHA, DIOGENES, CHRIST, H. THOREAU, M. GANDHI, M.L. KING)
 from too big to fail back to small is beautiful (W. JAMES, L. KOHR, E. F. SCHUMACHER)
 from global and regional famines back to local foods (F.M. LAPPE)
 from spend & consume back to save and conserve (W. BERRY)
 from national energy & dominance values back to local energy & resilience values (R.HOPKINS)
 from dominator values back to partnership values (RIANE EISLER)
 from drama back to dromenon (JANE E. HARRISON)
 from power-over-structures back to pleasure-in-processes (MARYLIN FRENCH)
 from ‘pure’ meanings back to movements-feelings-meanings (SUZANNE LANGER)
 from professionals back to players (AIRTO)
 from work back to play (J. HUIZINGA, DAVID GRAEBER)
 from commodified music back to community musicking (L. HIGGINS)
 from alienation back to participation (OWEN BARFIELD)
 from entropy back to sacrament (GREGORY BATESON)
 from linear discursive back to cyclical recursive (G. BATESON)
 from death wish & resistances back to life force and willingness
 from class & hierarchy back to classlessness & equality (K. MARX)
 from hubris/tragedy back to humility/comedy (@LCOHOLICS @NONYMOUS)
 from transcendence back to immanence (S. DE BEAUVOIR)
 (from immanence to trance-in-dance)
 from exclusionarythinking back to incorporative thinking (CATHERINE ELLIS)
 from utilitariaian to spiritual (JEREMY RIFKIN)
 from spurious civilization to genuine prime cultures (E. SAPIR)
 from residual to emergent (RAYMOND WILLIAMS)
 from products back to processes (R. WILLIAMS)
 from men’s endless projects back to mind and Nature enough (ANGIE KEIL)
 from efficiency back to sufficiency (J. RIFKIN)
 from legal world back to Natural world (HAUDENOSAUNEE VIA JOHN MOHAWK)
 from land belongs to us back to we-belong-to-land (ABORIGINAL PEOPLES)
 from unison back to lift-up-over-sounding (KALULI VIA STEVE FELD)
 from anarchism back to being anarchists (SEMAI VIA R. K. DENTAN)
 from addiction to perfection back to participatory discrepancies (C. KEIL)
 from dismal sciences back to joyous sciences (R. EMERSON, F. NIETZSCHE)
 from me to we (MUHAMMAD ALI)

. . . DEAR READER: please fill out this list of where and how we need to go from here



CHARLIE KEIL

is author of *Urban Blues* (1966); *Tiv Song* (1979); *Polka Happiness* w. A.V. Keil and Dick Blau (1992); *My Music* w. S. Crafts and D. Cavicchi (1993); *Music Grooves* with S. Feld (1994); *Bright Balkan Morning* w. A.V. Keil, R. Blau and S. Feld (2002); *Born to Groove* with Pat Campbell on the web (2006). Charles retired from teaching in 1999 and has been morphing into an instrument playing poet who gardens sloppily.

THOUGHTS for My Grandchildren

...on What You'll be Facing

This is the fifth in a series of articles by Steve Welzer

STEVE WELZER

*The fact that our lifeways
have resulted in ecosystem
despoliation, habitat
destruction, and mass
species extinctions is
starting to weigh on the
human spirit.*

DEAR GRANDCHILDREN:

In order to lay the groundwork for understanding the special conditions you'll be facing, these notebooks, so far, have focused on making some key points in regard to the macro-trajectories and objective circumstances of human history. Now we'll see how all that might bear on your personal, subjective experience of life. To tell you truth, that's what I really care about the most!

I hope that you'll find fulfillment, hope that you'll enjoy the experience of living, even though it may be quite a challenge during the period of The Great Turning (see David Korten's book by that name). Whatever insights you're able to achieve regarding the impending tectonic transitions will help you to navigate the challenges and apply your personal resources in ways that are creative and satisfying.

As we've been discussing throughout these notebooks: after millennia of going in a problematic direction humanity has arrived at a point where we are risking ecological, social, psychological, and geopolitical breakdown. Aspects of each will color your life experience every day.

ECOLOGICAL SENSIBILITIES

The ramifications of the ecological crisis—which were all but unanticipated fifty years ago when *Silent Spring* and then *The Limits to Growth* shocked the modern certainty about the notion of progress—are in the news just about every day now. The result is a background anxiety, especially about what the consequences of global warming, in particular, ultimately will be. A corollary of that is a subtle sense of culpability among those who understand the repercussions of our society's pursuit of affluence.

By the time you are in the prime of your lives it's likely that the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will have surpassed 450ppm. I'm confident that you'll be enlightened enough to recognize both how necessary a radical reduction from that level will be and how difficult it will be to achieve.

History is replete with calamities and times of great trauma. But certain aspects of the crises of our epoch are qualitatively more profound. They are geological in scope. The fact that our lifeways have resulted in ecosystem despoliation, habitat destruction, and mass species extinctions is starting to weigh on the human spirit. I know you to be sensitive and I know that you will be affected.

And then there is a deeper level...touching on issues of which only a small minority are fully aware:

We evolved to live on and with the land, its flora and fauna—but the urban-industrial context of our daily lives is now so severed from nature and the Earth that most people, if they experience the dissociation at all, sense it as nothing more than a nebulous unnamed deficiency. That's why a book like *The Call of the Wild* (Jack London) has an almost

*I hope that, in your time, the green movement will succeed
in fostering an appreciation of a deep ecological sensibility.*

mysterious kind of resonance. I think on a subconscious level we recognize that our domestication and solipsism are factors of estrangement in our lives and in our culture. We wonder if our civilization is inherently irresponsible. We are concerned about the role of human beings in this “Anthropocene Epoch.” I have some hope that, in your time, the green movement will succeed in fostering an appreciation of a deep ecological sensibility—thus opening doors for you and some of your peers to become models of mindfulness and healing.

SOCIAL ISSUES

In prior notebook entries we’ve talked about how there have been two essential human lifeways. In order to try to get some sense of the relations within and subjective reality of the “Old Ways,” think about how people treat each other in a family setting. Within a healthy family any exhibition of condescending or dominance-seeking behavior is anathema. Parents have authority over children, of course, but there is an egalitarianism in regard to worthiness, attention, and care. Exploitation of one family member by another is not tolerated.

Anthropologists tell us that similar norms generally prevailed in aboriginal and village societies, where interdependence was near-familial. In regard to life-sustaining contributions by individuals (what we now would call “work”), needs were immediately evident and discernible. People worked directly for the sustenance of each other, resulting in an organic kind of esteem flowing from direct appreciation.

In complex societies social contributions are typically made via “jobs”—where the labor of an individual is a resource for an impersonal institution. Within this context egalitarianism is the exception rather than the rule. Owning or managing elites appropriate surplus value in the interest of the institution. The masses of people are dependent upon the job market for material sustenance and the nuclear family for emotional sustenance. Work is done for the paycheck rather than for the direct benefit of a specific community or place.

Grandchildren, maybe you’ll find careers that you love and thus avoid the alienation and anomie that are so common throughout the modern “workforce.” Perhaps you’ll be among the lucky few able to obtain truly meaningful work within the globalized Leviathan. But you’re likely to find it quite a challenge. As you seek fulfillment, appreciation, and decent remuneration you’ll be facing an intimidating labyrinth of commercialism,

avarice, and competition. You’ll find that cooperative and communitarian impulses are all too often overwhelmed by the drives and imperatives of the empire builders. You’ll discover that capital, technology, and the state are the interlocking components of a Machine whose value system centers around power. I’ll advise that the most righteous work you can do is to participate in the creation of sane, healthy, and just alternatives.

GEOPOLITICAL DISORDER

Trade between human groups may go back more than a hundred thousand years, but until relatively recently it tended to be a marginal phenomenon, mostly confined to exotic items. As one group after another transitioned (voluntarily or by compulsion) to complex systems of production and consumption starting five thousand years ago interdependence gradually expanded. Nonetheless, localized economies produced the bulk of necessities for the vast majority of people on the planet until the emergence of the modern world-system between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Grandchildren, you need to understand the fact that we’re among the fortunate, the privileged within that system. We reside in one of the “advanced” countries that benefits from the modern geopolitical conformation. Wealth flows in to the United States from all over the world. This enables our institutions, systems, and technologies to operate adequately for the most part—“the trains run on time,” food and amusements are abundant. But in the countries that constitute the periphery of the world-system the resources to support the functioning of hypermodernity are lacking. On the one hand those resources are drained away to the center. On the other hand hypermodern development is an incongruous overlay imposed by the center—embraced by the elites of the peripheral countries but resisted by the populaces.

So the system does not work well for the countries that function as the “sacrifice zones” from which the affluent developed world derives raw materials and cheap labor. Their people face a daily reality of malnutrition, exploitation, and squalor. They subsist within the artificial boundaries of nation-states sometimes held together by strongmen and sometimes not held together at all. Within those countries there is little hope and little progress. In fact, it appears that during the twenty-first century retrogression has set in. Those of us in the privileged societies get a vague sense of this as we try to digest news bites regarding ethnic conflict, religious fundamentalism, corruption, disease, social implosion, terrorism and lashing out in the Third World.

*Escape has consistently been
a motif of Empire Culture.*

At one time it was thought that the “wretched of the earth” would rise up and liberate themselves from the yoke of the world-system that so oppresses them. But more often than not oppression simply manifests as pathology . . . a pathology destined to subtly but increasingly permeate into the center.

PSYCHE, CULTURE, AND CIVILIZATION

Grandchildren, the reality you’ll be facing is riddled with contradictions. In twenty-first century America, with abundant resources, you’ll have myriad opportunities for achievement, enjoyment, self-expression, and success. As individuals, you and many of your peers may do fine. And I hope that will be the case.

But it probably will not be possible or advisable to disregard the pathology all around. Beyond that of the ecological abuses and the social injustices there is something more subjective, more personal . . . an underlying disaffection, a kind of spiritual impoverishment that touches nearly all of us.

We have lost our Home and our bearings. Those who enjoy affluence sense that there is something hollow about it. Humanity is confronting a crisis of meaning which goes very deep. Under such conditions it should be no surprise that psychopathology is pervasive.

The Leviathan cannot be our Home. We’re too sensitive to be comfortable within its harshness. Culture is unable to fulfill its ameliorative role within such an antipathetic environment.

I’ve made the point that people grounded in the affinity, stability, and intelligibility of the Old Ways would find our current lifeways alien and incomprehensible. This is not to argue in favor of “going back”—which would be neither possible nor desirable. Rather, in order to go forward—toward effectuating The Great Turning that’s called for at this historical juncture—we need to start coming to terms with the idea that certain crucial elements of social sanity have been lost since humanity took a wrong turn in the wake of the Neolithic Revolution.

For the individual this especially starts to become a life issue during modern adolescence, because, in many ways, the world of

*The value system of the New Ways prioritized
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childhood still remains close to what characterized the original human reality: a limited and manageable domain of experience, territorial boundedness, familiar relationships. Alienation starts to become a factor of life when the road to adulthood opens up for the adolescent. This is the theme of a corpus of modern literature. In *Growing Up Absurd* Paul Goodman notes the associated disorientation. In Sherwood Anderson’s *Winesburg, Ohio*, young George Willard finds most of the adults around him to be “grotesques.” He has the impetus to escape.

Escape has consistently been a motif of what Korten calls Empire Culture. An anthem of the sixties counter-culture, the song “Wooden Ships,” is a good example:

(excerpts)

Take a sister by the hand,
Lead her away from this foreign land.
Far away, where we might laugh again.
[We have set out in] wooden ships on the water,
Very free and easy . . . the way it’s supposed to be.
Silver people on the shoreline, let us be.
We are leaving—you don’t need us.

An interpretation (derived from the full lyrics and the context of the times): The reality we, the younger generations, have been presented with by the adults is intimidating and oppressive. It’s unnatural and unhealthy. We’re escaping in simple wooden ships. The stolid ones on the shoreline that we’re leaving behind seem “silver” to us (metallic, technocratic) . . . propagators of lifeways that feel foreign, un-free. Our alienation from it all makes us counterproductive to those who want to integrate us into their Leviathan. We’re heading off to create an alternative existence.

Escape . . . from the alienation and disorientation, from the social and psychological pathology. Grandchildren, some will tell you that those phenomena are inherent in the human condition. But that is not the case.

It is true that psychological issues have been a factor of human existence at least since consciousness developed to the point of fostering a complex, imaginative mental life. Our ability to imagine extensive degrees of success, aggrandizement, satisfaction, etc. engender uniquely human motivations—along with uniquely human degrees and kinds of frustration. Our ability to contemplate suffering, humiliation, infirmity, loss, and mortality engender uniquely human degrees and kinds of apprehension. We imagine that our impulses could be destructive or reviled; we imagine adverse consequences.

All higher animals exhibit “fight or flight” in response to objective adverse stimuli, but humans are subject to the abstract contemplation of adversity. For this reason anxiety and neurosis are inherent to some extent. Culture provides an important mediation between nature and psyche. It enables us to live within nature by providing a requisite buffering, a channeling

of instinctual energy, an assuagement of anxiety . . . a kind of cocoon within which people can feel secure and thus within which energy flow is felt to be safe. Aboriginal culture, based upon communitarian support and sanction, succeeded in fulfilling this function. With the onset of urban civilization the context for that buffering and channeling was ruptured. As we became increasingly alienated from nature, to the extent that communitarian support and sanction were diminished, neurosis became increasingly problematic.

Grandchildren, as we're discussing the subjective experience of your lives, believe me when I say that neurosis and psychological idiosyncrasies will be an appreciable factor. To put it another way: People can be difficult, strange, and funny! In fact, cultivating a sense of humor about this aspect of life is highly recommended! Not so funny, though, is the degree to which hypermodernity exacerbates these all-too-human characteristics.

A CRISIS OF CULTURE AND CHARACTER

Psychoanalysis introduced the idea of "character structure." It focuses on energy flow within the body, as influenced by posture, tension, the way we breathe, emotional blocks, etc. Just as each individual has a unique mix of personality characteristics, so do we each have a unique somatic character structure. Moreover, beyond that, cultural patterns can be discerned—and they can be affected when people confront an altered social reality.

The transition to the New Ways was motivated by scarcity (relative to burgeoning population). The value system of the New Ways prioritized productivity, control, possession, expansion, and technological mastery. These cultural values induced characterological changes. At first, individuals and populations manifesting such constituted a small minority. But they were driven to domination and, over time, they achieved domination. Thus did the New Ways transform humanity.

Psychologists counterpose "assimilative-accommodative" (open, feeling, flowing, acclimating) personality characteristics to "aggressive-defensive" (on guard, protective, preservative, controlling) characteristics. A healthy balance of the two was appropriate for coping with the exigencies of life within the state of nature or within the cocoon of aboriginal culture. The disorientation, stress, and atomized difficulty of life within the Leviathan creates a condition wherein the aggressive-defensive character structure ("Type A") predominates.

From early in life, in order to be able to cope, we are habituated to a degree of repression that aboriginals would find intolerable. This results in "character armoring," wherein energy flow is constricted, the body is tense, the posture aggressive-defensive. Instructive in this respect were the records of the early encounters between Europeans and Native Americans. The Europeans were impressed with how the indigens seemed calm, open, childlike—agile and fluid in their motions. William Wood described the health of the Indians north of Massachusetts Bay colony in 1639: "Most of them are between five and six foot

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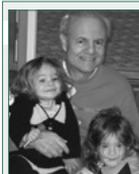
high, straight bodied, strong composed, smooth-skinned, merry countenance . . . The reason rendered why they grow so proportionable and continue so long in their vigor (most of them being fifty before a wrinkled brow or gray hair betray their age) is because they are not brought down with suppressing labor, bothered with annoying cares, or drowned in the excessive abuse of overflowing plenty." By contrast, the natives described the Europeans as aggressive, domineering, and cold.

The natives did not have the perspective to recognize pathology. We are only developing that perspective at this point in our history. It could lead us to the realization that life does not need to be the way it is and has been. We do not need to tolerate the discontents, injustices, and indignities. We do not need to be armored and repressed. We could escape the suffocation of the surrogate world we have created, get out from under the burdensome weight of Leviathan existence, if we could see it for what it is and then, on that basis, transform our value systems and our lifeways.

The real revolution of our time, percolating under the surface, is based on the realization that humans have the capacity to attain a state of peace, health, and social harmony—not by struggling toward a "higher stage of development" or a faux "abundance"—but rather by getting off the treadmill to nowhere. Our struggling has benefitted so few among us. For the vast majority salvation will entail turning our backs on the Machine and finding our way Home.

David Watson: "When the Lakota medicine man Black Elk, sounding exactly like the old taoists, said, 'We should even be as water, which is lower than all things, yet stronger than the rocks,' he wasn't counseling servility. He was telling us something valuable about strength, not as force but as endurance; about radiating power rather than possessing or controlling it; about listening to nature instead of fantasizing about mastering it—all evocative of the kind of character change that will be necessary to sustain us in the coming period of challenge."

. . . to be continued



STEVE WELZER

a co-editor of this magazine, has been a Green movement activist for over twenty years. He was a founding member of the Green Party of New Jersey in 1997 and recently served on the Steering Committee of the Green Party of the United States. Steve holds a Masters degree in Economics from Rutgers University. He lives in East Windsor, New Jersey, and is pursuing a project to establish an ecovillage in that state.

The FEAR of TYRANTS

PAUL WOODRUFF

This paper was presented as part of a program sponsored by the Onassis Foundation in New York, on the topic "Courage as a Democratic Ideal," on April 15, 2014.

The courage we most need in order to reach and preserve democracy is the courage to face the fear of tyrants. We have two fears we have to learn to face, because the fear of tyrants is two fold. There is the fear that tyrants instill in other citizens, and then there is the fear that tyrants themselves live with day and night, the fear that says, "What I did in order to come to power, someone else may do to me, and that will destroy me utterly." Pericles compares the empire of Athens with a tyranny to make this point: our empire is like a tyranny; although people thought it was unjust for us to seize the empire—and because they thought so—it is now unsafe for us to surrender it (2.63).

The courage that ordinary citizens require if they are to stand up to tyranny is obvious enough—although it may demand more than the normal human heart can bear. Stalin ruled by fear with great success. He knew, for example, that he could not frighten the great poet Anna Akhmatova for her own sake, so he went after her son. How could any mother not submit under such a threat? I have no answer. I will leave this question hanging and turn to the other fear, the fear the tyrant has of being overthrown. I have a lot to say about that; such fear was well understood by ancient Greek writers and philosophers.

My subject today is the courage that tyrants do not have—the courage democratic leaders need when they step down, or aside, from positions of authority. It is the courage George Washington showed when he refused to be put forward for a third term. The courage to relinquish authority does not arise in a vacuum; both the individual and the community must exhibit a set of virtues that go beyond courage. The larger community must have the courage to accept change, to allow leaders to go and come. And both leaders and followers depend on justice, for them to trust orderly transfers of power. The retiring leaders need to trust the community not to violate their rights, once they have only ordinary powers, and not to injure them, aside from providing any just punishment they might deserve. A tyrant may well fear justice, and cling to power for self-protection, but a democratic leader should have no fear of justice.

We all know that Plato insisted on the misery of tyrants on moral grounds; poets made a similar point. Here is the messenger in Sophocles' *Antigone*, speaking of the fall of Creon, his loss of power and happiness:

Now all of that is gone. 1165
When every source of joy deserts a man,
I don't call him "alive": he's an animated corpse.
For my money, you can get as rich as you want,
You can wear the face of a tyrant,
But if you have no joy in this, 1170
Your life's not worth the shadow of a puff of smoke.
— Messenger in *Antigone*, 1165-70 ¹

NOTES:

1 All translations are mine unless indicated. The *Antigone* and *Oedipus Tyrannus* translations are published by Hackett Publishing in Meineck and Woodruff, *Theban Plays* (2003).

2 Translated by Deborah Roberts, Hackett Publishing Company, 2012.

Why are tyrants so miserable? The tragic poets show how vulnerable tyrants are to the gods, who will bring a man down if he rises too high. But gods are not needed for this. From history, we know that tyrants are vulnerable to being overthrown by people they have angered or mistreated. That is how Thucydides explains the defeat of the Athenian empire.

Tyrants live in fear of anyone with any gumption, or with any other attractive quality; as a result, they feel they must destroy anyone who could pose a threat to them—

and that means they must destroy anyone whom they cannot frighten into abject submission. Plato wrote:

He will have to look sharp to identify anyone courageous, anyone great-souled, anyone wise, anyone rich; . . . whether he wants it or not, necessity compels him to be hostile to them and plot against them until he purges them out of the city.

— *Republic* 567b11

In short, tyrants feel they must do their best to wipe courage out of their communities, weeding out the brave and cultivating abject submission in those who remain.

Abject submission is not a sound basis for a friendship. That is why a tyrant has no friends. And that is a sad fact for the tyrant; ancient Greek thinkers understood that friendship is essential to a happy human life:

‘When you reject a noble friend, you cast your very life away, that is so dear to you.’

— Creon in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, quoting a proverb 614-15

In *Prometheus Bound*, Prometheus says this of Zeus, the tyrant god:

Somehow this plague lies on a tyrant:
Never to trust his friends.

— *Prometheus Bound*, 224-25 ²

Zeus has good reason to fear: Prometheus knew how to put Zeus in power; he was a kingmaker; if a kingmaker can make one king, he could make another. The relations between king and kingmaker are fraught with peril. (Consider the struggle between Henry IV and Northumberland, his kingmaker, along with recent events in Korea.) Because he helped Zeus to power, Prometheus should be close to Zeus in friendship. But tyranny and friendship are not compatible.

Plato makes a similar point in his *Republic* to support his argument that the tyrant is the most miserable of men.

They live their whole lives without being friends with anyone, but to another person they are always either masters or slaves; a tyrannical nature never tastes freedom or true friendship.

— *Republic* 576a4

In *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Oedipus accuses Creon of plotting against him; Creon ought to be his friend, as they are brothers-in-law (and also nephew and uncle). Oedipus judges the case himself, paying no attention to Creon’s indignant speech in his own defense. Oedipus determines that Creon is too dangerous

to live, and so sentences him to death. Oedipus’ wife (and, by the way his mother) pleads for the life of her brother Creon, and prevails by her authority as queen. So Creon’s speech makes no difference to the case, but listen to his argument. As brother in law of the tyrant, he can enjoy anything he wants, without the fear. And he has friends:

Do you think anyone
would choose to rule in constant fear
when he could sleep without quaking,
and have exactly the same power? Not me.
Why should I want to be a tyrant?
I’d be insane!

...

Why would I find tyranny more attractive?
I’m not a fool, I’m not bewitched,
I do not hunger for more than what is fair--
and profitable. As it is, I’m friends
with everyone!

— *Oedipus Tyrannus* 584-597

For the ancient Greeks, a sign of the failure of tyrants is their need for bodyguards. In suppressing the strong and courageous, the tyrant will make many enemies.

The more he is hated by the citizens for doing these things,
the larger and more loyal troop of spear-bearers he will need.
— *Republic* 567d5.

—a point made by Solon a century and a half earlier, when he blames the Athenian people for having given their new tyrant a bodyguard:

If you have felt grief through your own fault, do not put the blame for this on the gods; for you increased the strength of these men yourselves when you gave them the guards, and that is why you are in evil servitude.

— Solon (translation from Gagarin and Woodruff 1995).

Tyranny thrives on moral failure—and this is the failure that democracy must learn to avoid. In tyranny, both the tyrant and the people develop habits of cowardice; courage, on the part of either side, leads to sudden death. Cowardice is built in to the very structure of a tyrannical society, but cowardice is not the only moral failure in the case. Honesty, too is a casualty, as Nadezhda Mandelstam shows eloquently in her memoir, *Hope against Hope*; and with the demise of honesty comes the death of friendship across society. If you cannot trust anyone not to lie to you, you cannot trust anyone to be your friend.

The worst failure of tyranny is the failure of justice—worst because the loss of justice is the deep cause of all the other moral

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Learning to Find a SUCCESSFUL STRATEGY TO CHANGE THE WORLD

JOHN RENSENBRINK

In years of great peril such as these, a political party wanting to help its home nation and humanity as a whole encounters extremes of idealism and extremes of despair--and many moods in between of hope and fear, of skepticism, of despair and withdrawal. If, in spite of all this, the party persists in "changing the world," the challenge and the struggle is deep and intense.

In the United States, two political parties dominate the political landscape and try hard to monopolize it. The people have been looking to them for help and leadership. However, one of the parties has settled for small reforms plus big promises at election time to do much more. It often leads the way in imperialistic and militaristic ventures abroad and, at home, big government schemes carried out from the top down. The other party, bursting with the wealth of the very rich, goes all-out to stymie basic change. It ruthlessly attacks those who want the nation and the government to seek and find a new direction.

In that context, it would seem that a new party committed to actions and policies for changing course should be getting a big and vigorous response. This has not happened. Initiatives for new parties in the past few decades have not taken off. Even the remarkably durable Green party of 30 years has not gotten a big response, though its prominent ten key values and program for renewal would seem to fit perfectly and naturally into what the situation calls for.

This then is yet another stimulus for despair.

Or is it? Why shouldn't it also be a call to try a different approach?

Have we who act for fundamental change been looking at the situation fully? Have we tailored our efforts and priorities in a way that matches the realities of that situation?

I address here primarily the political dimension of the overall crisis. It seems fair to say that the major focus of attention by the movements and the alternative parties has been the national level. From 12 years of active participation in the U.S. Green Party's National Committee and my involvement in all the presidential campaigns of the party since the first one in 1982, as well as my involvement of 30 years in Maine's Green Independent Party, I would say that the U.S. Green Party has targeted most of its attention at the national level. True enough, that focus goes parallel with the substantial Green Party activity in the many states of the union. Yet the national tends to trump local and state in the approach taken by the Green Party overall. Naturally so, one can say.

But any national focus needs to be examined as part of a workable strategy. The resources of a third party are severely limited in a country where third parties are forced to get along on very little money. Though lack of money is a supremely important issue, it is not the core issue.

The core issue is how and where to direct limited resources. Should it be local, or state, or nation? Or global? Seems overwhelming to think of having to mount significant action at all these levels, and to find the money it takes to do it. But maybe we should think about it in a different way.

All four levels are connected. It helps a lot to be fully and strategically aware of this. The impact of action in one affects action or potential action in the others. A strong and dynamic local base gives strength and confidence at the state and the national levels. Furthermore, running many candidates for local and state office, be it for non-partisan or for partisan office, gives the party a high profile. In town, city, and county constituencies and in many district constituencies for state office, the candidates can interact with the voters in a personal way, building trust and confidence. The Green Party's Ten Key Values seem as solid as pumpkin pie when received and understood through the local and neighborhood lens of direct voter-to-voter campaigning and office holding. A Big Tent approach fits right in. And, in contrast to gubernatorial, congressional, and presidential offices, the cost of campaigning is much less in local races. In some states, public (clean election) funding is available in district-defined (thus, locally-centered) races for the state legislature.

So it would seem that local is where a third party like the Greens can make hay. This is where they should put the greater part of their time, energy, and money. It ties in with the strong local emphasis that is advocated in the first two articles in this issue, those of Jeff Taylor and Sam Smith.

I respect the argument and can agree with it to a certain point. But there is more to be considered. Let's recall the need to be aware of the interconnection of the four levels. They have boomerang effects--multiple interactive impacts. We can see how national and global events and national and global policies and politics directly impact the voters in direct and intimate ways at the local level. What can a third party say to that? Right here is where the crunch comes.

The local level is vulnerable, very vulnerable, to national power and policies. The omnipresence of production for war in most of the states and localities is an obvious case in point. Jobs are at stake in a big way. Money for taxes to maintain the production of arms and for the use of those arms in constant foreign wars deprives local and state governments of sources of funds. Even worse, these taxes for permanent war permanently deplete the wallets and purses of the average citizen.

So let's shift our focus from local races to gubernatorial, congressional, and presidential races—especially congressional and presidential. We were wrong just now to put primary emphasis on the local, weren't we?

THE WILL TO DEMOCRACY VS. THE WILL TO POWER

Yet, once again, consider this. Isn't there a qualitative difference between the local political climate and the national political climate? I would argue that at the local there is the will to democracy whereas at the national it is quite different, the opposite. The nation's capitol is awash in the will to power—power over, not power with. The two contending parties are nothing but factions squabbling over the perks and privileges of high office. They mouth whatever is convenient to gain and keep power, including embarrassing claims of their democracy. "How much of what men claim themselves to be blisters in the light of what they are!" Is this true of everyone there? No, of course not. But the very few who exhibit the will to democracy stand out as exceptions. They are duly suppressed and destroyed.

But it is getting even worse. As I alluded to earlier, the mounting stress of a nation and its rulling class under clouds of incompetence, factional log jams, and psychic squalor leads it now to desperate measures. The National Security State has pretty much taken over, deepening the long journey of decades by the military industrial congressional, and presidential complex towards tyranny. Yes, tyranny. Not just oligarchy, a favorite word in vogue among liberal critics of the establishment. But tyranny. Oligarchy suggests inequality of wealth. But tyranny is a political term and speaks of power, power for domination. Money follows in its train. Money is one of the instruments power abusers use to get, maintain, and expand their power.

Thus the qualitative contrast between local and national must be taken into account

Does this mean forsaking action at the national level—or putting it on hold, or just making token efforts at change? In my view, this would be a mistake. Action is necessary. But of what kind, when and how?

First and foremost is a crying need to be aware of the tyranny that confronts us at the national level—that it IS tyranny. Along with that, and resulting from that, will come answers on how to deal with this grim and terrible monster in our midst. Striving for a Big Tent may be useful as Ralph Nader promotes in his newest book. But it could be a naïve and useless project. It is naïve and useless, and even deleterious, if in seeking the Big Tent you agree to work with movements and forces that are themselves complicit in authoritarian and tyrannical thinking; or to work with self-styled moderates who though at times are strong on rhetoric of opposition nevertheless conciliate, holding out for compromises that eviscerate the kind of pressure that is required.

I advocate what I call a Jolt strategy. Jill Stein's bid for the presidency in 2012 is a harbinger. So is the formation by Jill and her campaign manager, Ben Manski and others, of a Green Shadow Cabinet. But a tougher substance is needed, and I think will emerge, though their promotion of a "Green New Deal", appealing in some ways, is maybe too centrist for the long

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ELECTION RULES MATTER

in Election of Women

BY ROB RICHIE

Green Parties have been leaders in establishing rules that ensure men and women Greens are likely to run and win in equal numbers. That recognition of the value of parity – or at least raising the floor for representation of women higher than the 18% in U.S. Congress – is widely accepted in many nations. This explains why the United States has declined to being 98th in the world in representation of women in its national legislature.

An oft-overlooked factor is how we elect candidates. FairVote's Representation 2020 project has taken the lead in explaining the connection between political rules and fair representation, and this summer had enterprising intern Duncan Hosie take a close look at representation in city governments – with eye-opening results.

Our nation's 100 largest cities have a combined population of more than 61 million, which represents nearly a fifth of all Americans. Women are mayors in only 12 of these 100 large cities, but hold 336 (31.5%) of their 1,068 city council seats. A particularly clear trend was how much better women did when running for at-large city council seats as compared to running in single-member district wards. Women won 39.2% of 209 citywide seats in these cities, as compared to winning 29.6% of seats in single-member districts. This trend echoes consistent findings over time that women win a higher percentage of multi-seat district elections than single-member district elections for state legislature.

The contrast is most revealing when comparing cities where women hold the most city council seats with cities where women do most poorly in council seats. Women hold a majority of council seats in nine cities. All but one of these cities have at least some at-large seats, and 36% of their seats overall are elected citywide. Women hold nearly three-quarters (72%) of these cities' at-large seats, as opposed to just over half (53%) of these cities' district seats. In contrast, women hold a grand total of just three seats in the eight worst cities for women representation - including Buffalo, Los Angeles, Miami, and Milwaukee - and fully 73 of these cities' 76 council seats are elected in single member districts.

Women hold more than 30% of the at-large seats in the 47 cities that elect at least some seats at-large and hold fewer than 20% of at-large seats in just five of those 47 cities. Women are shut out entirely in only three cities. Women have more than half of these citywide seats in 12 cities and at least half in another six. In contrast, of the 86 cities with district seats, women hold more than half of the district seats in just five cities and half the seats in another six. Overall, women have parity in representation of the citywide seats in 38% of the 47 cities with any citywide seats, but have parity in representation in only 13% of the district seats in the 86 cities with at least some district seats - a disparity of three to one.

There also is a striking difference in measuring how many residents have at least one female representative. In no city with only district elections does every resident have a female representative on council. But in 44 of the 47 cities with citywide seats, every resident has at least one woman representative.

These findings of course do not mean that the mere presence of citywide seats results in election of women or that women always do badly in district elections. But the trends

are clear, and it is time for us to take this consideration seriously when debating city election reform. There has been a general move away from citywide elections in recent decades without the potential adverse impact on representation of women being even a slight factor. We believe that recognition of women's greater success in multi-seat elections will draw more attention to the option of reforming winner-take-all citywide elections with fair representation voting forms of proportional representation -- systems like multi-winner ranked choice voting and cumulative voting that can correct the downsides of citywide elections without losing their positive attributes that include creating more opportunities for women.

Relating to choice of electoral systems, four of these 100 cities elect their mayor and councils with one-winner ranked choice voting (RCV) in one election without a primary or runoff: Minneapolis (MN), Oakland (CA), San Francisco (CA), and St. Paul (MN). Ranked choice voting creates more incentives for candidates to run positive campaigns, rewards grassroots politics and reduces the impact of money in the campaign process by shortening the campaign season and mitigating the impact of negative campaign ads.

Minneapolis and Oakland have now held open seat mayoral elections with ranked choice voting, and in both cases female candidates won despite being heavily outspent by well-connected male candidates—and in this year's mayoral election, three women are widely seen as the frontrunners. Women also hold five of Oakland's eight city council seats, which puts the city second in the nation in women's representation on city councils in the 100 biggest cities, and Minneapolis also ranks highly at 16th. San Francisco ranks 38th for women's representation while also having people of color hold nine of 11 seats, nearly double their share before RCV was implemented. This November St. Paul will elect the remaining half of its city council with RCV for the first time and currently ranks 64th in women's representation.

For advocates of equitable representation of women, these findings show the importance of prioritizing election structure and voting rules. They also are a window into how fairer voting rules more generally can open our representative democracy to be, well, representative. For more information, contact Representation 2020 at FairVote, (301) 270-4616, or visit www.Representation2020.com.



ROB RICHIE

has directed FairVote since 1992. His office is in Takoma Park, Maryland. He is co-author of *Whose Votes Count*. He is a guest on many national media including NPR, C-SPAN, NBC News, CNN, and FOX. Rob has been a speaker at the American Political Science Association conventions, National Latino Congress, and the National Conference of State Legislatures. He and his wife Cynthia Terrell live with their three children in Takoma Park.

Learning to Find a Successful Strategy to Change the World

continued from page 23

haul. The slogan carries with it, recalling FDR's New Deal, more than a hint of big government and centralization. A full awareness of the qualitative difference between local and national, between the will to democracy and the will to power, is crucial for future Green presidential campaigns. Ralph Nader's book is titled, *Unstoppable: the Emerging Left-Right Alliance to Dismantle the Corporate State*.

All this leads one's thinking to the global level of action. The U.S. government is more and more under siege at home and abroad, though that is not what they will admit. Nevertheless, reality keeps seeping in. They are vulnerable and uneasy underneath their bravado. In time, the imperial pretense will wither and expose the need for different answers. Pressure from below can begin to wedge in decisively.

I think the course of a successful strategy for a party dedicated to big change is clear: help build local self-determination and self-help by the citizens in producing and controlling the staples of life; keep fresh and clear a global vision; steep ourselves and our fellow citizens in the difference in practice between the will to democracy and the will to domination; and pursue with vigor a "jolt strategy" for big change nationally. Toppling the tyranny becomes plausible.

This flexible and savvy approach will in the next ten to twenty years bring mounting pressure to bear for a truly collaborative and global-centered foreign policy. It will build pressure simultaneously for expansion of local powers and resources. The expansion will be aided by the diversion back to the local level of vital financial resources presently sopped up by the national empire-deluded government. Such dual pressure, as it grows, will give people here and abroad hope and confidence; and provide the impetus to tackle creatively and healingly huge problems in the world the resolving of which are totally critical to our survival and livelihood as a species.



JOHN RENSENBRINK

lives in Maine, is professor emeritus of government at Bowdoin College, helped found the Maine and U.S. Green Parties, is founder and member of the latter's International Committee, and the author of *Against All Odds: the Green Transformation of American Politics* (1999). His forthcoming book is entitled, *The Big Change: Signs of a New Beginning*.

BOOK REVIEW:

The Dandelion Insurrection, Rivera Sun

JON OLSEN

Rivera Sun has written an incisive and provocative book, *The Dandelion Insurrection*. A native Mainer, she now lives in Taos New Mexico. Rivera Sun is her professional name. She is the daughter of Maine's famed Aroostook County organic farmer the late Jim Cook. In her early thirties, she is already a stage performer and dancer, and the author of several books. *The Dandelion Insurrection* is her latest. It is a novel set in the northern Maine area known as Arcadia with a strong French Canadian history. It does not remain in this locale however, but moves across the U.S. like a sailing ship in a stiff wind. It is a very credible projection of our near future in view of the continuing encroachments on normal behavior that reminds one of early state fascism, and people's spontaneous response to it. The two protagonists are Zadie Byrd Gray (and one intuits that there is a lot of Rivera in her) and her companion Charlie Rider. Together they embark on an adventure of resistance to the stifling encroachments through the mobilization of like-minded people.

Like me, Rivera Sun grew up in the state of Maine where independence is a major virtue and defiance of illegitimate authority is well respected. I love this book for its embodiment of these qualities! The spirit Rivera brings to our projected future as American citizens expresses a word I have coined to describe joyful, loving rebellion—we are kindred REVEL-utionaries. I think of those who joyfully brought sledge hammers to the Berlin Wall and gave out pieces to friends. We know that this political-economic system is unsustainable, for many reasons, not the least of which is Mother Nature herself! It cannot endure. This book affirms, as Arundhati Roy has so well put it, "Another world is not only possible; she is on her way! On a quiet day I can hear her breathing!"

Rivera, with this political thriller, expresses a possible scenario for this REVEL-utionary evolution. This is a book for all who yearn for a more honorable, humane, just, and peaceful country and world.



JON OLSEN

is a long time peace and justice activist and a Green Party member for 25 years. A graduate of Bates College in Maine with a degree in philosophy, he went to the University of Hawai'i for a Master's Degree in the same field. He returned to Maine in 2001, serving twice on the Steering committee of the Maine Green Independent Party. He has conducted town caucuses and gathered signatures for Green Party gubernatorial candidates. His recent book, *Liberate Hawai'i*, describes the legal and historical research done by Hawaiian scholar-activists. The book documents the illegal claim of the US to the sovereignty of Hawai'i and demonstrates its fraudulent nature as well. Olsen draws a parallel with the similar fraudulent attempt by the late USSR to do the same to Lithuania.

Carbon Sequestration, *Naturally*

MAYNARD KAUFMAN

It is time for the conversation about climate change to shift from problems to solutions!

For too long we have learned how serious this problem is, how it contributes to the loss of biodiversity or even, some assert, to the extinction of human life on earth. The net result of this focus on the problem of climate change is that people have become hopeless and fatalistic while carbon emissions continue to rise. Many people can recognize the scientific truth about climate change on an intellectual level and still deny it on an emotional level because it is too overwhelming. Such split consciousness leads to confusion and paralysis.

The solution to climate change is to reduce carbon emissions and to get the excess carbon dioxide out of the air. Part of this task is political; we need policies, such as a tax on carbon, that could curtail the burning of fossil fuels, which causes most of global warming. Even this is daunting at a time when large energy corporations seem to control policies. But much carbon dioxide, as much as a third or more of the total, also escaped from the soil because of deforestation and agricultural practices. Can this carbon dioxide be sequestered back into the soil and stored in plants? This is the question explored in this paper.

It is possible to sequester carbon in natural ways that are beneficial to life on the planet. Once we understand this we can move from hopelessness to hopefulness. This is especially true if many of us can actually participate in solutions to global warming. Rising prices for energy and food are already pressuring social changes as new attitudes about food raising emerge. Unused land in many cities opens possibilities for urban gardening, and rising unemployment opens the need and time to do so. Also evident is new interest in a back-to-the-land movement motivated by rising food prices. In view of such trends, this paper disagrees with many writers about climate change who simply assume that our future will be shaped by business as usual with increasing emissions of carbon dioxide.

It will be helpful, as we look at ways to sequester carbon dioxide, to have a clear understanding of how it is emitted. The burning of fossil fuels has already been mentioned, and it is certainly a major factor. Deforestation is also recognized as a cause of global warming, along with agricultural practices such as plowing. The amounts here are much more difficult to quantify than carbon emissions from burning fossil fuels, and where hard data is not available some scientific writers seem to avoid the issue. This would be a serious error, because if we fail to see that carbon is in soil, how it escaped from the soil, and how it could be sequestered back into the soil, we miss an important opportunity.

Those pioneers were part of a process, begun with the origins of plowing centuries ago, in which large amounts of carbon dioxide escaped as the soil lost its organic matter and fertility.

THE VALUE OF ORGANIC FARMING

Carbon exists in the soil as organic matter. When tillage exposes it to air it oxidizes and escapes as carbon dioxide. The pioneers plowed the prairie of perennial grass to plant the annual grasses we know as grains, such as wheat or corn. These are great for food production because annuals put their energy into seeds instead of into roots as perennials do. Those pioneers were part of a process, begun with the origins of plowing centuries ago, in which large amounts of carbon dioxide escaped as the soil lost its organic matter and fertility. We speak of this process as the loss of topsoil, and water and wind erosion contributed to it, but it is more specifically the loss of organic matter that destroyed soil fertility and contributed to carbon emissions.

This early agricultural regime was clearly not sustainable and it soon had to be subsidized with chemical fertilizers, especially for nitrogen. This was made available after World War II with anhydrous ammonia, after it was no longer used to manufacture explosives. Fertility in the soil that was lost through bad agricultural practices was now replaced by chemical fertilizers. These could make plants grow but they also destroyed much of the biological life that had earlier liberated nutrients for plants. The result was the release of more carbon dioxide and methane. Other fertilizers, treated with acid to make them water soluble, were soon added to supply plants with phosphorus and potassium, and they added to the destruction of earthworms and other microbial life in the soil.

These artificial or chemical fertilizers produced plants that were more vulnerable to insect pests. Monocultures, large fields of a the same crop, added to this vulnerability. This led to the “need” for pesticides which, when dumped on farmland, continued to kill off any remaining micro-organisms in the soil. Organic farmers and soil scientists have long criticized chemical farming for destroying life in the soil and they have evolved the

adage: “feed the soil to feed the plant.” Organic farming is so called because it seeks to maximize organic matter (i. e., carbon) in the soil to develop humus.

FROM ORGANIC FARMING TO CARBON SEQUESTRATION

This happens naturally in photosynthesis as sunshine uses carbon dioxide in the air to make plants grow and provides oxygen in the process. As the plants decompose and their organic matter is worked into the soil, some carbon is sequestered. But this requires a living soil, in which the soil micro-organisms and larger organisms, such as earthworms, have not been damaged by chemicals.

Most of the details in the preceding paragraphs were based on my many years of experience as a part-time organic farmer who was also an Environmental Studies professor trying to understand what he was doing. The emphasis on organic matter in the soil (carbon), and its loss after hundreds of years of plowing, has also been reviewed by Albert Bates in *The Biochar Revolution: Carbon Farming and Climate Change*. He reports that soil scientist Rattan Lal at Ohio State University found that, with better carbon management practices, soils in the continental US could soak up 330 million tons of carbon each year, more than the emissions from cars, and improve food production by 12%.

Several books on the details of carbon offsets have been published recently. One that supports carbon sequestration in soils and forests is *Harnessing Farms and Forests in the Low-Carbon Economy: How to Create, Measure, and Verify Greenhouse Gas Offsets* and it was edited by Zach Willey and Bill Chameides. This book was intended to help those whose business causes carbon emissions to purchase carbon credits or offsets from land owners who can sequester carbon. Some trading like this already happens in other countries. If a “cap and trade” program is mandated in this country a book like this will be indispensable.

It describes various methods in both fields and forests that would sequester carbon, and some even support organic farming.

A paradigm shift to organic methods of farming is needed in agricultural science. But although the United States Department of Agriculture tolerates organic farming, and regulates organic produce, neither it nor state agricultural schools and their extension services have given up the chemical paradigm of conventional agriculture. Given the political power of agroindustrial corporations, this is not likely to happen soon, but it is beginning. Michigan State University scientists at the Long Term Ecological Research site at the Kellogg Biological Station found that conventional row crop farming emitted about as much carbon dioxide as organic row crop farming sequestered, while unmanaged ecosystems on abandoned farmland in the early stages of succession toward trees sequestered about four times more carbon dioxide than organic farming. This lends support to tree crops for carbon sequestration.

THE NEEDED TRANSITION TO TREE CROPS

The best agriculture in any region is the one that best mimics the region's natural ecosystems. In the eastern part of the United States this would be forests of various kinds, and my local Conservation District, in urging people to plant more trees, claimed that an acre of trees removes 2.6 tons of carbon dioxide each year from the air. These trees can be food producing, as J. Russell Smith explained in his important book of 1929, *Tree Crops: A Permanent Agriculture*. Smith's book was largely ignored for nearly fifty years until his argument was resurrected in new ways by Bill Mollison and David Holmgren as permaculture. Permaculture generally emphasizes perennial crops and the revitalization of life in the soil by building organic matter.

The new argument for tree crops is emerging in the context of a changing climate. As they replace the energy-intensive annual food crops, tree crops, with their deeper roots, can withstand droughts and violent rainstorms which would otherwise cause loss of organic matter from soil. They can slow the process of climate change as they store more carbon, and thrive with virtually no tillage. In the longer term, when trees mature and need replacement, they can be burned with limited oxygen (pyrolysis) and turned into charcoal, so-called biochar, and worked into soil for permanent sequestration. I have patches of dark soil on my farm where fruit trees were gathered and burned years ago and they remain more fertile.

Carbon sequestration in biochar or in tree crops is largely ignored by scientists who seek one total technological solution to climate change. This is easily seen by googling "carbon sequestration." Many large scale, expensive, and risky geoengineering projects have been proposed. They are reviewed by James Roger Fleming in *Fixing the Climate: The Checkered History of Weather and Climate Control*. The final chapter in the book is devoted to the many proposals to "fix" the climate and their technological hubris is alarming. We should worry that some may eventually be tried if the many small-scale and natural possibilities that could sequester carbon are not put into practice.

Unfortunately, those sequestration strategies that are beneficial, safe, and natural have been ignored because they might not do the job by themselves. But as they reduce emissions and slow global warming they provide the time needed to phase out fossil fuels. We must insist that better farming methods and more tree crops should be promoted to sequester carbon dioxide and used as other safe and cost effective methods evolve. It would be foolish to sequester carbon in ways that do not simultaneously

A paradigm shift to organic methods is needed in agricultural science.

*More productive soils will be needed in a future with more mouths
to feed under the constraints of global warming.*

improve the soil. Soils can be made more productive even as they sequester carbon in humus. This is done by building up organic matter in the soil. More productive soils will be needed in a future with more mouths to feed under the constraints of global warming. A new book by Kristin Ohlson asserts this in its title: *The Soil Will Save Us*. The author reviews many initiatives and experiments in which people are building organic matter by feeding soil micro-organisms.

Above all, we need to be open to the social changes that are serendipitously pressured by higher energy prices and thus reduce carbon emissions: more local food systems, more small

farms and homesteads, more people active in Transition Towns, and more tree planting that gives people a stake in the fight against climate change. Here it is the people who will lead in the changes that are necessary. They should be helped with appropriate governmental policies and assistance.



MAYNARD KAUFMAN

has been a leader in the organic farming movement and organized Michigan Organic Food and Farming Alliance in 1991. This past spring he planted over 250 fruit and nut trees on his farm near Bangor, Michigan.

This has been the first part of a two-part paper.
The second part, focused on the importance of restoring carbon that was lost from the soil,
will appear in a subsequent issue of Green Horizon.

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Nader Did Not “Spoil” the 2000 Election: *Setting the Record Straight*

Justine McCabe has written one of the best essays we've come across rebutting the widespread propaganda and mythic self-deluding beliefs about Ralph Nader's spoiling Gore's bid for the presidency in 2000. The propaganda and the delusion continue to be pushed by the Democratic Party, seconded by scores if not hundreds of out-to-lunch liberal intellectuals, and believed in by millions of hapless consumers of the stuff served up by the corporate owned main stream media. We believe that it is critically urgent to unmask the falsehoods that skewer American politics. This is one of them. With her consent we present the following from a Letter to the Editor she wrote on July 26, 2003 for The Hartford Courant in her home state of Connecticut. Justine is a former Chair of the International Committee of the U.S. Green Party and, at the time in 2003 when she wrote the Letter, Co-Chair of the Connecticut Green Party. —Eds.

JUSTINE MCCABE

[In conversation with Justine, she also mentioned that in Florida, CNN's exit polling [according to journalist Tony Schinella) showed Nader taking the same amount of votes from both Republicans and Democrats: 1 percent. Nader also took 4 percent of the independent vote. At the same time, 13 percent of registered Democrats voted for Bush! Again, Gore couldn't hold his own base and because of this, he lost. The Democrats don't say one word about the fact that 13 percent of their own party members in Florida voted for Bush. Ed.]

DEMOCRATS HELPED ELECT BUSH

It's incredible to this Nader voter that Jason Salzman [writer of a Letter to which Justine is responding] actually voted for Nader, given the propaganda he pushes in “Nader Voter Sings The Blues” [Other Opinion, July 14].

Had Salzman been paying attention, he'd know how Democrats actually helped elect Bush, enabled him with a blank check for war in Iraq and then offered the marshmallow resistance to his tax-cut war on middle and working-class families at home.

Although such “Democratic” behavior challenges Salzman's speculation that a Gore administration would have been appreciably different, a reminder of how Gore lost to Bush is much less encouraging:

Eleven percent of Democrats voted for Bush, while only 2 percent voted for Nader (which means about 5 million Democrats defected to Bush, while only about 800,000 went to Nader).

According to Al From, chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council [*Blueprint Magazine* (1-24-01)] and their own exit polls, “The assertion that Nader's marginal vote hurt Gore is not borne out by polling data. When asked how they would have voted in a two-way race, Bush actually won by a point ... better than he did with Nader in the race.”

Gore not only failed to beat Bush in the debates and to win his own state, but also failed to call for a statewide recount of Florida ballots, which he would have won.

Gore failed to support the Congressional Black Caucus' motion not to seat the Florida electors, which, as senators, either he or Lieberman could have seconded.

The fact is that nothing in our constitution limits us to a two-party system. Given that only 39 percent of registered voters cast ballots in our last election -only about 25 percent of those eligible to vote - we sorely need the civic liveliness being brought by the Green Party, the only national political party to gain registered members. It's growing by 27.7 percent. All other parties have lost members, including the Democrats, down by 1.5 percent, and Republicans by .03 percent.



JUSTINE MCCABE

is a cultural anthropologist who worked in the Middle East and is now a clinical psychologist practicing in CT. She is a former co-chair of the United States Green Party's International Committee

A Call for Distinguishing CLEAN *from* DIRTY Candidates

SAM SMITH

The Collins Watch in Maine has noted, “One couple gave Sen. Susan Collins more than any other--the legal maximum of \$10,400--during the most recent filing period. And there’s a good chance you’ve heard of them: Linda and Vince McMahon, the duo behind World Wrestling Entertainment [who have a] history of virulent homophobia and misogyny.”

According to Wikipedia, “McMahon has a \$12 million penthouse in Manhattan, a \$40 million mansion in Greenwich, Connecticut, a \$20 million vacation home, and a 47-foot sports yacht named Sexy Bitch. Forbes has noted McMahon’s wealth at 1.1 billion dollars.”

To put this in some perspective, with that wealth the McMahons could give every Maine adult almost a thousand dollars although it was far cheaper and easier to cozy up to Susan Collins.

Despite the view of anti-justices Roberts and Scalia, there is nothing in the Constitution that allows someone of such distance and disconnection to bully voters in another state.

We need to start thinking of such people and the candidates who live off them much as we do unsafe and dirty food. After all, even if they were edible they would be the sort of things we wouldn’t let our children eat.

And we shouldn’t be too polite about it. After all, the system has completely failed us in this matter. We need to find new language – like clean and dirty candidates – based on where they get their money.

Editor’s note: Don’t forget to check out Sam’s article on Decentralism, page 7.

The Fear of Tyrants

continued from page 21

casualties. The tyrant rose to power on a wave of injustice, and so must depend on injustice to keep him in power. He is afraid of his people, because they are unjust; they resort to injustice because he has destroyed the only mechanisms by which they could bring him to justice. And because he is afraid of their injustice, he keeps them in check through more injustice. The expression “vicious circle” was made for such a situation.

A leader in democracy will cheerfully take turns ruling and being ruled. I quote Sophocles:

But when the city takes a leader, you must obey,
Whether his commands are trivial, or right, or wrong.
And I have no doubt that such a man will rule well,
And, later, he will cheerfully hand off power to someone else.
In hard times he will stand firm with his spear
Waiting for orders, a good, law-abiding soldier.
— Creon in *Antigone*, 666-671

This is the ideal of the democratic leader, who has relinquished authority and now obeys others, in defense of the land. The speaker, oddly enough, is Creon, who has shown some signs of tyranny in his behavior. But the theme is one that the democratic Athenians understood and cared about deeply. Thucydides has Pericles speak proudly of their “rotating public offices,” in the funeral oration (2.37).

What we learn from the fear of tyrants is this: democracy and courage go together. They nourish each other, just as tyranny and cowardice nourish each other. Virtues in individuals grow parallel to virtues in communities, as Plato understood very well. Even in the soul of an individual, wisdom dies in a foolish community, justice withers in an unjust society, and courage fades away in a land where cowardice is enforced.



PAUL WOODRUFF

is a classicist, professor of philosophy, and dean at The University of Texas at Austin, where he once chaired the department of philosophy and has more recently held the Hayden Head Regents Chair as director of Plan II Honors program, which he resigned in 2006 after 15 years of service. On September 21, 2006, University President William C. Powers, Jr. named Dr. Woodruff the inaugural dean of undergraduate studies. He is best known for his work on Socrates, Plato, and philosophy of theater. A beloved professor, he often teaches courses outside his Ancient Greek Philosophy specialty, including literature courses and specialty seminars, often for the Plan II program.

The above brief bio is from Google’s Wikipedia’s entry for Paul Woodruff. We at *Green Horizon* are delighted and honored in equal measure to have Paul among our contributors. As the reader will note, his article, “The Fear of Tyrants”, is apt and timely, an indication of how he reads the classics with a shrewd eye for their relevance to the world of everyday affairs and our present predicaments. Paul has been a supporter of *Green Horizon* for several years. Thank you, Paul! [JR]

Letters to the Editor

TO THE EDITOR: Christian Monö (Spring/Summer 2014) has written a much-needed reality check for the readers of GHM, focusing on our culture's addiction to the promise – or simply hope? – that intelligent leadership will get us out of the hole we've dug for ourselves. Somehow, I think Greens are less wedded to this notion because we believe that our politics needs to be re-imagined if we are to realize sustainable societies.

Monö is reminding us that we have a choice about how we decide to act collectively. Greens believe that human political decisions should reflect the natural world's way of getting things done, which doesn't involve some animals sitting around telling other animals what to do, as in *Animal Farm*.

Indeed, Monö notes perceptively that hunter-gatherer tribes chose whose opinions to follow depending on the work to be done, whether it's hunting, tanning hides, cooking food, building shelters, and so forth. In other words, he argues, followers could be choosing leaders, not the other way around. He suggests we adopt a similar strategy today, noting that we already rely on knowledgeable people to help us make personal decisions about finances, our health, even our teeth.

It's a great point, but the size of the community needs to be considered. "Followers choosing leaders" sounds suspiciously like good old-fashioned electoral campaigns, and doubt whether Monö means that. What he calls collaboration is going to work best in small groups undertaking modestly-scaled projects. Which, of course, is absolutely fine, but we do need to acknowledge this basic truth about collective decision making from the start.

Congratulations to Christian Monö for a well-written essay raising excellent arguments. I hope to hear more from him in these pages.

— Edmund P. (Terry) Fowler, *Toronto, Canada*

TO THE EDITOR: Thanks so much for your continuing fine work with Green Horizon Magazine. I admire Christian Monö's thoughts on the need for leadership—followership collaboration in the Spring/Summer 2014 issue. Another and effective way to describe real democracy!

— Virginia Rasmussen, *Alfred, New York*

TO THE EDITOR: I so appreciate your dedication and that of all the others I meet in *Green Horizon Magazine*. You're truly keepers of the flame.

I'd like to add something that has come to me very recently, from both dipping once again in the Anarchist literature and the good news of the election of the first Socialist to the Seattle government—that of Ksharma Saurent. Her words after the victory of raising Seattle's minimum wage to \$15 an hour were a vibrant call

to continuing action. I feel that her election as a Socialist cannot but help the cause of the Greens—a harbinger for more and more people of democratic, egalitarian principles coming to the fore whether named Green, Socialist, Anarchist or other.

Beneath the names is a shared vision of a social order that nourishes the best in each of us for the common good. I cannot think of a better expression of the latter than the Ten Key Values of the Greens.

— Olenka Folda, *Brooklin, Maine*

TO THE EDITOR: Really strong, thought-provoking issue of GH, Spring/Summer 2014. I especially resonated with John Rensenbrink's piece (*The Deepening Global Challenge*), Howard Switzer (*Money Power and the Green Future*), Steve Schmidt (*eOS—Part Two: Response to the Challenge*) and Steve Welzer (*Thoughts for My Grandchildren...on What You'll Be Facing*).

— Ellen LaConte, *Winston-Salem, North Carolina*

TO THE EDITOR: Always have my spirits lifted when I discover GH waiting in our mailbox. Your work is so important.

— Mark Skinner, *Pittsburgh, PA*

TO THE EDITOR: Congratulations on the Spring/Summer 2014 issue of *Green Horizon*. It is an outstanding one.

— Rhoda Gilman, *St. Paul, MN*

TO THE EDITOR: We see one major need crucial to every effort for change in this dysfunctional broken world. It is a re-birth of personal ethical integrity in every socio-political movement. This includes non-violent thoughts, words and actions – listening to and developing empathy for everyone in the human family no matter how “dis-eased”.

Wasn't it Martin Luther King who re-evoked the truism that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word? We want our lives, however small and locally focused, to express compassion and wisdom. We applaud the determination of Green Horizon to foster connection with social change movements. Best wishes in that endeavor.

— Abhi and Sid (aka Carol and Robert) Hudson

P.S. “Out beyond right and wrong is a field. We'll meet you there.” – A very loose adaptation of lines from the ancient Persian poet, Rumi.

TO THE EDITOR, I love the connections *Green Horizon* is making. Thank you for a stimulating and practical publication.

— Paul Loney
Portland, Oregon

Two Poems That Speak Truth to Power

BRUCE GAGNON

DISTRACT AND DECEIVE

Hillary
we've 'been there
done that
alright
already

But she
will be the first
woman president
following the first
black prez

specifically designed
to keep the 'left'
in place and
under control
as the social fabric
of the nation is
dissolved
and foreign policy
privatized
Corporate oligarchy
knows Hillary
will play the game
read the script
act the part

Shows
reveals the Democrats
have nothing left
inside their
dollar bill packed
'program'

It's a blank program
one intended
to distract
and deceive

REFUGEE

We all are running
from something
throughout our lineage
our people ran
from the wild
woolly
Mother Earth
our home

Now those who run
get locked inside
cages
even the babies
from south
of the border

NAFTA took them down
but we don't talk about that
we just turn on the brown people
and drive them away
keeps us distracted
from what Mr. Big is doing
to all of us

Some are paid to
divide and
incite chaos
quite a job
killing your own people
find it hard
to understand

It's Mr. Big's
favorite play
Modus operandi
MO
every criminal
has a routine

Some call it the Strategy of Tension
worth noting
it's our future
create chaos
and militarize in response

Seeing the coming storm
some run from it
refugees others stand and resist
as best they can
try to give hope
and strength to those
hiding in the shadows
refugees in their
own right



BRUCE GAGNON

is the Coordinator of the Global Network Against Weapons & Nuclear Power in Space. He was a co-founder of the Global Network when it was created in 1992. He lives in Bath Maine. Between 1983–1998 Bruce was the State Coordinator of the Florida Coalition for Peace & Justice and has worked on space issues for 31 years. Bruce has traveled to and spoken in England, Germany, Mexico, Canada, France, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Japan, Australia, Scotland, Wales, Greece, India, Brazil, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Czech Republic, South Korea, and throughout the U.S. Project Censored (from Sonoma State University, CA) named a story on space weaponization by Bruce as the 8th Most Censored story in 1999. Again in 2005, Project Censored picked an article on space issues by Bruce as the 16th most censored story of the year. Bruce has been featured by artist Robert Shetterly in his collection of portraits and quotes entitled Americans Who Tell the Truth. In 2006 he was the recipient of the Dr. Benjamin Spock Peacemaker Award. Bruce initiated the Maine Campaign to Bring Our War \$\$ Home in 2009 that spread to other New England states and beyond. This campaign makes the important connections between endless war spending and fiscal crisis throughout the U.S. In 2011 the U.S. Conference of Mayors passed a Bring Our War \$\$ Home resolution – their first entry into foreign policy since the Vietnam War. In 2013 Bruce helped organize the passage of a drone bill in the Maine state legislature that requires police to obtain warrants before they can spy on the public. The bill was vetoed by the governor. His articles have appeared in publications like: *Earth Island Journal*, *National Catholic Reporter*, *Asia Times*, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Albuquerque Journal*, *Sekai Journal (Japan)*, *CounterPunch*, *Space News*, *Z Magazine*, and *Canadian Dimension*. Bruce published a new version of his book in 2008 called *Come Together Right Now: Organizing Stories from a Fading Empire*. Bruce also has a blog called Organizing Notes. Bruce is host of a public access TV show called This Issue that currently runs in 13 Maine communities. Bruce is an active member of Veterans for Peace and is the Secretary of Space in the Green Shadow Cabinet. He is a member of the Maine Green Independent Party.



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