



GREEN HORIZON

Magazine

..... AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL PUBLISHED BY THE GREEN HORIZON FOUNDATION

VIEWING PLANET HOME AS FROM A SPACE STATION

Ten points of light and dark on the planet

LOOKING IN ON A POLITICAL ECONOMY SEMINAR

Featuring:

- ⊙ **The Steady State**
- ⊙ **Indigenous Economy**
- ⊙ **Socialism**
- ⊙ **Ecology**
- ⊙ **The Ten Key Values**



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Thank you!

Letters

TO THE EDITOR:

I was delighted to find the *Green Horizon* in the mail (Winter/Spring 2017). I was much impressed by Joseph de Rivera's article—"The Global Dimension Looms and Invites." He obviously realizes that we are nowhere near to developing the kind of systems he describes. Having worked in the US Greens, you and I are very aware of this. I remember my father saying to me years ago, "The world is moving in the direction you and your friends visualize, but it won't materialize in your lifetime."

Barbara Rodgers
Florida Panhandle

TO THE EDITOR,

I have been drawn to the Green Movement since its inception in Germany when Petra Kelly was its leader. Time has rolled on and the ecological toll on civilization is incalculable, evidenced by climatic changes, choking pollution and human neglect. Though not as readily noticeable in Western countries, the environmental catastrophe is well in progress in places such as South Asia where population, pollution, searing temperatures, and natural disasters make it all too apparent

that humankind is on the brink. The carbon economy is chiefly to blame along with the depletion of resources of all kinds.

If the carbon economy was to suddenly expire, who could possibly survive? I can only think of the isolated villages in places such as Kashmir in which I have spent a great deal of time. Lacking many modern conveniences the people go on with their lives quite admirably and I would pick them as the survivors in the Brave New World of post-carbon, post-convenience living. I don't romanticize their lives. They have their own peculiar societal problems and environmental degradation to deal with and, of course, want their share of modern things but if the modern world came to a halt, they would carry on better than most of us could.

So when I think of Green I automatically go back to the lush verdant hillsides of Kashmir where the village folk live, staying warm with their fire pots tucked under their cloaks, living on their flocks and tilling the soil. It is far from a perfect world but one that sticks in my mind. When people talk of Green things this is where I reside.

Thanks for *Green Horizon*.

Jason G. Murray
Portland, Maine

THE TEAM

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Viewing *Planet Home* as from a Space Station

Imagine that you and I, dear reader, are on a large and well-equipped space station circling the earth. We treasure what we see as Planet Home.

We watch, taking in our Home's breathtaking beauty, its landscapes and seascapes, its grand mountains and valleys, sweeping plains, deserts, and farm lands, magnificent lakes and forests, great rivers and their tributaries, tiny villages and sprawling cities.

We know that there are seven billion people living there. And billions more of other animals.

We know that things are not going well. We know that over 2000 scientists are daily taking stock of the changing climate whose changes reverberate with eco-system shocks throughout the physical, psychological, social, economic, and political life of all the people. We know that governments and giant corporations are mis-managing affairs in the name of [cancerous industrial] growth, national pride [and chauvinism], and [dangerously deceptive appeals to] democracy We know that the life of most people is worsening daily. We know there is not much time to set things in a better direction before massive and unbelievable tragedy strikes everywhere. We know that denial is rife among all sections of the people, but especially among the richest and most powerful.

We have witnessed the hatred that seems to have seized so many, witnessed the turn to drugs on an agonizingly tremendous scale, witnessed the conflicts that deepen into permanent grudges, the wars that never end, and the lies people in power tell almost as a matter of course. Helplessness and rage of the many are mingled with eruptions of contempt for the people by those who sit in high places.

We have also witnessed the courage of ordinary people, the desperate almost frenzied efforts of many, though all-too-few, to bring sanity and a sense of balance to their neighborhood and to whole sections of the people.

As we watch from our moving perch, we gaze as with laser vision at particular actions and events. We perceive them as points of light and dark and shadows, too. With state of the art camera work we are able to be present at ten selected points as described by Charles Keil in Connecticut, Jeff Taylor in Iowa, Miko Peled in New York City, Matthew Cost in Maine, Seth Kaper-Dale in New Jersey, Olga Sanabria Davilla in Puerto Rico, Abriel Ferreira in The Netherlands, Marko Ulvila in Finland, John Wilhem in Michigan, and Rob Richie in Maryland.

We shift our focus. We imagine being able to observe a panel presentation on political economy in a seminar room of the great Public Library of New York City. There we view several people—mostly members of the Green Party—exchanging notes and presenting papers. They are deep into questions of political economy and of alternatives to capitalism. A discourse on the Steady State is put forth. Side by side, a civilization patterned along the lines of an Indigenous economy is urged. The pros and cons of socialism are argued by several. Ecology is promulgated as the center piece of opposition to capitalism. And there is a poster proclaiming the Ten Key Values of the United States Green movement and Green Party. The participants are Greg Gerritt, Aimee Cree Dunn, Steve Welzer, John Rensenbrink, Robby Barnes, and Sylvie Kashdan.

—JR

Resolution for a *Department of Peace*

CHARLES KEIL

Whereas wars have long been condemned by reasoning people of conscience;

Whereas wars waste humanity and the Creation and are now squandering the equivalent of trillions of dollars globally;

Whereas many of the growing and spreading technologies called “weapons of mass destruction” (biological, chemical, digital and nuclear) can now be wielded to devastating effect by a single individual;

Whereas previous treaties meant to end wars have been ignored or forgotten;

Whereas the Constitutional requirements for a Congressional Declaration of War have been evaded many times since World War II;

Be it resolved, that a Department of Peace be established to:

- 1) “develop and recommend to the President appropriate plans, policies, and programs designed to foster peace;”
- 2) “cooperate with the governments of other nations in research and planning for the peaceful resolution of international conflict, and encourage similar action by private institutions.”

COMMENT

The first “whereas” builds upon rights to “reason and conscience” as articulated in Article One of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

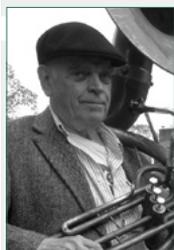
The second “whereas” gives a capital letter to “Creation” as used by Pope Francis in his recent Encyclical on Climate Change and Inequality.

The third “whereas” could be expanded to add “mechanical” to bio, chemo, digital and nukes, or could specify “drones”, RPGs (Rocket Propelled Grenades), nanotech, as further “technological advances” that make the world ever more dangerous and war obsolete as a means to any good end. Our science and tech make everyone increasingly vulnerable to everyone else in this increasingly complex world. Time to simplify and secure whatever can be secured by nuclear and other disarmament and inspection processes.

The Resolution stems from a bill brought before the U.S. Congress on February 7, 1969 [S.953] with 63 House co-signers and 14 Senators signed on.

Explanations for this Resolution can be added and expanded as needed. Ideas about how to spread such a proposal to all citizens and public servants in the USA will also be much appreciated. Please send to:

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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.

The Politics of *Bob Dylan*

JEFF TAYLOR AND CHAD ISRAELSON

According to Bob Dylan, we live in what his 1989 song calls a “Political World.” He is correct. But what does this mean? And what is Dylan’s relation to this world?

The political themes most commonly appearing in Dylan’s work are freedom, suspicion of power, belief in universal sacred truths, and justice for the vulnerable. He understands that to be free is to be empowered, and the downtrodden enjoy very little of either. Power is at the heart of politics and Dylan distrusts both the exertion of power and the ability of human beings to utilize it to correct the wrongs of society.

In an oversimplified nutshell, we could say that Bob Dylan’s political philosophy since 1979 has been that of Woody Guthrie supplemented by the gospels of the New Testament, of C. Wright Mills supplemented by the prophet Isaiah, of *Merchants of Death* supplemented by the book of Revelation. This being the case, ideology and theology are naturally intertwined.

YOUNG DYLAN

From a purely statistical standpoint, Bob Dylan—Jewish and hailing from Minnesota’s Iron Range—should reliably vote Democratic. Loath to have labels put upon him, his political outlook cannot be reduced to statistics. Dylan’s political world has proved too broad and independent to be classified simply as left or right, conservative or liberal, though he has often been assumed to be decidedly leftist. His political outlook is partly derived from the atmosphere of his home state and partly from his religious upbringing.

Placed into those two cultures by birth, Dylan melded what he learned from them with traditional American ideals and roots music. His appreciation for the ideals of an America rooted in the past, a powerful sense of the sacred, and identification with the underdog coalesced into a belief system that transcended contemporary politics. This combination intermingled in the fertile and artistic mind of a sensitive young man and reappeared consistently over the years.

Beyond his own Hebraic culture, Bob Dylan is indebted to several musical traditions with deep roots in America: Anglo-Celtic folk; popular, old-time country; and Delta blues. One of the salutary cultural contributions of the South has been its preservation of English, Scottish, and Irish traditional and popular ballads that were brought from the British Isles to colonial America. Settlers in the Shenandoah Valley, Appalachia,

and Ozarks were largely responsible for passing these songs on to later generations, thereby serving as the foundation for early folk music and country music.

The South also produced the African-American genre of Delta blues, coming out of slavery and spirituals. Dylan has been an important transmitter of these largely lost traditions in an era of trendy, commercial entertainment. This is surprising because Dylan has neither Anglo-Celtic nor African heritage and is just a third-generation American with all four of his grandparents having been born in the Russian Empire.

Dylan’s reliance on folk and blues music has sociopolitical implications. It is liberal because it recognizes the value of the common people, of the poor and powerless, of the despised and discriminated-against. It is conservative because it recognizes the value of tradition, of the old and spiritual, of the familiar and time-tested.

Though he has shared certain characteristics with conservatives and traditionalists, Bob Dylan’s “Voice of a Generation” title came from his contributions to causes associated with the New Left. Over a long and remarkable career, Dylan expressed populist, traditionalist, and egalitarian beliefs. What Dylan called the “finger-pointin” songs from his early 1960s folk style fostered an image that he was a protest singer.

His artistic output during this period dovetailed with the emergence of a group of politically active young people often called the New Left. This convergence gave added potency to his civil rights, anti-war, and other social justice-minded anthems and created an impression of a synchronistic mass movement that drafted Dylan to be its musical spokesman.

BORN-AGAIN DYLAN

Bob Dylan shocked his fans by converting to a form of evangelical Christianity in 1978-79. Having been associated with the anarchism of the New Left and the Counterculture during the 1960s, Dylan’s conversion reinforced, deepened, and extended his anarchism. Using H. Richard Niebuhr’s classic framework, found in the book *Christ and Culture*, we can say that Dylan most identifies with the Christ Against Culture position.¹ Politically speaking, this tends to be anarchistic.

Despite widespread assumption to the contrary, Dylan’s embrace of Christianity was not a passing phase. He did not set aside his newfound faith after a few years. In 1984, Dylan

told *Rolling Stone* that the Old Testament and New Testament were “equally valid” to him. He also said, “I believe in the Book of Revelation,” and went on to refer to the coming Antichrist. Twenty-eight years later, he repeated the line about Revelation word-for-word to a different interviewer for the same magazine.²

Like a submarine, Dylan’s faith has been mostly submerged since 1981. This does not mean that it has disappeared. Dylan’s concert set lists (including his choice of cover songs), his cagey-yet-illuminating interview remarks, and his use of biblical language, including New Testament words, in his songs all attest to his continued Christianity.

In 2012, he told *Rolling Stone*, “No kind of life is fulfilling if your soul hasn’t been redeemed.” Asked about accusations of plagiarism in recent years, Dylan was defiant: “These are the same people that tried to pin the name Judas on me. Judas, the most hated name in human history! ...Yeah, and for what? For playing an electric guitar? As if that is in some kind of way equitable to betraying our Lord and delivering him up to be crucified. All those evil motherf**ers can rot in hell.”³

Over 30 years after his conversion, Dylan’s words during this interview make his spiritual allegiance crystal clear. Even if we had no other evidence concerning the status of Dylan’s faith today, these three words—“betraying our Lord”—would be enough. For half of his life, Dylan has been a Christian. He was converted at the age of 37. We should not think of him only as the left-wing protest singer of his youth. Even when young, he was more than that. Certainly he was more than that by the 1980s.

CHRISTIAN ANARCHISM

Christianity is commonly seen as a preserver of tradition, as a bulwark of social order and patriotism. A superficial understanding of history lends credence to this perception. A superficial interpretation of the New Testament also supports this perception. The apostle Paul’s words to the Christians in Rome seem to settle the question of the relationship between believers and the state: it is to be a relationship of respect and obedience.⁴ Christian anarchists in the past and present have drawn upon other passages of Scripture to explain less positive attitudes toward the state.

Dylan has been a latter-day Jesus Person who joined Christianity five or six years after the heyday of the Jesus Movement (1967-73). This movement of “hippie Christianity,” centered in southern California, had dissipated by 1979 but its impact continued, and part of its impact was the conversion and discipleship of rock music superstar Bob Dylan.

Intentionally or not, Dylan was “the New Left’s most resonant troubadour.”⁵ Dylan was also the preeminent hero of the less overtly political, more lifestyle oriented Counterculture that developed in the late 1960s. Like the New Left, the Counterculture was anarchistic. The message of Dylan’s first all-electric album, *Highway 61 Revisited*, was clear: Protest is not going to change the world; change yourself and you will change the world.

No worldly ideology is a perfect match with Christian principles so Dylan is part liberal, part conservative, part populist, part libertarian, part communitarian. (In some ways, this resembles the “Neither Left nor Right” tradition of the Green Party.)

Bob Dylan’s electorally apolitical, anarchistic stance, so evident in the 1960s, did not change when he became a Christian in late 1978. Two years after his conversion, Dylan said, “When I walk around some of the towns we go to...I’m totally convinced people need Jesus. Look at the junkies and the winos and the troubled people. It’s all a sickness which can be healed in an instant. The powers that be won’t let that happen. The powers that be say it has to be healed politically.”⁶

In a 1984 interview, Dylan remarked, “I think politics is an instrument of the Devil. Just that clear. I think politics is what kills; it doesn’t bring anything alive.” When asked whether it makes any difference who is president, Dylan said he didn’t think so.⁷ Around the same time, on tour in Madrid, Dylan said, “There’s a lot of different gods that people are subject[s] of. There’s the god of Mammon. Corporations are gods. Governments? No, governments don’t have much to do with it anymore, I don’t think. Politics is a hoax.”⁸

In an interview with Bill Flanagan to promote *Together Through Life*, in the spring of 2009, Dylan was asked about politics. He gave a typical disparaging assessment: “Politics is entertainment. It’s a sport. It’s for the well groomed and well heeled.” Flanagan asked him if he doesn’t “believe in the democratic process.” Dylan: “Yeah, but what’s that got to do with politics? Politics creates more problems than it solves...the real power is in the hands of small groups of people and I don’t think they have titles.”

PUBLIC POLICY

The foreign policy of Bob Dylan can be summarized as a trio of negatives: anti-militarism, anti-imperialism, and anti-globalization. If we want to put things more positively, we can say that Dylan stands for peace, republic, and local economy (with corresponding skepticism toward war, empire, and global capitalism). More specifically, we can say that emphases of nationalism over internationalism, peace over war, hostility toward the military-industrial complex, and belief that wealthy northeastern interests drive U.S. foreign policy have been present in Dylan’s recordings and interviews since the early 1960s. These tendencies were supplemented by his full embrace of the Jewish/Christian prophetic tradition beginning in 1979. As a “midwestern isolationist” from Minnesota, Dylan could be thought of as a musical latter-day Charles Lindbergh Sr. or Henrik Shipstead.⁹

Despite his American patriotism and Jewish ethnicity, Dylan does not seem interested in assisting or glorifying any particular national government (U.S.A. or Israel). At the same time, he opposes the type of internationalism that is promoted by capitalists and imperialists. He sees “traitors to America” behind this endeavor.¹⁰ He also sees this as setting the stage for the Antichrist. He warns that Satan sometimes poses as a “Man of Peace” (1983). Dylan sees evil lurking behind the push for political globalism and economic globalization.¹¹

Partly because he was attracted to at least part of the Left, with its emphasis on individuality and common good, Dylan found the new Christian manifestations of the Religious Right unappealing even though there was some common ground with things like biblical authority and traditional sexual morality. In 1980, when asked about political activism by fundamentalist Christians in groups like the Moral Majority, he told an interviewer, “I think people have to be careful about all that...It’s real dangerous. You can find anything you want in the Bible...I just don’t think you can legislate morality...The basic thing, I feel, is to get in touch with Christ himself. He will lead you.”¹² This statement reflects the Christian anarchism of the countercultural Jesus Movement.

Where does all of this leave Bob Dylan? Is Dylan a Democrat? No. Is Dylan a Republican? No. Is Dylan an Independent? Maybe. Dylan does not seem to care about electoral politics. He will perform for a President Clinton or a President Obama but he is not partisan. He would likely have played for a Republican president but was not asked. Dylan’s post-1978 ideology is what you would expect from a Christian whose first loyalty is to the Kingdom of God. It is a little of this, a little of that. No worldly ideology is a perfect match with Christian principles so Dylan is part liberal, part conservative, part populist, part libertarian, part communitarian. (In some ways, this resembles the “Neither Left nor Right” tradition of the Green Party.)

Dylan’s personal history with corporate-driven oppression found in the professional music world—so different from the freedom symbolized by the folk, blues, and gospel music traditions—may well be an important factor in his political outlook. Other likely influences are his Jewish heritage, his observation of economic imperialism at work in northeastern Minnesota, his state’s tradition of populist major-party and third-party electoral politics, and his eventual embrace of a biblical, anarchistic type of Christianity.

UNDERLYING THEMES

Bob Dylan’s life and career have been filled with seeming inconsistencies. Still, certain thematic constants have emerged, specifically as they apply to his political outlook. Since childhood, he has cared about liberty and justice, democracy and individuality, truth and morality. Dylan has exemplified freedom on personal, societal, and spiritual levels. His refusal to accept the legitimacy of human power structures reflects an anarchism that he brought

with him when he converted to Christianity. Dylan has also consistently advocated justice, whether lending support for the legally dispossessed and economically downtrodden, or issuing moral directives urging people to reconcile with divine law.

Dylan’s political worldview has remained essentially the same over six different decades and numerous private and public transformations. Whether he has appeared as a New Left protest icon, rock music and Counterculture innovator, rural family man, Christian associated with the Jesus People, or cantankerous social critic distrustful of worldly leaders, Bob Dylan’s notions of freedom and justice, power and sin, have tied all of these roles together.

This article is adapted from the book *The Political World of Bob Dylan: Freedom and Justice, Power and Sin* by Jeff Taylor and Chad Israelson. © 2015. All rights reserved. An affordably-priced paperback edition has recently been released by Palgrave Macmillan.



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NOTES

- 1 H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, c1951, 1975).
- 2 Kurt Loder, “The Bob Dylan Interview,” *Rolling Stone*, June 21, 1984, 17; Mikal Gilmore, “Bob Dylan: The Rolling Stone Interview,” *Rolling Stone*, September 27, 2012, 51.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 48, 81.
- 4 Romans 13:1-7. Cf. I Peter 2:13-17.
- 5 Stephen J. Whitfield, *A Critical American: The Politics of Dwight Macdonald* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1984), 105.
- 6 Robert Hilburn, “I Learned That Jesus Was Real and I Wanted That,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1980.
- 7 Loder, “Bob Dylan Interview,” 17.
- 8 Interview with Mick Brown, June 1984. Contained in: Artur, ed., *Every Mind Polluting Word Assorted Bob Dylan Utterances* (Don’t Ya Tell Henry Publications, 2006), 800. <http://content.yudu.com/Library/A1plq4/BobDylanEveryMindPol/resources/755.htm>
- 9 Tor Egil Førland, “Bringing It All Back Home or Another Side of Bob Dylan: Midwestern Isolationist,” *Journal of American Studies* 26 (December 1992): 339.
- 10 Robert Hilburn, “How Does It Feel? Don’t Ask,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 2001.
- 11 Dylan, *Infidels* (1983); Loder, “Bob Dylan Interview,” 18; Revelation 18:2-3.
- 12 Hilburn, “I Learned That Jesus Was Real and I Wanted That.”

IT'S ABOUT PALESTINE

Why the Greens Got It Right!

MIKO PELED

The two-state solution recognizes the achievements of the Zionist project but provides small measure of recognition of the rights of Palestinians.

The vision of Israelis and Palestinians living as equal citizens in peace within a democratic state is realistic and achievable.

The national platform of the Green Party of the United States says the following regarding the Palestinian issue:

“We recognize that international opinion has been committed to a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Yet, we view the two-state solution as neither democratic nor viable in the face of international law, material conditions and “facts on the ground” that now exist in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Given this reality we support a US foreign policy that promotes the creation of one secular democratic state for Palestinians and Israelis on the land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River as the national home of both peoples, with Jerusalem as its capital. We encourage a new US diplomatic initiative to begin the long process of negotiation, laying the groundwork for such a single state constitution.”

The two-state solution has been readily adopted by the international community because it all but guarantees that no real solution will take place. Fifty years after the 1967 war it is clear that Israel will never agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state. The mere suggestion of pressuring Israel is tantamount to political suicide in most Western countries, and so talking about the two-state solution is both safe and creates the illusion that the West wants peace in the Middle East. The two-state solution recognizes the achievements of the Zionist project which is Euro-centric in its nature, and provides a small measure of recognition of the rights of Palestinians.

Those who still cling to the two-state paradigm assume there could be a gentler, kinder Israel that will respect the rights of Palestinians and will enter into an agreement with representatives of the Palestinian people. Then somehow the West Bank will be free of Jewish settlers and a Palestinian state will be established. They also assume that the West Bank is a separate territory from the rest of Israel. But this is assuming too much. In 1948, when Israel was established, a decision was made by Israel to leave certain areas outside the boundaries of the state. The West Bank was taken by Israel in 1967 to complete the conquest of the Land of Israel.

The West Bank and the Gaza Strip, drawn by Israel, were governed by Jordan and Egypt respectively for twenty years. The whole time the Israeli military was chomping at the bit, waiting for the order to take them. They were eager to push Israel's eastern border all the way to the Jordan River. In June 1967 an opportunity presented itself, and the Israeli commanders took the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (along with the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula which are outside the boundaries of Palestine) and congratulated themselves on completing the job.

The guns had not yet stopped smoking when Israeli bulldozers began destroying Palestinian towns, villages and communities in the newly conquered territory, and cities and towns for Jews were built in their place. For the following five decades,

For five decades, consecutive Israeli governments have done everything in their power to integrate the West Bank into the rest of the state of Israel.

consecutive Israeli governments did everything in their power to integrate the West Bank into the rest of the state of Israel—and they were successful. Today those areas are referred to as Judea and Samaria and all government bureaucracies are available to the Jewish residents of these areas, as they are to Jewish residents in other parts of the country. Some three million Palestinians who also reside in this area receive no services and are governed by the Israeli military. The most liberal, compromising, left-leaning Israeli politicians say that if one day an agreement is to be reached with the Palestinians, then Jerusalem with expanded boundaries, the entire Jordan River Valley and the large cities or settlement blocks—all of which make up most of the West Bank—will remain within Israel.

RECOGNIZING “FACTS ON THE GROUND”

What is refreshing and truly progressive about the Green Party statement is that it envisions a Palestine that is free and is not occupied by a so-called “Jewish” state. Israel and its support groups around the world have managed to block the debate of a post-Israel post-Zionist future in Palestine. Israeli insistence that recognition by the Palestinians (as well as the rest of the world) of Israel as a Jewish state—as *the state of the Jews*—makes it evident that Israel realizes there exists a serious issue of legitimacy surrounding the existence of the State of Israel. For example, Israeli officials cannot mention the name Jerusalem without adding, “the eternal capital of the Jewish people,” and Israeli lawmakers are currently working on a bill that will make all the above the law of the land while demoting the Arabic language from its status as one of two official languages, the other being Hebrew. But none of that changes the fact that the legitimacy of Israel is in question because its very creation involved a vicious campaign of ethnic cleansing, massacres and the virtual destruction of an entire country.

There is a reality, as the Green Party platform clearly states, that cannot be ignored. Between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea live just over twelve million people. Jews make up about six million, Palestinians slightly more than that, but since Palestinians have larger families they are expected to become a solid majority within a few years. Ignoring the Palestinian existence, as Israel has done for the past seven decades, may continue to work in the short term, but even if we ignore the immoral aspect, this is not sustainable. There are almost two million people living in the Gaza Strip with no access to clean water or the most basic medicine, though water is plentiful and medicine is readily available in Israeli settlements just moments away from Gaza. A child in Gaza with a curable cancer will die while a child with the same disease in Israel will live because Israel controls the access to medical care.

Israel does not recognize “Israeli” as a nationality. Instead it identifies two nationalities: “Jew” or “Arab.” This is because the Zionist ideology upon which the state of Israel was established defined Jews as a nation, the Old Testament as the Jewish history book and Palestine as the Jewish homeland. It is therefore concluded that the land belongs to the Jews—and indeed over ninety-five percent of Palestine cannot be sold or leased to non-Jews. While Israel claims that its “minorities” live as citizens with equal rights, this claim does not hold water. The reality for these “minorities”—or “non-Jews” as Israeli officials and bureaucrats like to call them—is vastly different from that of a Jewish Israeli citizen. This difference is expressed in every facet of life from birth to death.

As an Israeli citizen I can attest to the fact that “Jews” and “Arabs” rarely mix. We attend different schools, live in separate communities, are allocated different (unequal) levels of resources by the state. Be it in applying for a mortgage, requesting a building permit, applying for a driver’s license or applying for college, one is required to identify as “Jew” or “Arab.” Arabs receive different treatment and have fewer rights than Jews by an enormous margin. Knesset member Hanin Zo’abi identifies no fewer than ninety-five laws in the Israeli statutes that discriminate against the Palestinian citizens of Israel.

The claim that Israel is a democracy is therefore false. Israel governs the lives of Jews and Palestinians using different laws. Beyond that, the laws that govern the lives of Palestinians are determined by where they reside. There are different sets of laws for Palestinians who have Israeli citizenship, different laws for Palestinians who are residents of Jerusalem, different laws that govern the lives of Palestinians in the West Bank (where there is also a separation between areas A, B and C). And then there are the residents of the Gaza Strip, who live in a whole other reality. On this basis I assert that ‘democracy’ is the last word one should use to describe the state of Israel.

THE DEVIL IS IN THE DETAILS

In 1994, following a massacre at the *Ibrahimi* mosque in Hebron committed by a Jewish-American settler who murdered twenty-nine worshippers and injured scores of others, an Israeli commission recommended that a new division be established within the Israeli police department. This would be the Judea and Samaria district, or SHAY for short. Their logo is the shape of the West Bank colored in purple. Each officer wears a pin with this logo on their uniform shirt. On the Judea and Samaria district police website it says: “*The SHAY district stretches over a large territory, from the Hebron Hills in the South to Megido intersection in the north and is the second largest of the Israeli police districts but the first in terms of sensitivity.*”

The reason for the sensitivity isn't mentioned but is understood to mean: the existence of Arabs. In fact, some three million Palestinians live within that district.

The site also tells us: "*Within the district there are 120 settlements. Three municipalities: Ariel, Ma'ale Edomin and Beitar Ilit. 12 local councils: Oranit, Alfei Menashe, Elkana, Efrat, Bet El, Bet Arie, Modi'in Ilit, Ma'ale Efrain, Emanuel, Kdumin, Kiryat Arba, and Karnei Shomron. 6 Regional Councils: Shomron, Mate Binyamin, Gush Etzion, Har Hevron, Megilor, Arvot Hayarden.*"

These are all Israeli entities. Even though this district serves the entire West Bank, not a single Palestinian town, city or village is mentioned.

In other words, the West Bank is not occupied Palestinian territory, it is not an area that will one day become a Palestinian state; it is a region within the state of Israel where hundreds of thousands of Jewish citizens reside in hundreds of settlements. Proponents of the two-state solution choose to ignore this reality.

A PATH OF RESISTANCE

No privileged society or oppressive regime has ever given up its privilege or power willingly. For justice to be realized, regimes and societies must be forced to give up their unjust, oppressive practices or yield totally to change. The path to achieve this was, is and probably always will be through organized resistance. Here, too, GPUS has it right when, in its platform, it states its full support for Boycott, Divest, and Sanctions (BDS):

"We recall that in 2005, Palestinian Civil Society appealed to the international community to support a BDS campaign against Israel, and that in response the Green Party of the US endorsed this BDS campaign in 2005. Therefore, we support the implementation of boycott and divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era, which includes pressuring our government to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel; and we support maintaining these nonviolent punitive measures until Israel meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law by:

1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Palestinian lands and dismantling the Wall in the West Bank;
2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and
3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194."

The call for BDS is a gift from Palestinian civil society to the rest of the world, or at least to people of conscience. By defining three clear, achievable and realistic demands that will make a difference in the lives of Palestinians—and a method by which to achieve these objectives—we who are not Palestinian have

Ignoring the Palestinian existence, as Israel has done for the past seven decades, may continue to work in the short term, but even if we ignore the immoral aspect, it's not sustainable.

been given a path. The three demands set forth by the BDS movement are simple, reasonable and remedial, and pose no threat to Israeli Jews. Israel has divided Palestinians into the following groups: refugees, West Bank Palestinians and the Palestinians of 1948 who have Israeli citizenship. Each group has issues that pertain to the specific reality that was imposed on it by Israel, and the demands of BDS address all three.

First, creating a single civilian rule over all people in Palestine, instead of the current situation where the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are in fact governed by the Israeli military, is a crucial step in moving toward a just reality. Then: eliminating the systemic discrimination of Palestinian citizens of Israel, allowing the refugees to return to their homes and properties, and ensuring that reparations are made for the many decades of dispossession and exile. These three remedies will only happen as a result of pressure and will inevitably lead to the collapse of the system which offers exclusive rights and privileges to the Jewish population.

A NEW BEGINNING

The vision of Israelis and Palestinians living as equal citizens in peace within a democratic state is realistic. Peaceful coexistence—and a chance to both heal the wounds and create an environment where justice reigns and all people feel secure—is of the highest order. The suffering caused to Palestinians is immeasurable, and the best thing that can be done is to ensure that future generations are given the promise of a just, peaceful and prosperous life in Palestine.



MIKO PELED

is an international speaker, writer and activist born and raised in Jerusalem. He authored the acclaimed narrative, *The General's Son, Journey of an Israeli in Palestine*. The book covers the work in which Peled's family has been involved since his grandparents immigrated to Palestine in the early twentieth century. His maternal grandfather was a signer of the Israeli Declaration of Independence, and his father was a general in the Israeli army who pioneered the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. Peled is a contributor to several online publications that deal with the Middle East. His second book, concerning the persecution of Muslims in the US, is forthcoming. He blogs at mikopeled.com.

WAKE UP AMERICA!

Donald John Trump is a Stooge

MATTHEW COST

We have entered into the second Civil War (CWII), and only 1% of the country realizes it. In 1860, when the white southern elite sensed their system of slavery was in danger, they began a shell game with the majority of their constituents. The plantation owners created a deception to convince the general white population that it was in their best interest to secede from the union. This illusion was based upon the common perception of state's rights, high taxes, and white supremacy. If this sounds familiar, it should, as it is the same platform that elected Donald John Trump to become the 45th President of the United States of America.

RIGHTS, TAXES, AND RACISM

The majority of people did not own slaves in the eleven states that seceded from the union in the 1860's. As a result, it was necessary for the slave-owners to provide reasons for poor whites to pick up arms and join the rebellion. The first part of the scheme to delude the citizens of the south was the trumped up belief that their state's rights were being taken away by the North. It was never quite clear if this idea was based upon fugitive slaves laws, the right to secede, or some other prerogative being abused by the Congress. The echoes of this lie are heard reverberating in the current administration's campaign assertion that the federal government is abusing state's rights. These supposed rights that are being trampled range from abortion to immigration and everything in between. Much like the fraudulent artifice of the 1860's, this theory lacks authenticity, and is but a smokescreen to manage and garner the support of the general population.

The world has always hated taxes, and this nowhere more evident than the United States of America, where our origination as a country is based upon disagreement with taxes. The moneyed aristocrats have used the ploy of unfair taxation to control the lower classes in America since the Boston Tea Party. Taxes were a major rallying cry leading to the Civil War, as the propaganda put out suggested that the North was unfairly raising tariffs in the South. The reality is that the taxes in 1860 were at their lowest point since 1816. In 2016, the patricians of our country have once again used this stratagem. Trump has blamed the tax rates on Democratic agendas such as welfare, education, and health care, even though all of these programs benefit the lower economic class. Somehow it has been slipped past his core supporters that their taxes will not be lowered, but will actually go up under his suggested plan.

In 1860, a common perception in the United States of America was that the white race was superior to the black race. The affluent plantation owners used the overt racism of the era to convince the denizens of the south that this inferior black race, if freed, would take their jobs, rape their women, and kill them in their sleep. Sound familiar? The current administration is using, perhaps not open, but certainly veiled racism, which exists within our modern society, to stir up fears aimed at cultures such as Mexicans and Muslims. When the trumped up immigration ban against seven Muslim countries was proposed, few Trump supporters cared that no terrorist had come from those countries since 1975. It only mattered that they could be singled out due to their

I believe that Trump is a stooge. It is my contention that Trump is merely a mouthpiece for a select group of billionaires who want to maximize their incredible wealth and power to rule the world

skin color and religious persuasion to raise fear and hatred. The government is playing upon this trepidation to rally their base and deflect their opponents from the coup upon democracy that they are actually engaged in.

TRUMP IS A STOOGES

That brings us back to CWII. There is no doubt that lines have once again been drawn in the sand between different regions of our country. This time, with an expanded United States, the Midwest has joined the South, and the far West has affiliated with the North. As has been seen, the points of controversy are once again state's rights, taxes, and white supremacy, or at least, the incursion of non-whites upon our imagined utopia. The voice that has emerged to project and represent these fears is Donald John Trump. But it is not him that I fear. I believe that Trump is a stooge. It is my contention that Trump is merely a mouthpiece for a select group of billionaires who want to maximize their incredible wealth and power to rule the world.

There has been a great deal of consternation outside of the core Trump camp based upon his cabinet nominations. Few, if any of them, appear to be qualified for the job they have been assigned. To appoint Rex Tillerson, who has no experience outside of ExxonMobil et al., as the Secretary of State, is a case in point. His ties to Russia are of concern, but his lack of knowledge in government, both foreign and domestic, make him unfit for the job. Scott Pruitt has been named the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, even though he doubts scientific facts about global warming and the threat it poses to our planet. Wilbur Ross is the new Secretary of Commerce, most likely due to the fact that he brokered a deal to bail out Trump's casinos in the 1980's when personal bankruptcy seemed imminent. A similar repayment of debt owed seems to have been cast to Goldman Sachs as well, with positions in the new government for Jay Clayton, Gary Cohn, Steven Mnuchin, and Steve Bannon.

The appointment of Steve Bannon as Chief Strategist to the President of the United States of America is the linchpin to my theory that Donald Trump is a stooge. Bannon has no business in the coveted position of having the greatest access to the ear of the president. This is a man who was quoted by the Daily Beast as saying, "I'm a Leninist ... Lenin wanted to destroy the state, and that's my goal too. I want to bring everything crashing down, and destroy all of today's establishment." It is clear from reading his history that he is racist, hates women, and is power hungry. This is the man who is formulating the policy of our country.

SHOULD WE FEAR THE RUSSIANS OR THE AMERICANS?

It is my contention that Steve Bannon is also a tool, no more than a communication device through which to control Trump. So, who is the ultimate master behind CWII? This is where we have to move to theory, based upon a lack of facts, but please, bear with me. What if Donald Trump does have serious financial

issues, and this is why he refuses to release his tax returns? What if he owes his financial existence to creditors that control him? And what if those lenders are not Russian? What if, in fact, they are Americans? What if certain members of the 1% of the wealthiest citizens of our country saw the promise of Donald Trump as a showman? Much like them, his inherited wealth has created an attitude that he is outside the law, allowed to use his money to bully others, his position to grope women, and his financial stature to rip off those less fortunate. But Donald John Trump had something they did not, namely charisma, and a desire for the limelight. Perhaps in 1995, when Trump showed a \$916 million-dollar loss on his tax returns, a group of these billionaires banded together and bought him. Much like a secret agent mole, they then groomed him for when the time was right, namely, after an eight-year term of a black president, and against a woman candidate. Then they unveiled him, guided him, supported him, and got him elected through whatever means necessary.

It is the basis of my theory that the plantation owning white elites have resurfaced after being dormant for 150 years, but now they are not seceding, but attacking. They learned their lesson in CWI and have gone on the offensive. This time they elected a president that would do their bidding. This, coupled with a Congress only too happy to rubber stamp conservative agenda items, has made the time ripe for CWII. They have curried a host of reasonably wealthy, educated people into their army as the officers. At the same time they have stirred up "the lower classes" with talks of rights being taken away, unfair taxes, and the usurpation of a way of life by Mexicans and Muslims. These officers and men are ready to blast into battle without the slightest inkling that what they are fighting for is a fabrication of the opulent plantation owners, all in the name of greed and power. Robert E. Lee would be happy to see that his native Virginia sided this time with morality and unity, but probably would be quite dismayed to realize he was once again on the side of the underdog.

EDUCATION AND PARAMILITARIES

Who could be behind such a nefarious plan? It is hard to tell, as a billion-dollars goes a long way towards protecting the privacy of a person, and unlike the cabinet appointees, the true masterminds of trumping America are happy to keep their identity secret. One exception to that rule could be Betsy DeVos, who wants the limelight as much as Trump, with far fewer qualifications. Betsy is the daughter of Edgar Prince, a man who made a billion dollars from a die cast machine-manufacturing firm. She is married to Dick DeVos, the son of Amway co-founder and multi-billionaire, Richard DeVos. This is the sort of inherited wealth that could have bought Trump and forced him to nominate her for Secretary of Education, even though she has absolutely no qualifications. Her drive for power is unsettling as it showcases that some of the most important jobs in our country can be bought, but she is not the cause for anxiety. The real concern is her brother, Erik Prince.

Erik Prince is a Naval Academy dropout who went on to get his degree from Hillside College, returned to the navy as an officer, and became a SEAL. After three years of service he retired prematurely due to his father's death in 1995. He helped his mother sell the family machine business for 1.35 billion-dollars and moved to Virginia Beach, where he personally financed the creation of a special operations training school for mercenaries called Blackwater Worldwide. He bought a 6,000-acre facility in North Carolina, and spent the next thirteen years running a mercenary program that received over two billion dollars in United States government contracts for classified military activities. His operation suffered a setback in 2007 when his soldiers of fortune killed seventeen innocent citizens in Bagdad. When he sold Blackwater in 2010, the crown prince of Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirate hired him to develop a personal paramilitary force of 800 soldiers. Prince has opened a private equity firm called Frontier Services Group, and has been linked to several mercenary operations in Asia and Africa, and most recently he has been developing his own military air force.

Prince is a close personal friend with Steve Bannon. He has been connected with having advised the Trump transition team on matters relating to intelligence and defense, yet he remains in the shadows, an unknown presence that specializes in creating personal paramilitary units. As I write this, I shiver to think that I am openly criticizing a clandestine assassin that has the ear of

the President of the United States, but how can I not? If you smirk as you read this, I challenge you to openly confront the billionaire elites represented by Donald Trump, protected by Erik Prince, and see if you don't...shiver.

DRAWING THE PARTY LINE

Meanwhile, Republican members of Congress are banding together to support the coup-taking place right in front of them. Party lines have become more important than the will of the people (note the protests raging around the country), or the safety of the people (note the exclusionary and racial bans), or the ripping away of the fabric of our democracy (note the unprecedented executive orders and firings of anybody that disagrees with the narcissist in charge).

Wake Up America. Before it is too late.



MATTHEW LANGDON COST

is a former business owner and social studies teacher who is now making writing his career. He has published two mystery books, *Mainly Power* and *Mainly Fear*, as well as a historical novel, *Joshua Chamberlain and the Civil War: At Every Hazard*. Cost is currently finishing his latest work, another historical entitled, *Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution: History Will Absolve Me*. He lives in Brunswick, Maine. His books can be viewed on his website, mattcost.net, or he can be emailed at matthew-cost@comcast.net.

SOCIALISM RECONCEIVED, *continued from page 33*

NONETHELESS: WHY GREENS MIGHT WANT TO ADVOCATE SOME SOCIALISM

The immediate reality we face is that the extant globalized industrial-capitalist system is socially and ecologically ruinous. And an immediate question we face is: how to de-fang it?

In trying to answer that question, progressives debate about whether the dominant multinational corporations should be tightly regulated or socialized. Greens have tended to be wary of the bureaucratic monstrosities that can result from the traditional socialist prescription. But we must consider the possibility that regulation could prove to be inadequate. For that reason, some are proposing that the transition to a decentralized Green society may initially require socializing many of the large corporations.

A reconceptualization of socialism might view it as a stage of history, but not the ultimate or "highest" stage as the Marxists propose. What we *ultimately* should be striving for is liberation from the distortions, dependencies, and bureaucracies of the industrial state, recognizing how it is problematic in both its private-ownership and public-ownership manifestations. We ultimately want to re-allocate social resources away from it, back toward local communities and regional economies. *Can socializing its "major means of production" hasten that process?*

It should be acknowledged that attempts in that direction have, to date, been disappointing. After two hundred years of theorizing

and experimenting it still remains to be seen whether or not an extensively socialized economy can be viable. It may be that capitalism will simply implode before any "next system" is able to replace it (thus forcing the issue of re-localization).

We can't know, but we have to try to conjecture the most promising road forward. It's difficult, to say the least—because human history has arrived at an unprecedented state of crisis. What's clear is that the establishment parties and ideologies have no idea how to address this crisis. Ecosocialists are proposing a two-pronged strategy of striving to collectivize the extant economy "at the top" while replacing it from below. On that basis I could support an advocacy of socialism in the Green Party platform—but only if it's a reconceived kind of socialism concordant with the advancement of a communitarian left and an ultimate vision of a diverse and decentralized Green world.



STEVE WELZER

a co-editor of this magazine, has been a Green movement activist for almost thirty 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 Master's 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.

Notes on a Green *Gubernatorial Campaign*

*Grounded in a
'Last Are First' Worldview*

SETH KAPER-DALE

I'm running for Governor of New Jersey on the Green Party ticket and I'm running to win. Here's my story.

My wife and I have been co-pastors of a church in Highland Park, NJ since 2001. When we arrived our church had 35 members. Today it has grown to approximately 500 congregants. We've also gone from being a primarily white congregation to having over 50 nationalities represented through first-generation immigrants and with extensive racial and ethnic diversity. Additionally, over three thousand people come through the church every week participating in a multitude of social justice and community-building programs.

People often ask, "How is it that your congregation has grown when most others are shrinking?" I explain that we are a church that's engaged in working for justice, and thus we attract victims of the world's abuses and solidarity-minded people committed to confronting injustice. We are a church that lives out the mantra 'the last shall be first'—and we've found that those who feel that they are 'last' and those who are concerned for 'the last' come in droves. We also find, in our congregation, that those who are 'last' don't stay that way for long, because we offer resources and create opportunities to foster the transformation of problematic situations into positive outcomes.

Our church works hard to be truly progressive and inclusive. For example: we've been marrying gay couples since the early 2000's. We organize against war and torture, for the closing of Guantanamo Bay, against hunger, against solitary confinement. We join fights for raising the minimum wage and for addressing climate change. In 2012 we provided physical sanctuary to immigrants with ankle tracking devices on their legs for eleven months after they were ordered to report for deportation.

We've created an affordable housing corporation which currently manages 23 properties for 115 tenants, providing homes for populations like young women aging out of foster care, homeless veterans, and the formerly incarcerated. Our church coordinates programs for Hurricane Sandy relief, after-school care for children, refugee resettlement, an emergency response team to stop immigrant detention/deportation, and an in-church multicultural café run by refugees.

SWIMMING UPSTREAM: TRANSFORMING A SYSTEM THAT RELEGATES PEOPLE TO THE BOTTOM

While I deeply love the work I do in the church and all of the programs of which we are a part, I recently started feeling obliged to seek political office, recognizing that state and federal decisions (or lack thereof) have so often created the problems that we in the non-profit, faith, and advocacy communities are always trying to fix. I could only throw stones at tanks from the trenches for so long, working to clean up messes made by the heartless, irresponsible acts of a government driven by a neoliberal agenda. Eventually, I felt like I needed to start working for change by beating those tanks into plowshares and pruning hooks through political solutions.

As Greens know, we need politics to be divorced from Wall Street and instead wedded to people's needs. That's the only way to lay the groundwork for beauty, justice and harmony, the only way to overcome poverty and despair.

Through my work of the past sixteen years, I've developed extensive administrative skills. Watching the current governor of our state, Chris Christie, bully his way around, it's been clear that the administrative processes that operate under the executive branch of government have suffered unnecessary stress—and it has undoubtedly impacted their effectiveness. Policy-wise, everything this governor has offered up has been about slashing money from programs for the common good while expanding tax breaks and incentives for the wealthy. The people of our state know that we need to turn things around, and I'm eager to show what could be accomplished under a Green administration.

Sadly, many voters find themselves disenfranchised in New Jersey. And among those who are able to vote, more and more are rejecting the existing political structure and the establishment parties. Electoral participation is often below 50% (in the last gubernatorial election only 39% of registered voters turned out to pull the lever). The focus of my campaign is on those who are last, who have felt alienated from the system and betrayed by their 'leaders.' *Engaging those people is not only morally the right thing to do—it is also the way to win.*

THE 'LAST ARE FIRST' LENS

The *last are first* lens is the filter I will use to view all my decision-making as governor. When I apply that lens, what do I see? I see children in poverty—438,000 kids in New Jersey live in households that bring in less than \$35,000 a year. I see

affordable housing voucher programs that have been depleted—reduced by millions of dollars each year while rents keep rising. I see apartheid towns—too expensive for working people who are largely minority. I see those same affluent towns complaining about the high cost of public school in the cities—even though they have shirked their responsibility to increase affordable housing to an extent that would allow poor families to enjoy the benefit of their own well-funded public schools.

When I use the *last are first* lens I see African-Americans locked up for smoking marijuana while white millennials in Colorado are making a decent living off legal weed. I see the incarcerated stripped of the right to vote while they are in jail. I see our society treating those same inmates as indentured servants, obliged to work for peanuts while their families on the outside suffer in poverty because a breadwinner is locked away.

All this must change.

When I use the *last are first* lens I see half-a-million undocumented immigrants living in fear. They are New Jersey residents who desire to be fully respected, fully recognized and entitled to the rights of our state. A driver's license should be available to all residents, regardless of immigration status; it would be safer for all of us.

When I use the *last are first* lens I see that we need a \$15/hour minimum wage, legalized cannabis, more housing vouchers, affordable childcare centers, after-school programs for all, places for poor kids to go swimming, less-expensive and more available public transportation. These are the kinds of issues that could motivate the 61% who didn't turn out to vote in the last gubernatorial election.

In addition to all the above, my campaign is especially focusing on...

THREE KEY ISSUES THAT WILL OPEN THE DOOR TO AN ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN NEW JERSEY

1. State-based Single-Payer Medicare for All

Arguably, the most important issue for economic transformation at a state level is Medicare for All. With a payroll tax of 6% for employers and 2% for employees, we could pay for cradle-to-grave universal healthcare with no premiums, no deductibles, no co-pays, mental health, dental and prescription drugs included. By moving to NJ Medicare for All, we would kick off an economic revolution in our state. Without the burden of exorbitant health insurance costs, we could reduce municipal budgets by 15-20%, implement free tuition at state colleges (no longer obligated to pay for the health insurance of faculty and staff), and we could finally pay our state pension contributions in full. With NJ Medicare for All, employers could afford to pay \$15/hour now, employees wouldn't be cut off at 28 hours for the sake of being listed as part-timers, and businesses would flock to our state, no longer needing to be concerned about the unregulated rates of private health insurance.

2. Progressive Taxation

New Jersey currently has only seven brackets in its tax system. Other affluent states have ten or more. In our state those earning more than \$500,000 a year are all taxed at a marginal rate of less than 9%. We need more brackets—and higher rates at the top. Those growing grotesquely wealthy off the profits of predatory capitalism and high finance should be expected to contribute significantly more to fund services and programs that benefit all New Jersey residents.

3. A Public Bank

Currently the state invests our taxes and other holdings in hedge funds on Wall Street that turn every \$1 into \$10 that are loaned out around the world. With little citizen input, our money can go toward anti-social and anti-ecological production such as armaments, pipelines, clear-cutting and mining. It's time for New Jersey to create a not-for-profit state-run bank. With public oversight, we could insist on prioritization of investments in renewable energy, infrastructure improvements, water system upgrades, mass transit expansion, and provision of low-interest college loans. A state-run bank could assure that our money goes to the local creation of loans that serve the needs and priorities of the common good.

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT MUST FOSTER A WELLSPRING FROM BELOW

The middle and upper socio-economic layers of our society tend to be committed to the two-party duopoly. Even those among them who identify as 'progressive' often support the Democratic Party because they're stuck in a 'lesser of two evils' view of the world. If the Greens will start at the bottom, addressing those who have no more illusions about the system or its establishment parties; if the Greens will share real progressive values that are good for 'the last'—and therefore good for all of us—we'll create a wellspring from below instead of relying on trickle-down from above. This new kind of politics has the potential to thoroughly shake up the moribund status quo. It's generating excitement around the state of New Jersey. And it has more and more campaign supporters saying: "Let's win this thing!"

We can do it.

peace,
seth



SETH KAPER-DALE

is a pastor, social-justice activist and community organizer who has a proven record of getting things done as an administrator and crafter of legislation. He is known on a national level through his leadership defending families facing deportation. Seth has been married to Rev. Stephanie Kaper-Dale for 20 years and they have three daughters. His favorite word is 'beauty.' Life on this earth should be beautiful for all. The greening of our society could make it so. His campaign website is: kaperdaleforgovernor.com

Puerto Rico Annexation to the United States – *False Representation*

Puerto Rico 11 June plebiscite successfully boycotted

OLGA I. SANABRIA DÁVILA

Seventy-seven per cent of the two million eligible voters in Puerto Rico stayed away from the polls on June 11

All branches of the U.S. Government have sent clear signs that they are not willing to consider any possibility for Puerto Rico's statehood now or in the near future.

Seventy-seven per cent of the two million eligible voters in Puerto Rico stayed away from the polls on June 11 when the annexationist New Progressive Party pushed through a plebiscite meant to strengthen their call for Puerto Rican statehood in Washington.

The Popular Democratic Party, which in the 2016 elections in Puerto Rico lost to present pro-statehood Governor Ricardo Rosselló, as well as sectors supporting free association and independence, boycotted the plebiscite in which the pro-statehood option received the support of 97% of those participating. Spokespersons for the National Hostos Movement for Independence (MINH) and the Pro-Independence Party (PIP), Wilma Reverón and Maria Lourdes Santiago, respectively, have called for Constitutional Status Assembly and for legislation for the transfer to Puerto Rico of the power of the U.S. Congress over Puerto Rico. Both spokespersons, who have also maintained the illegitimacy of the plebiscite, made statements at the United Nations Decolonization Committee hearings on Puerto Rico on Monday, 19 June. That day the Decolonization Committee adopted a resolution critical of the plebiscite and the Fiscal Control Board that the U.S. government has imposed on Puerto Rico.

United Nations resolutions on Puerto Rico since 1972 have maintained the applicability of international law to the case of Puerto Rico, in particular, UN resolution 1514(XV) of 1960. However, the recent appointment of a U.S. Federal Fiscal Supervisory Board to oversee payment of Puerto Rico's \$70 billion public debt, which is above Puerto Rico's elected government, points to intensification of colonial control over Puerto Rico.

Mainstream media in Puerto Rico and the United States, including *El Nuevo Día*, Puerto Rico's largest circulation daily newspaper, and the U.S. *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*, emphasized the boycott and low voter turnout for the plebiscite as did other international news outlets such as *British Broadcasting Company (BBC)* and Spain's *El País*.

Options available to voters in the plebiscite were statehood, independence/free association and the present territorial status, while the legitimacy of the exercise was questioned since before 11 June. The offer of the present territorial colonial status in the plebiscite was imposed by the United States Department of Justice.

The 498,991 votes in favor of statehood reflects a reduction of support of 335,000 as compared to a 2012 plebiscite. The results of these exercises which take place in the context of the colonial status and not under international law often reflect the colonial political party in power. The general tendency in Puerto Rico is the rejection of the present colonial status as generally stated in the United Nations Decolonization Committee hearings on Puerto Rico where last June 19 the whole of the political spectrum went before the Committee to reject Puerto Rico's territorial status under the U.S. Constitution's Territorial Clause, as well as the plebiscite. In a 2012 plebiscite in Puerto Rico, in which the first voter option was yes or no to continuing such status, 54% voted No.

The June 11 plebiscite options originally included only the statehood option and free association/independence. A U.S. allotment of \$2.5 million for the plebiscite was conditioned on the U.S. Department of Justice having the final word on the status options to be presented. After the colonial government of Puerto Rico changed the ballot to accommodate demands of the Department of Justice, the U.S. entity remained non-committal regarding the results.

The failure of the 11 June 2017 exercise to advance the statehood option in Washington has been another conclusion of the public debate after the plebiscite. Besides the illegitimacy of the results, the low participation in the plebiscite, Puerto Rico’s economic crisis, and the present anti-Hispanic attitude in the United States, including from its president, preclude the possibility of a push for statehood coming from Washington. Nonetheless the governing pro-statehood New Progressive Party is now in the process of appointing its representatives who will travel to Washington to lobby for statehood and “represent” Puerto Rico in the U.S. Congress..

**PUERTO RICO GOVERNOR’S PRO STATEHOOD
“TENNESSEE PLAN”**

Thus far appointments to the so-called Equality Commission include former pro statehood governors of Puerto Rico Carlos Romero Barceló and Pedro Rosselló González, former president of the Puerto Rican Senate Charlie Rodríguez and baseball hall of famer Iván Rodríguez – all democrats. Republicans Zoraida Fonalleda, former governor Luis Fortuno and Félix Santoni, a former U.S. military official, have now also been appointed to the Commission. Two of these so-called representatives including Romero Barceló will lobby the Senate and the rest will lobby for the annexation option in the U.S. House of Representatives. The Tennessee Plan, as the pro-statehood lobby plan is called, is modeled after the process by which Tennessee became a state of the United States. Appointees to the commission are expected to act as the members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives which Puerto Rico would elect if it were annexed. A similar process was followed in Tennessee.

The ideological offensive launched by the government of Dr. Ricardo Rosselló and the New Progressive Party (NPP) to make Puerto Rico the 51st state of the United States of America has not ceased or wavered since they took control of government last January 2017.

The offensive is a two-prong approach in parallel fronts where the Congress of the United States will be pressured to make an expression in favor of the annexation of Puerto Rico. The effort includes the so-called plebiscite on the people’s status preference, that took place on 11 June despite its failed outcome regarding statehood and the so-called Tennessee Plan.

The effort has been organized and financed by the pro-statehood government of Dr. Rosselló in the middle of Puerto Rico’s worst financial and economic crisis of the last 50 years

where the country has declared bankruptcy and bankruptcy proceedings are already underway before Federal Bankruptcy Judge Laura Taylor Swain, appointed by the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Meanwhile the closing of schools, cuts to benefits of private and government workers, the possibility of cuts in workdays for government employees and in public pensions, the \$500 million budget cutbacks in the University of Puerto Rico (the only public university on the Island) and the rationing of health and education services to the most vulnerable segments of the population were already underway when the government used 7 million of dollars in public funds for a statehood plebiscite that the majority of the people has rejected overwhelmingly.

The people resisted one of the costlier media efforts for such an event, in which more than \$2 million were invested in a very short period of time, in ads on TV, the radio and in print. The plebiscite only attracted a minority of 500,000 voters to the polls, 23% of the people registered to vote. In the process, statehood lost more than 300,000 votes as compared with the results of the 2012 plebiscite, where in the second part of the exercise more than 800,000 people favored statehood.

The so-called Tennessee Plan is a high cost and complex lobbying plan in favor of statehood which, like the plebiscite, has nil possibilities of success with the federal government in Washington. In the last year alone, all branches of the U.S. Government have sent clear signs that they are not willing to consider any possibility for Puerto Rico’s statehood now or in the near future. The extremely rushed nature of the plebiscite was due to the need for its expenditures to take place before the first Puerto Rican fiscal plan controlled by the Fiscal Control Board went into effect on July 1st.

**PLEBISCITE RESULTS IN PUERTO RICO
REGARDING SUPPORT FOR STATEHOOD**

1967	274,312
1993	788,296
1998	728,157
2012	834,191
2017	502,616

Source: *El Nuevo Día*, Puerto Rican daily newspaper.

**THE U.S. FISCAL CONTROL BOARD PLANS
FOR PUERTO RICO INCLUDE:**

- Cut public worker hours by 20 percent.
- Cut backs in public worker pensions.
- Cut minimum salary for workers under 25 years old to \$4.25 per hour.
- Cut health and education funds, almost 200 public schools have closed.
- Cut the 13-campus public university budget by 500 million dollars.

- Suspend labor laws.
- A fast track permits process in detriment of environmental protection.
- Privatization of government assets and corporations, including energy.
- Increase services costs such as tolls and motor vehicle registration.

RESISTANCE BY THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO INCLUDE:

- A more than two-month student strike of the 13 campus University of Puerto Rico.
- A one day general work stoppage on May 1, 2017.
- Organization of a coalition against the Fiscal Control Board of more than 100 civil society organizations.
- A broad pro sovereignty convergence.
- Organization of resistance within the Puerto Rican diaspora in the United States.
- Denunciation of the Fiscal Control Board and the intensification of the colonial status of Puerto Rico in the international community including the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and non-governmental international organizations.
- Civil disobedience encampments.

OSCAR LÓPEZ RIVERA RELEASED FROM PRISON!

In the midst of Puerto Rico's economic debacle and imposition of a Fiscal Control Board over the Puerto Rican government and its finances, the Puerto Rican people have celebrated since

last May 17 when all restrictions were lifted and house arrest of Puerto Rican political prisoner Oscar López ended. Rivera was imprisoned in U.S. prisons for almost 36 years for actions in favor of the independence of Puerto Rico during which time he endured 12 years of solitary confinement. The campaign for his release was joined by all ideological sectors in Puerto Rico and high-level elected political officials. On the international level support for his release spanned several continents, former presidents, Nobel laureates, and world forums such as the United Nations where his release was celebrated on June 19 after he spoke extensively before the Decolonization Committee.

Commutation of his 70-year sentence was announced on January 17, 2017, however he was forced to serve 120 days until May 17. In February, he was transferred to Puerto Rico where he remained under house arrest at the home of his daughter Clarissa until that day. Oscar López Rivera, 74 years old, is now unconditionally released.



OLGA I. SANABRIA DÁVILA

is president of the Committee for Puerto Rico at the United Nations which coordinates many aspects of the presentation of the colonial case of Puerto Rico at the United Nations. She has been a Puerto Rico pro-independence advocate for more than 45 years and has traveled extensively throughout the world and the United States to conferences and events where she has presented the case and garnered support for decolonization. She has a Law Degree and a Bachelor's in journalism. Ms. Sanabria presently resides in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

THE FIFTH ESTATE, *continued from page 35*

anti-technology and anti-civilization that the paper became known for advocating.

Many of the essays led to spirited debates that lasted over several issues of the paper, and the letters sections and exchanges sometimes made up the bulk of issues during that period.

EVOLUTION, 1985-PRESENT

During the 1980s and beyond, the *FE* was actively involved in campaigns against nuclear power, war, and assaults on the environment.

Articles engaged in critical discussions with adherents of deep and social ecology, eco-feminism, indigenous movements, and radical democracy, to name only a few.

With the re-emergence of a vibrant anarchist movement in the 1990s, there was an increase in interest in *Fifth Estate* articles critically discussing such subjects as recycling and liberal reform, computers and high tech, understanding the role of labor unions free of leftist mystique, and refining understandings of primitivism, ecology and civilization.

The *Fifth Estate* is now in its fifty-second year, still making trouble, pushing limits, seeking understandings, and fighting for and dreaming of a new world. The topics that the *Fifth Estate* began addressing in its early days remain highly relevant today—how to relate to politics and political movements; the problem of nationalism; how to go beyond hierarchies of class, race and gender; the critique of culture, daily life, and authoritarian conditioning; along with a critique of technology, science, and industrial plagues.

Interested readers are encouraged to visit its website, fifthestate.org, where current issue details and a growing archive give more information than any article could offer.



ROBBY BARNES AND SYLVIE KASHDAN

have been involved in anarchist circles since the 1960s and friends of the *Fifth Estate* since the mid-1970s. They are currently both part of the *FE* editorial collective.

Greens Win BIG in Dutch Election

Dutch Greens nearly quadruple seats, but unlikely to be in governing coalition

The Dutch Green Party *GroenLinks* (GreenLeft) made huge gains in the general election on March 15. Going from 4 to 14 seats in the 150-seat House of Representatives (*Tweede Kamer*), they gained more seats than any other party to become the 5th largest in parliament. They were also the most popular party amongst Dutch youth, with 35% of voters between the ages of 18-34 going Green. Despite progressive parties such as the D66 and Socialist Party gaining seats or holding their ground, the result of the election was a mixed bag. The more conservative parties suffered losses but still kept hold of the most seats. As of this writing, a governing coalition has yet to be formed, but it looks as though the GreenLeft will not be a part of a majority-formed government. Party leader Jesse Klaver has said “we are happy to be in the ruling coalition, but not at any cost.” By sticking to their principles and refusing to compromise on fundamental issues, the Greens may not be ruling now, but they are growing and solidifying their stance as the new voice of the left in The Netherlands.

ABRIEL FERREIRA

THE DUTCH POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AND THE RISE OF THE RIGHT

Against a backdrop of Brexit, years of austerity politics, and the rise of anti-immigrant and Islamophobic parties across Europe (not to mention Donald Trump in the United States), the Dutch Election was hailed as a triumph against the far-right. Geert Wilders, whose coiffed blonde hair and motto “Make The Netherlands Ours Again” have earned him many comparisons to Trump, led the polls for months. Though his bid to be Prime Minister was avoided, his party the PVV still received the second-largest amount of votes. He campaigned on banning Muslim immigrants, shuttering all mosques and leaving the European Union. Despite refusing to participate in televised debates, calling Moroccan immigrants “scum,” and being sued for inciting discrimination and violence against Moroccans (and losing, paying a €5000 fine), Wilders’ party still gained five seats. Fortunately, all major political parties have ruled out forming a coalition with the PVV. Though the far-right party did not succeed as expected, the winner of the election was still the neoliberal VVD. This continues the reign of pro-austerity Prime Minister Mark Rutte, who has held the position since 2010.

The Dutch Parliament is elected through proportional representation. With over twenty parties on the ballot, it is rare for one party to gain a majority of seats on its own. Historically, though, there have been three major parties in the past 50+ years: The fiscally conservative neoliberal party (VVD), the Labour party (PvdA), and the Christian Democrats (CDA). In 2012, the PvdA and VVD joined forces and promised to lift The Netherlands out of the recession. The PvdA promised to give a “social” face to economic recovery, but in practice the VVD’s small-state ideology prevailed. The past five years saw an increase in pension age, increased responsibility for individuals

By sticking to their principles and refusing to compromise on fundamental issues, the Greens may not be ruling now, but they are growing and solidifying their stance as the new voice of the left in The Netherlands.

and municipalities, decreased funding for the arts, and a slow dismantling of the welfare state. Though unemployment decreased, jobs tended to be more insecure with part-time/flexible contracts and fewer benefits. The PvdA's voting base did not feel like they were sharing in the economic recovery. In March the PvdA suffered the greatest defeat in Dutch electoral history, going from 38 seats to only 9.

The PvdA succumbed to the great paradox of Dutch politics - a party needs to have a strong base and strong convictions to be elected, yet it needs to compromise to rule. Often this means compromising on the very issues that differentiate it from competitors.

With the center collapsing, the GreenLeft saw an opening. In the words of party leader Jesse Klaver: "I think Geert Wilders is so popular because people don't trust center politics anymore—you saw the same in the UK with Brexit and the same with Donald Trump in the US. So what the GreenLeft has done is, there is an alternative for the center parties, but this alternative is not filled with fear and anger but hope and empathy, and true belief in the future."

A DIFFERENT LEFT

Green Party leader Jesse Klaver stands in stark contrast to not only hate-mongering Wilders, but the rest of the political party leaders in The Netherlands. At only 30 years old, he is more than a decade younger than all of them. While Wilders is compared to Trump, Klaver's looks have earned him comparisons to Justin Trudeau. Unlike Trudeau, though, Klaver did not come from political royalty. The son of a Dutch-Indonesian mother and a Moroccan father, he was raised by his mother in social housing in the south of The Netherlands. Charismatic and eloquent, he quickly rose through the ranks of the Green Party's youth organization, and became an MP at only 26. His campaign made use of the online platform meetup to organize rallies that drew thousands of people. Klaver proved there was also substance behind the good looks and sleek marketing. He had a solid track record in parliament of standing up to austerity thinking. For example, the GreenLeft has advocated for universal basic income, investment in a greener economy, higher taxes on top earners and a cracking down on corporate tax evaders.

On the issue of immigration, Klaver is one of the most outspoken. In an effort to combat the rise of Wilders, some major party leaders have attempted to fashion themselves as more nationalistic and anti-immigration. Christian Democrat

leader Sybrand Buma suggested that school children should be taught to be more patriotic in school, for example by singing the national anthem and respecting the king and queen. Current Prime Minister Mark Rutte said in a campaign ad that people (insinuating immigrants) should "act normal, or get out." Klaver has repeatedly called politicians out for this pandering. In response to Mark Rutte's comment, Klaver quipped: "Do you know what is not normal, Mark? Keeping coal-fired power stations open when we know how polluting they are."

STICKING TO GREEN VALUES

The GreenLeft campaigned on creating a more fair, sustainable, and empathetic Netherlands. In many ways, they emerged as the biggest winner in the Dutch election. Yet since the election, coalition talks with the Greens at the table have collapsed twice. The sticking point has been immigration policy. Klaver says he would refuse to sign off on a proposal that would allow sending refugees back to North African countries, similar to an agreement between the EU and Turkey, in which Greece can return "all new irregular migrants" to Turkey. This short-sighted policy would at best create a very temporary solution to the migration crisis, and at worst put many lives in danger. Twenty years ago, middle-of-the-road Dutch parties would never have agreed to such an accord. Yet, even without Wilders at the table, the PVV has been able to pull nearly all other major parties to the right.

But not the GreenLeft. Dutch politicians and media have been quick to criticize and blame Klaver for pulling out of negotiations on what the VVD describes as a "small point." These "small points" are human lives, not political abstractions. Klaver recently defended himself on a Dutch talkshow, saying "At the end of the day, you have to make choices you can stand behind." Hopefully the ability of the GreenLeft to stick to their principles means that this will be more than a flash-in-the-pan victory, and that they will be an ever-stronger voice in the Dutch political landscape.



ABRIEL FERREIRA

is a dual citizen of The Netherlands and America. Born in The Netherlands, she lived in Maine for eight years, where she was active in the Maine Green Independent Party. After graduating from Bowdoin College and working in energy consulting, she repatriated to The Netherlands three years ago. She is currently studying music at the Conservatory of Amsterdam.

Apology and Correction

In our last Issue, Winter/Spring 2017, the article by Jon Olsen on Socialism was wrongly entitled. Jon's title for the piece was "Green Party and Socialism: Engagement, but is there a Marriage?" The article was instead headlined: "Green Party and Socialism: Engagement, but Marriage?" with the last two words in italics for emphasis. The connotation, then, verged on saying "Oh no,

not THAT." The author's intent, instead, was a simple opening for debate on the matter without prejudice. We thank Jon for his refraining from justifiable anger and instead in moderate measure pointing out our mistake. We apologize for the mistake and wish to assure Jon and all our readers that it happened through inadvertence, not intention. —JR for the Editors and Staff

Greens in Finland March Forward

A mixed scenario in the rest of the Europe

MARKO ULVILA

The local government elections in Finland in April were a major break through for the Green party. With 12.5 per cent of the popular vote it became the fourth most popular party and a contender for the club of large parties. Compared to the previous local government elections, the party gained 4 percentage points and was clearly the big winner of the elections. With more than five hundred councillors nationally and a significant representation in all urban councils the Greens will now be able to make Finnish towns and cities more sustainable and just in the coming years.

What made the Green victory even more satisfying was that the main loser of the elections was the xenophobic and rightist the Finns party. The election was therefore an expression of the Finnish society moving towards a progressive, egalitarian and environmental agenda and the fading down of a narrow-minded nationalist tendency.

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF PARTY BUILDING

The Green victory in Finland has been built gradually since the 1983 when the first Greens contested parliamentary elections. The emergence of the party followed similar developments in other countries in the continental Europe where proportional representation is used in elections. The various alternative, ecological, feminist and pacifist movements were getting together-- most notably in Germany-- with a desire to make an impact also in electoral politics. None of the existing parties at the time provided avenues for the issues of the new social movements, so a new party was considered the need of the day.

In Finland the focal point in the party formation was a civil disobedience action in Lake Kojjärvi in 1979 to protect an important bird sanctuary from a short sighted drainage. On the peaceful and open direct action camp that lasted two weeks many of the people who were to become key activists and leaders of the party met and shared an experience of brief jailing. Also media picked up the unusual political action and nation-wide coverage was ensured. The usual hot discussions whether to go into electoral politics and form a party followed. Eventually the party Green League was set up and gradual advances in the elections started.

In the early 1990's the Greens had increased their support to more than five per cent and matured as a party. After the 1995 general elections the party joined the government and Pekka Haavisto became the first Green minister in Europe at the national government level. Greens continued also in the next government, but left the coalition after a majority of the ministers decided to give permission to a new nuclear power-plant Olkiluoto 3. In retrospect, Greens had a solid point in opposing the plant if only on economic terms, since Olkiluoto 3 is still not completed. The construction company Areva of France is practically bankrupt because of failures in developing the new type of reactor.

Since the 1990's the Finnish Greens have been in government and opposition for about equal number of years. Compared to some other European Green parties, the Finnish Greens have quite steadily become more mainstream and compromising. Only nuclear power has been a red line that has had an impact on participation in the government. But even this was compromised once, and led to a major defeat in the elections that followed.

During the decades of growth the Finnish Green Party has positioned itself in the centre-left with defining concerns for the environment, solidarity and equality. The main support base are academically educated citizens, especially urban women such as teachers. Perhaps a bit surprisingly, Greens are the second most popular party among engineers after the conservatives.

Many of the original far-reaching demands have been modified (or watered down) to be palatable for wider sections of the society, and the ecologist and pacifist edges have been rounded.

It will be easier for the future historians to assess if the strategy of the Finnish greens to build up popularity by main-streaming its political agenda has been effective.

Compared with other Nordic countries such as Sweden, Norway, and Denmark it is noteworthy that they often have more progressive environmental policies than Finland even though with no strong Green Party of Greens being part of governing coalitions. In Norway, the Greens entered electoral politics successfully only in 2011. In Denmark an old leftist party joined the European Greens at about the same time. In Sweden,

the Greens have been present in parliament since 1988 but joined the government for the first time only in 2014. Therefore one can say that it is a strong environmental movement that is the necessary factor for progressive policies. A Green Party can be one vehicle for such environmental policy progress but other parties can and do also play a role.

GEARING UP FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Next interesting electoral battle for the Finnish greens is the presidential election in January 2018. Though Finland has a parliamentary system with prime minister in charge, the president has powers with foreign policy and defence and is therefore also an important figure. The President is elected in a direct election with a two-round system.

In 2012 the Green candidate Pekka Haavisto came second in the presidential elections beating all predictions. He got 18 per cent of the vote in the first round and made it to the second one. Then he got 37 per cent of the votes losing to conservative candidate Sauli Niinistö. It was a big surprise for all that a candidate from a small party raced ahead of the two other majors, the social democrats and the centre party.

Next year Pekka Haavisto will again contest against the conservative candidate and now sitting president Mr. Sauli Niinistö. His ratings are high, but it is unlikely he would receive more than half of the votes in the first round. Also this time it is not clear who would poll for the second position. Therefore there is a good chance for Pekka Haavisto to be one of the two most popular candidates, producing another Green success in the elections.

INSPIRING EXAMPLE OF AUSTRIA

For this year's local government elections the Finnish Greens took many hints from the Austrian sister party that had been polling more than 12 per cent in previous elections. For some time they had done thorough preparations and planning with rigorous methods. It involved studying the values and identity characteristics of the Austrian society and linking the outcomes to the values and politics of the party. With the insights the party had been able to develop its communications so the people who shared green values would also vote Greens.

After a great performance in the 2013 general elections (12,4 per cent) the Austrian Greens had an amazing outcome in the 2016 presidential elections, with the Green candidate Alexander Van der Bellen becoming the president of the republic.

In the first round of the presidential elections in April 2016 the Green Mr. Van der Bellen became second with the far right candidate polling most. In the second round in May he got slightly more votes than his opponent, but the court annulled the result because a large number of absentee votes were counted too early by mistake. In the re-run of the second round in December 2016 Mr. Van der Bellen secured 53,8 per cent of the vote and became the first president from a Green party in the EU.

HARD TIMES IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

The Austrian presidential election was remarkable in that both top candidates came from outside the largest parties, the social democrats and the conservatives. This frustration with the established parties and "the establishment" has been evident also in other countries, including the US. This went to an extreme in the French elections, where a newly established En Marche! (Forward) party established by Mr. Emmanuel Macron won both the presidential and legislative elections with a clear margin. Also his contender in the last round of presidential election was a right-wing populist.

The French Greens lost badly in the 2017 elections, keeping only one out of the 17 seats in the legislative National Assembly. At the end of 2016 the party decided to make a pre-poll alliance with the socialist party. In the alliance Greens did not set a candidate of its own for the presidential election but supported the socialist Mr. Benoît Hamon. He fared very poorly with only six per cent of the vote in the first round. This was a huge disappointment to both parties, considering that the sitting president was from the socialist party. The downward trend continued for both parties in the June elections for the National Assembly, where Greens were able to keep only one seat, despite collaboration with the socialist party.

This year in September also Germany will hold general elections. Earlier this year three states of German federation have had their elections, and Greens have been losing in all of them. Therefore the outlook for the September elections are quite grim. The conservative party with Ms. Angela Merkel at the helm seems to be holding up with the main challenge coming from the rightist and xenophobic Alternative for Germany. Usually being in opposition has helped the German Greens in the elections, but this time the mood might be different.

TRUMP AND THE FAR RIGHT IN EUROPE

After Mr. Donald Trump was elected the president of the United States in November 2016 the ascent of right-wing populism in Europe discontinued. This was first evident in the above mentioned Austrian elections. The next demonstration of this positive Trump effect was in the Netherlands, where in March the right-wing populist party did not make the predicted gains to become the largest party. Similarly, in France the growth of Ms. Marie Le Pen's national front became much less.



MARKO ULVILA

is an active member of the Green party in Finland. Over the years he has been a political adviser to a green minister of Finland and to a green Member of European Parliament in Brussels. Currently he lives in Tampere, Finland and chairs a foundation supporting environmental groups in developing countries. Marko has contributed to *Green Horizon Magazine* several times since 2010. He declares in a separate message that *Green Horizon* is his favourite U.S. magazine which he reads with enthusiasm.

Ranked Choice Voting is *Not* a Workable Alternative

JOHN WILHELM

In my April 28, 2011 letter published in the *Financial Times* just before the British referendum on introducing Ranked-Choice Voting, IRV, in British parliamentary elections, I pointed out that if you look at the technical literature on voting systems, including Sir Michael Dummett's very fine book, *Principles of Electoral Reform* (Oxford University Press, 1997), it is very clear that claims as to the advantages of instant runoff voting turns out on critical examination simply to be bogus.

Rob Richie's claim in the Winter/Spring issue of *Green Horizon Magazine* (p. 34) after Maine's adoption of IRV for state and congressional elections that "Starting in 2018, Mainers will be able to vote for the candidates they like the most without helping elect the candidate they like the least" is a prime example of such bogus claims.

That his statement is patently false is illustrated by data from the 2009 IRV election in Burlington, VT for mayor. In that election as data on voters' preferences clearly show Republican voters by voting for the Republican candidate, Kurt Wright, helped to elect their least favorite candidate the Progressive, Bob Kiss. And it is clear that in a subsequently similar election Republican voters would have every incentive to place their second choice, a Democrat Andy Montroll, in first place on their ballots to avoid the election of their least favored candidate a Progressive Bob Kiss.

Unfortunately the voting alternative ranked-choice voting which many third party people support has serious weaknesses. Ranked-choice voting or instant runoff voting (IRV) which involves ranking candidates by order of preference, is opaque, potentially complex and does a poor job of reflecting voters' preferences. It can exclude the candidate preferred to every other candidate by a majority of voters early on in the runoff process.

RANKED-CHOICE VOTING'S WORST PROBLEM

Worse, a candidate who would have won could wind up losing if he or she garners more first place support in the course of a campaign. This would happen because the increased support the candidate receives in a campaign can change the order in which candidates will be dropped and votes reallocated in arriving at a result. In the technical literature, this is referred to as violating the monotonicity condition—the idea that if a candidate wins more support this should not adversely affect his or her prospects

For instance, suppose 21 voters are voting for three candidates: Alice, Bob and Charlie. Eight voters rank the candidates Alice 1, Bob 2, Charlie 3; two rank them Bob 1, Alice 2, Charlie 3; five

rank them Bob 1, Charlie 2, Alice 3; and six rank them Charlie 1, Alice 2, Bob 3. Since Charlie has the fewest first-place votes, he is eliminated, and those six votes now have Alice in first place, so she wins 14 to 7.

But suppose the vote were slightly different, and the two voters who put Bob first had instead ranked Alice top (Alice 1, Bob 2, Charlie 3). Now Bob, with only five first place votes, is eliminated and those five rankings then have Charlie in first place, so Charlie wins 11 to 10. Moving Alice up in a few rankings converts her from a winner to a loser, because in doing so there is a change in which candidate is eliminated.

To understand the numerical examples better, the reader may find it useful to do the following: For each of the two situations draw a four by four matrix with the number of voters for each cohort of preferences in the first column following in the columns of each row by the order of preferences associated with each cohort. In addition, the reader can find a similar example of this problem from the first video in the following link which uses a similar matrix for its explanation of this phenomenon. <http://www.nationalrenewal.org/node/36>

The upshot is that under IRV voters cannot know for sure whether a vote for the candidate they favor will help or hurt that candidate. Even our system of plurality voting, with all its flaws, does not suffer from this problem, since under that system no candidate set to win an election would lose by gaining more support at the expense of other candidates.

Proponents of IRV have argued that such perverse behavior is so rare as to only occur once in a hundred years. Unfortunately, the empirical and theoretical evidence does not substantiate this. To date I have been able to determine that there were at least nine IRV election in the U.S. in 2009. But of these two, in Burlington, VT and Vail, CO, exhibited monotonicity failure. I have seen no information on the other seven elections and doubt that we have any since in most of IRV elections the data needed to determine this perversity is usually not available in published results. But work done by Professor Robert Norman and Joe Ornstein at Dartmouth College suggests that this pathology can occur in up to a fifth of elections in close contests, precisely those contests for which IRV is purported to be the most suitable.

This is clearly a serious matter. As Sir Michael Dummett put it in his book, *Principles of Electoral Reform*:

"A voter is entitled to be certain that by ranking a candidate highest, he is not harming his chances. The fact that he cannot

be certain of this under the alternative vote [our IRV] is undoubtedly a grave defect of the system."

—Dummett, p. 103

THE SPOILER ROLE AND IRV'S ERRATIC BEHAVIOR

The claim that IRV gets rid of the spoiler role is dubious. If a candidate Y would win an election and a candidate X enters the election and neither Y nor X wins, X is a spoiler. The classical example of a spoiler is, of course, Ralph Nader in the 2000 Florida presidential election. It is true that had that election been held under IRV Gore would have won. He would have won because under IRV when the third place Nader was dropped many of his voters' second choice would have overwhelmingly gone to Gore over Bush.

But in other IRV situations this may not happen. In the case of the 2009 Burlington, VT IRV election, for instance, the Republican candidate, Wright, played a spoiler role which the IRV system could not prevent. Had the Democrat candidate, Montroll, faced a one-to-one contest against the Republican Wright he would have won over Wright. And had Montroll gone to the last round, he would have won by a margin more than twice that of the Progressive winner, Kiss. Montroll was clearly the Condorcet leader—the one candidate in the election who could have beaten all the other candidates in a one-to-one face off—but lost under IRV because Wright who could not have won against either of the other two candidates was in the race.

From real world data of ranked-choice elections that Dummett used in his analysis, it is clear that in IRV elections with a large number of candidates you could have a number of spoilers without that fact being transparent. Worse yet as Dummett has shown in the case of rank-choice voting systems like IRV, small changes in preferences between minor candidates, can, by changing the order in which candidates are dropped and votes reallocated, lead to dramatic changes in the outcomes. Or as Dummett also put it in commenting on this:

"[IRV] is erratic because, at later stages in the assessment process, it gives the same weight to some voters' second, third, or (when there are more than four candidates) fourth choices, while never giving any weight at all to some voters' second or later choices, according to the accident of which candidates are eliminated and in which order."

— Dummett, p.105

It goes without saying that the results in our system of plurality voting, in Condorcet elections, in Borda elections or in approval voting elections are not impacted by such shifts in preferences among minor candidates. Nor are these systems, including approval voting, subject to monotonicity failures.

IRV IS NOT THIRD PARTY FRIENDLY

The argument that IRV will effectively open up our national political processes to third parties, e.g., the Green Party or the Libertarian Party, is simply belied by the empirical and theoretical evidence. As Gavin Thompson put it in the September 2010 issue of the popular statistical magazine "Significance" published by the Royal

Statistical Society, "The Australian House of Representatives has been elected using AV [or our IRV] since 1918. Election outcomes have proven only slightly more proportional than in the UK." In the UK, as in most American elections, plurality voting is used for parliamentary elections, yet the proportion of two party dominance in the Australian House of Representatives and in the British House of Commons are virtually the same.

In 2009 when I looked at recent data for its House of Representatives, it was clear to me that IRV in Australia had done little to break with a two-party duopoly. According to a statement on the Center for Election Science's website (<https://www.electology.org/>), "In the last three Australian (central government) House election cycles, zero third-party members were elected in 2001. Then zero in 2004. Then it happened again in 2007 with the Nat Libs getting 65 and the Labour 83 seats with two seats going to unaffiliated MPs." Some theoretical clues as to why this has been the case may be seen in simulations by Ka-Ping Yee, found in a piece by William Poundstone on his website titled "A Test Drive of Voting Methods." See: <http://www.mathaware.org/mam/08/PoundstoneMAMessay.pdf>

Given these considerations it ought to be clear that contrary to its supporters' assertions IRV is not a workable alternative to our current system of plurality voting if we wish to level the voting field for third parties and independent candidates.

A MUCH BETTER ALTERNATIVE TO PLURALITY VOTING

A better alternative to our current voting system at the national level could be enacted by a simple statutory act mandating approval voting in federal elections. Under approval voting in multi-candidate elections voters are allowed to give one vote each to that candidate or candidates they support with the candidate having the most votes winning. This essentially costless voting reform would eliminate the wasted vote, the spoiler role, the necessity of vote splitting and give fairer outcomes in multi-candidate elections for third-party and independent candidates.

Readers interested in getting a deeper, but accessible, understanding of the issues here are advised to read "Principles of Electoral Reform" (Oxford University Press, 1997) by Sir Michael Dummett. He was one of the most distinguished scholars in the field of electoral systems in the postwar period. Appendix 10 (<http://www.nationalrenewal.org/node/43>) of my electronic book "Third Parties and Voting Reform: The American Dilemma" on "Approval Voting and Instant Runoff Voting: A Comparison" may be a useful read. It relies heavily on Dummett's work. Readers may also find other chapters and appendices of the electronic book on the website <http://www.nationalrenewal.org/> of interest.



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Yes to Ranked Choice Voting

ROB RICHIE'S RESPONSE TO JOHN WILHELM

FairVote reached its 25th anniversary year in June. I've directed the organization since its inception. It's been quite a ride, with highs and lows, but with overall progress toward building support and earning advocacy success for big structural reform ideas in the service of our mission: greater choice, a stronger voice and a representation democracy that works for all Americans.

I've never felt more optimistic about the chances to bring our core vision of reform into the mainstream of American politics. Highlights from the last year include a trailblazing win for ranked choice voting (RCV) in Maine that remains slated to be used for all its major elections in 2018. Reformers are advancing consideration of RCV across the country. Nineteen states had RCV legislation this year, including bills affecting congressional elections that passed legislative chambers in heavily Democratic Hawaii and heavily Republican Utah. Cities using and committed to implementing RCV could triple in the coming two years.

Nationally, we were thrilled by the recent introduction of the Fair Representation Act (HR 3057)—the first congressional legislation in the modern era to establish an American form of proportional representation for US House elections. It would combine ranked choice voting with multi-winner districts (also known as “single transferable vote”). HR 3057 would lower what it takes to win in most districts to under 17% of the vote, and use of RCV would eliminate all concern about spoilers. It has been sponsored by leading reformers in Congress and endorsed by major publications and organizations.

Given that progress and the very tangible positive impacts that come with it, the naysaying of John Wilhelm and loosely organized backers of “rival” single-winner methods can be viewed as an irritant. But that response is insufficient. Their arguments deserve to be addressed. I'll start by clarifying the difference between winner-take-all election methods and proportional representation (PR) systems and then discuss some of John's specific concerns.

First, we should be clear that any winner-take-all system is not designed to represent more than the majority. No such system will be representative in the way that systems of proportional representation inherently are. PR means seats are won in proportion to the voting strength of like-minded voters: 51% of the vote wins a majority of seats, but 20% wins a significant

share (one in five seats). PR is why Greens in Europe win fair shares of seats. It's what Australian Greens advocate even as they embrace single-winner RCV elections as a means to run aggressively and build support in all 150 house districts.

ONLY THREE SINGLE-WINNER SYSTEMS ARE WIDELY USED

Without doubt, then, PR should be reformers' core goal, but advancing the most viable single-winner system remains critically important.

In that light, let's review the three basic systems. They are the *only* ones used in single-winner elections everywhere in the world, at every level of government, without exception:

PLURALITY VOTING: Voters cast one vote, and the candidate with the most votes wins even if that candidate might be strongly opposed by a majority of voters. It's used for most single-winner elections in the United States.

RUNOFF ELECTIONS: Winners must surpass a certain threshold of support—usually a majority. Elections take place over two rounds, with voters in each of them casting one vote. After the first round, only two candidates usually advance. Runoffs are used in most presidential elections around the world, in a handful of congressional races in the US, and in many primary and local elections. Runoffs uphold majority rule, but make campaigns more costly and usually result in large turnout disparities.

RANKED CHOICE VOTING: RCV combines features of plurality voting and runoff elections. Like plurality voting, there is one round of election. Like runoffs, a candidate must surpass a threshold to win in the first count. Rather than return for a second election, however, voters have the freedom to rank candidates from first to last, and those rankings enable an “instant runoff” between the two strongest candidates. RCV is used to elect high offices in several nations, in eleven cities in the United States, and in hundreds of non-governmental elections based on its recommendation by *Robert's Rules of Order*.

A key fact is that all the “math issues” that trouble John Wilhelm about RCV are the same with runoffs. Perhaps approval voting

advocates rarely target runoffs because the top two advancing to a runoff seems intuitively fair, but that selective targeting of RCV serves to mislead people. For example, John doesn't like the fact that the Progressive Party candidate in Burlington's 2009 race defeated the Republican who led in first choices and the Democrat who finished third. But while the Democrat theoretically would have defeated the Progressive one-on-one, he of course would have also lost with plurality voting and with runoffs. In a 2010 city-wide referendum, that losing Democrat backed keeping RCV but Burlington Republicans seized on a post-election mayoral scandal and won a narrow repeal. Notably, they established a runoff with all the properties that trouble John about RCV, but with a lower winning threshold that they figured might help a Republican in a city leaning to the left. In other words, the repeal was driven by brass knuckles politics, not math.

Every single-winner governmental election in the world uses one of the above three systems—because those systems *work* in contested environments. Voters largely know what to do to achieve their interests. Plurality voting, runoffs, and RCV share a feature that turns out to be critically important when elections are meaningfully contested: there is no scenario where indicating support for a lesser candidate choice will count against your top choice. When advocates of approval voting discount this “later-no-harm” criterion, they fail to recognize that their system is in direct conflict with basic human psychology.

A KEY PROBLEM WITH APPROVAL VOTING

Approval voting—and its cousins like score voting—have never, as far I know, been approved as a ballot measure, even on a college campus. In contrast, RCV has been adopted by voters statewide, in many cities, and in numerous colleges. But approval voting *has* been installed by committees for some non-governmental uses in elections that are meaningfully contested (ones where candidates campaign, where voting rules are discussed prior to the election, and where results are shared so that participants can adjust tactics before the next election). The ledger of experience should greatly concern the proponents of approval voting. For example: some 60 American colleges and universities use RCV, and student voters freely use their rankings. On the other hand, two colleges—Dartmouth and University of Colorado—instead use approval voting to elect their student body president. *More than 90% of voters usually approve of only one candidate, even in races with multiple candidates. In those circumstances winners end up with less than 40%. Two significant NGOs, the Dartmouth Alumni Association and the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, replaced approval voting because of such “bullet voting.”*

A recent instructive example was the Independent Party of Oregon's 2016 approval voting primary election. It was an important contest because the party would have offered the winner its ballot line in November if able to secure more than 50% support. But, as is the norm in meaningfully contested

approval voting elections, most voters cast a vote for only one candidate. The results were:

Bernie Sanders	31.38 % (488 votes)
Donald Trump	30.16 % (469 votes)
Hillary Clinton	23.92 % (372 votes)
Gary Johnson	16.01 % (249 votes)
John Kasich	12.22 % (190 votes)
Jill Stein	9.45 % (147 votes)
None of the Above	9.2 % (143 votes)
Ted Cruz	5.66 % (88 votes)

That's a total of 2,146 votes cast by 1,549 voters, meaning voters cast an average of only 1.38 votes. The party reports that more than 70% of voters only backed one candidate. Therefore, approval voting did not come close to identifying a majority winner, and Donald Trump's 30% nearly won despite 65% of all approval votes being cast for Sanders, Clinton or Stein. A key reason Trump nearly won was that many voters to his left withheld indication of preferences—because the system fails the later-no-harm criterion. In contrast, when FairVote and the College of William and Mary partnered on a YouGov poll in February 2016 of the views of 1,000 likely Republican voters evaluating the eleven leading Republican candidates, more than nine in ten respondents *chose to rank every single candidate*—and Trump went from leading in first choices to losing. Similarly, in contested RCV mayoral elections in cities like Oakland, CA, San Francisco, and Minneapolis, nearly nine in ten voters will rank a second choice and about three-fourths will rank at least three. Voters *use* the RCV system—and that is key to making it work.

Notably, the Independent Party in the same primary also asked voters to indicate their support for potential legislative measures, again with approval voting. Taken out of the candidate frame, voters cast nearly four votes per proposal, resulting in at least 66% support for all five proposals. Once voters could participate honestly, without concern about a second choice hurting a first choice, they used approval voting in a way that worked. For such less highly charged uses, approval voting can indeed have value.

But that doesn't apply to elections for our political leaders. I would urge John Wilhelm to realize that going after RCV primarily helps defenders of the worst single-winner system—plurality voting. It's also a distraction vis-a-vis what should be our shared goal: winning forms of proportional representation like the Fair Representation Act and local and state versions of it that I believe are becoming more winnable every day.



ROB RICHIE

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We shift focus:

Starting with this article and continuing through to the article on the Ten Key Values, we view a Seminar on Political Economy.

Saving the Planet, *the Steady State Imperative*

GREG GERRITT

We live in an age in which economic growth, the yearly growth of the Gross Domestic Product, seems to be the dominant value of the political elites all over the world. All policy is directed towards speeding the rate of growth. And yet the growth rate languishes and falls.

The obsession with economic growth by the wealthy and misguided, is probably one of the most damaging public policy coups ever foisted on human beings. The policies developed to “grow” the economy as defined by neoliberalism, have been responsible for tremendous damage to planetary ecosystems and our communities. The only way to get away with tearing up ecosystems for profit is to disempower the people who already live there. The only way to build a pipeline across Native lands is with water cannons. And if that does not work, live bullets.

Many years ago I started calling the work I was doing, “Seeking Prosperity,” contrasting it with growth. In the years since, the literature has exploded.

Robert Gordon is among the authors suggesting that the rate of growth has slowed because the technology that gave us the boost in growth rates revolutionized the world, and new technologies are unlikely to do the same, especially when robots take over more and more functions and more and more folks are unemployed. Emmanuel Wallerstein in his work on World Systems suggests that growth is concentrated in cities experiencing rapid immigration from the countryside, and growing cities are dependent upon rapidly consuming forests, and therefore we need to pay attention to the state of the forest when we think about growth rates. Thomas Piketty pointed out that growing inequality slows growth rates as well, and you can not get much more unequal than 8 people having as much wealth as 3.6 billion people, which was recently reported. More and more the meme is that using extreme fossil fuel energy sources means that the energy returned for energy invested is falling, and is slowly reaching the point where fossil fuel use can not support the industrial economy we have created. Take your pick, or try to integrate the entire system to understand it better, but do not count on growth to solve your problems. Just as a reference point, the global growth rate is predicted to be close to the 3.4% seen over the last few years, while the US rate, about 2.4% in recent years, is expected to drop to 1.9% over the next few years according to the Federal Reserve. The US does not meet Wallerstein’s criteria for rapid growth, rapid immigration from the countryside and exploiting previously uncut forests, and therefore has to be expected to be growing much more slowly than the global average propped up by China and India. Old industrial places like New England will be growing even more slowly. And all of the benefits are going to 5% of the population while everyone else gets poorer.

If growth is not helping, and is actually harming our communities, we have to replace it with a different overarching principle as well as specific policies.

The obsession with economic growth by the wealthy and misguided, is probably one of the most damaging public policy coups ever foisted on human beings

A steady state economy is one in which healing ecosystems and economic justice are defining characteristics.

RESTORATION IS NEEDED: TOWARDS A “STEADY STATE”

A contrast with the growth mentality is seeking a “steady state.” That has to be taken as short hand for a dynamic equilibrium rooted in natural systems and rhythms. On a healthy planet, you just keep doing what you are doing, but on a severely damaged planet, like the Earth, restoration is needed. In a steady state economy each year the health of the system has to improve so that people can actually get what they need.

A steady state economy is therefore one in which human consumption is less than the system has readily available so that the systems can build resilience for long term health. Agriculture must build soil, the creation of forest products is done in the context of repairing and restoring forests (over half the global forest is gone, and along with it a big buffer on the climate).

GROWING INEQUALITY IS NOT A STEADY STATE, IT IS A DEATH SPIRAL.

You may have heard of Overshoot Day. This is the day when all of the Earth’s biological productivity for the year, has been appropriated by humans for their needs. In a steady state world there would be no overshoot day. Biological resources would be undiminished from year to year. With Overshoot Day in 2016 on August 8, it means that we are using the biological resources of 1.6 Earth’s. With the obvious result of a diminishment of the biological capacity of the earth by about 1% each year. So the first thing to do to achieve a steady state is reduce human intake by about 40%. Since there are many people on the planet in absolute poverty, clearly there are many people who’s consumption of resources needs to go up. Which means that for the industrialized world consumption on average must go down quite a bit if we do not want to destroy the planet’s capacity to support humans.

We ask more of the planet each year. Less than 50% of the global forest remains, 90% of the large fish are gone from the sea, and in 50 years the number of wild animals has been reduced by at least 50%. The flip side is ever more and ever larger deadzones in the oceans often caused by runoff from inappropriate agricultural systems brought into being to feed 7 billion people. It is going to be harder and harder to feed 9 billion if the soil is in the bottom of the sea and the nutrient overloads are reducing marine life. A steady state means keeping your soils on the farm. And enlivening them.

Maybe you get the picture, but in some ways it is an alien concept in modern America. We live under the concept of grow

or die. The fact that what we are doing requires us to kill millions of people and destroy huge swaths of the earth is irrelevant. We can grow forever. There is always more. The next mall, which will burn itself out even faster than the last one, is the newest, biggest, most expensive ever. We have 12 Aircraft Carriers and no one else on the planet has more than 2. I sometimes despair of being able to turn the ship and resort to black humor.

HEALING OUR ECOSYSTEMS AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

A steady state economy is one in which healing ecosystems and economic justice are defining characteristics. Damaged ecosystems impair our ability to make a livelihood and therefore any economy that is not healing the ecosystems we depend upon is not holding steady and will see increasing food insecurity. An economy in which a significant proportion of the population is getting poorer can also not be considered to be in a steady state. It is a lie to consider it a growing economy. It is simply one in which the looters tell us the numbers and facts do not matter. We can not simply slow the rate of destruction and expect it to be sustainable or able to support a steady state.

Wind power and solar power are catching up to and replacing fossil fuels, though only a few are willing to acknowledge that in the long run we have to use a lot less energy and stuff to avoid paving the whole planet. Organic agriculture is growing much faster than conventional agriculture all over the world. I remember when it was hard to find a farmers market. Now every town and city in Rhode island has at least one per week in the warmer seasons and food incubators are sprouting up, though in a steady state economy how many gourmet doggie treat stores can we support?

Can the health care industrial complex survive in a steady state economy? Can we have healthier people while spending less, and spending what the society can actually afford while still advancing knowledge? I think the answer is that we can sustainably have healthy communities. But as long as the political class tries to use health care as a growth industry, as a part of the efforts to grow the economy and attract millennials to their communities, we shall never have affordable healthcare for all nor an economy that works for the 99%.

An important consideration in a steady state economy is the difference between biologically renewable resources and non renewable resources such as minerals and fossil fuels. You can roughly determine how much of the biological productivity of the planet humans can consume each year while simultaneously healing the biological systems upon which we depend. In other words we can measure that there are more hectares of real forest,

the soil is healthier and full of life, and there are more fish in the ocean each year. That kind of stuff, maybe matched with reduced flooding, increased resilience in agriculture, less CO2 in the atmosphere and the like. For mineral resources there is no amount of consumption that is sustainable. No matter how little humans use, there will be less each year. But what we can do is reduce the throughput to the point where the deposits available will last a really long time, recycle ferociously, spread the economic benefits of usage widely amongst the people, and be sure the planetary sinks can easily absorb the pollution without overloading. In regards to a steady state economy and mineral resources, we might have to look at shrinking consumption gently each year while seeking a mining/extraction industry that has no fossil fuel emissions, does not disturb communities, never harms waterbodies, and cleans up all of its pollution.

Why we should embrace a Steady State Economy may be the hardest question. Anything less than a total devotion to economic growth is put forth as unAmerican. Even if it no longer works for most of our communities the dream dies hard especially among the ruling class. No one ever got elected saying they would shrink the economy. But the world has changed, and what we need to do to survive has changed. The squandering, the excessiveness, the inequality, and the violence are leading us off the cliff, but those who benefit from those conditions still have power. But striving for a steady state is a very powerful tool if we want to restore democracy and heal the climate and ecosystems we need to survive and thrive.

Most of the people in the US already live in a no growth environment, the average worker is making less than they did 20 years ago even as fortunes of the 1% have soared. Moving to a steady state economy is going to be easier than imagined. If over 90% of the growth in income is going to 1% of the population, and a bit going to the next 9% in the income scale, clearly most of the 90% has to be getting poorer for it to all add up, and therefore it ought to be very little hardship for most people when we shift to a steady state economy.

SO LETS GO BACK TO FORESTS

No one, no community, has ever given away their forest. Until the empires of the ancient world, 10,000 years in a *homo sapiens* history of 200,000, the most valuable things on earth were forests. Even now forests have incredible value for the people who live in them. It is just that those running empires did not realize how valuable they were since they could simply steal them, and they did. Until there were empires in each and every neighborhood on planet Earth, people who lived in forests got everything they needed from the forest. Food, shelter, fuel, clothing, culture, religion, things to trade, a place to hide. Empires, and the cities they rule from, are also totally dependent upon forests, but in a different way. You can not build a city with out stealing a forest. The people who lived in the forest have to be displaced in order for the empire to

build its cities and grow more grain. It was true 10,000 years ago, it is still true today. China could not have transformed itself over the last 40 years without the wholesale destruction of the forests of southern and southeastern Asia. Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and others sacrificed their forests and forest people to provide raw materials for Chinese factories and the wood to build China's cities

Most people do not connect the slowing of the economic growth rate to ecological overshoot. They do not connect it to the health of the soil, the health of the forest, whether there are more fish to catch in the sea. They insist that no matter what the state of the forest, getting the tax rates right, and eliminating pesky environmental regulations will let the good times roll.

How did we get to this place? A world in which economic growth is the thing the elites want most, and the very thing that is growing more and more elusive, ever harder to achieve, and more damaging when it arrives for a spell? How did we get to a world in which the trend in the growth rate is down and the elites scream about more growth ever louder instead of acknowledging their destructive tendencies? China no longer grows at 10% a year. The US has seen 2.2 to 2.4% growth for years. Western Europe has seen little growth. The growth tends to be concentrated in a few developing countries, a few mineral boom neighborhoods, and rapidly growing cities. But despite the obvious trend, politics still calls for ever faster growth, resulting in policies that enrich the wealthiest and shrink the economy for everyone else.

I can not tell you what a steady state will look like, but you will know it when you see it. Childhood poverty will be eliminated, infant mortality will not depend upon your zip code, your food supply will be more local, more secure, and less chemical. Everyone will have things to do that bring them a sense of satisfaction as well as provide a living. The forests will be regrowing and there will be more fish in the sea. And government will actually be of, by and for the people.



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Walking the Green Path

Why Socialism Can't Save Us and How Indigenized Economics Will

AIMÉE L. CREE DUNN

Many progressives argue that the solution to our social and environmental ills is to replace our capitalistic economy with a socialistic one. Keeping the discourse confined to a choice between capitalism or socialism, however, locks us into the urban-industrial model, and prevents our questioning the basic assumptions of Western thought that have caused today's massive social, cultural, and environmental destruction in the first place. The Green Movement was founded on support for a radically different cultural alternative. We need to return to our Green roots and re-examine the most radical economic vision of all – that of Indigenous economics.

In Indigenous economics the world consists of a complex web of relationships between sentient beings. People “see themselves living in the world and in a relationship to the world in which not only does the world nurture them, but they have a reciprocal obligation to nurture it...it's the most moral relationship with nature that humans ever devised...a cultural, spiritual, social exchange that's intended to go on for generations.”^{1,2} In contrast, both capitalism and socialism view the world as consisting of “resources” that must be industrially exploited for a successful economy.

INDUSTRIAL COLONIZATION OF LAND AND PEOPLE

An industrially-based economic system requires extracting raw materials from the Earth for industry. The only lands left today with these “resources” are traditional Indigenous territories and other rural-wilderness lands. Thus, in order for either a socialist or capitalist economy to thrive, these lands are colonized for industry.

Industrial economics accomplishes this colonization through the seizure of Indigenous lands and the creation of structural poverty in rural-wilderness areas. Formerly self-sufficient people of the land are forced into a cash-dependency. Cash-dependency expands industrialism: it creates acceptance of environmentally destructive mines, factories and similar sources of wage-work. It also facilitates the emigration of rural populations to urban areas for wage-work. Michigan's Upper Peninsula, for example, typifies this. A beautiful, cash-poor, rural region, it's an industrial colony where mining and logging industries compete with tourism. Many youth there feel they only have three choices in life. It's known as The Three Ms: Move to the cities, work for the Mines, or go into the Military.

Both capitalist and socialist governments remove people from their self-sufficient relationships with the land. This allows for the industrial exploitation of the rural-wild land for its “natural

resources” which disrupts, often destroys, traditional self-sufficient lifestyles lived on the land.³ Finland offers a characteristic example. In 2016 the socialist government of Finland passed the Forestry Act threatening “over 5.4 million acres of water systems and nearly 900,000 acres of forest in Europe's only pristine forests, while opening the door to further exploitation.” The Indigenous Sami opposed the act, saying it would threaten their homeland and traditional reindeer herding lifestyle. According to Jouri Lukkari (President - Finnish Section of the Saami Council), there are “few opportunities to influence the decision making over our lands.”⁴

THE WESTERN IDEOLOGY OF PROGRESS AND HUMAN SUPREMACY

As children of traditional Western thought, adherents of capitalism, and of the theory and practice of most socialisms as well, do not question [neither socialism nor capitalism questions] the basic ideologies of “progress” and human superiority. For both capitalism and (most) socialisms, self-sufficient small-scale societies are part of humankind's past and are not relevant to the present. In this linear model, the most recently developed societies (industrial civilizations) are more advanced and knowledgeable than the ancient small-scale societies with millennia of experience on their side. Socialism and capitalism see the remaining tribal societies as remnants of some ignorant past, not models for the future.

It may be useful to point out that there have been and are socialists who advocate for decentralized, self-sufficient, and small scale societies. A classic in that regard is the widely read utopia (“News from Nowhere”) written by William Morris in the early 1890s. Also, in this magazine last spring, Jon Olsen sounded a similar theme on behalf of socialism. There are others. Yet they remain as aspirations, as hopes. Whether or not any socialism in practice has lived up to even a nod in the direction of such aspirations and hopes is doubtful. It seems not to be the case. Using up nature rather than living in a full awareness of being part of nature, becomes the ruling direction of policy and institution building.

For Karl Marx, human societies inevitably pass through various stages of advancement beginning with “primitive” tribal cultures and “advancing” ultimately to the urban classless society of socialism. The land is seen as the location of resources to be exploited and converted into manufactured goods (how convenient for Marx, then, to view tribes as backward and inconsequential).⁵ Rural life, too, Marx considered an “idiocy.”⁶ He envisioned all the countryside being developed into one extensive town.

Marx was not concerned about the industrial exploitation of the Earth, the protection of all our relations, nor the destruction of traditional Indigenous economies. Rather, the problem Marx saw was one of transferring power over the means of industrial production to the workers in order to facilitate justice *through worker-owned industrial exploitation*. Marx advocated for “the bringing into cultivation of waste lands,” the “[e]stablishment of industrial armies,” and the “[c]ombination of education with industrial production.”⁷

As industrialization thrives on urbanization, neither capitalism nor socialism questions urban growth. Yet urbanization is the oldest known form of colonization. As Theodore Roszak writes, ‘the industrial city aspires to absorb all the factors of production into its ownership and control, and perfects their economic rationalization. It takes over the land itself.’⁸ Food, water, lumber, metals, the production and transfer of electrical power, oil and gas and its infrastructure...all of these and more are required to sustain urban dwellers. And these “resources,” of course, come mostly from the colonization of rural-wilderness lands. As their land is colonized, so too are the people of the land.

This colonization of the rural and the wild by urban industrial empires is part of what Lewis Mumford calls “authoritarian technics.”⁹ Authoritarian technics is technology that’s dependent on systems of authority to obtain the resources necessary for its manufacture and sale. For example, if we “need” oil and gas for our lifestyles, we set up rigs and run pipelines, regardless of whether or not the people who live in the area want those things. If the people resist, military forces are brought in. Socialism and capitalism both depend on these systems of authoritarian technics to function.

How, then, is socialism the “radical alternative” we need in today’s world?

Simply put, it isn’t.

AN OVERVIEW OF INDIGENOUS ECONOMICS

According to anthropologists, only one human adaptive strategy has a long term successful track record: small-scale Indigenous societies (or tribes). These modes of cultural thought represent the only radical and effective solution to today’s multi-faceted crisis. Further, they have the only economic systems that match Green values. Caught in the web of Western industrial culture, neither socialism nor capitalism delve deeply enough into root causes to be considered Green.

While specific traditional Indigenous customs around the world are different, certain core values are held in common:

- Respect for individual freedom and recognition of individual responsibility for our actions
- Responsibility to the human community
- Responsibility to the non-human community (all our relations)
- The belief that we belong to the land, the land does not belong to us

- The principles of what the Haudenosaunee call “The Honorable Harvest.”

The first three principles are guided by the teaching that we’re all part of the Great Mystery of Life, and, as such, each individual is given the inner guidance to choose the right path. True power lies, not with authoritarian structures, but within us and stems from our direct relationship with the land and all relations.

In the urban-industrial structures of capitalism and socialism, we’re disconnected from the land and give away our power to the authorities in charge, resulting in a diminished capacity to look out for our communities. Thus, the task we’re charged with in revitalizing Indigenous economic life is to reclaim our true power so we can exercise it to provide for our human and non-human communities to the best of our abilities. In recognizing our responsibility to all our relations, we understand that all lives are interconnected and interdependent. While the taking of life (be it animal or vegetative) is necessary to sustain life, it must be done with infinite respect and gratitude.

The knowledge that the land doesn’t belong to us, we belong to the land, has major economic implications. It’s no longer merely a “resource” we can exploit as we please. The land is a larger entity of which we are an interdependent part, sharing it with our other relations. The land is the overarching power. Our role is to live responsibly within that realm.

In *Braiding Sweetgrass*, Potawatomi botanist, Robin Wall Kimmerer, describes the Haudenosaunee concept of the Honorable Harvest, explaining, “the fundamental principles are nearly universal among peoples who live close to the land”:

- Introduce yourself. Be accountable as the one who comes asking for life.
- Ask permission before taking. Abide by the answer.
- Never take the first. Never take the last.
- Take only what you need.
- Never take more than half. Leave some for others.
- Harvest in a way that minimizes harm.
- Use it respectfully. Never waste what you have taken.
- Share.
- Give thanks for what you have been given.
- Give a gift, in reciprocity for what you have taken.
- Sustain the ones who sustain you and the earth will last forever.¹⁰

These are essential tenets to a sustainable economics, yet neither socialism nor capitalism includes them in their organizational philosophies.

WHAT IS PRAGMATIC?

For those within the Western paradigm, the Honorable Harvest seems entirely impractical. But what is practical? Exploitation to the point of destroying the world as we know it? Annihilating

species at a rate greater than anything since the mass extinction of dinosaurs? Cancer epidemics in industrialized countries?

Or is it more practical to sustain life? To take only that which is given, only that which is needed?

Survival is the most practical strategy of all. To implement this strategy, we must return to an economics in which we ask permission of the deer, the maple, the meadow, the river. From this viewpoint, it is Western economic systems that are impractical – neither socialism nor capitalism are based on a realistic understanding of the world. As AIM activist John Trudell said, such Western thought systems are “industrially insane.”¹¹

A WORLD BASED ON INDIGENOUS ECONOMICS

Indigenizing the economy doesn't mean we'll all be hunter-gatherers again; we're simply too overpopulated to accommodate such a lifestyle. How, then, do we develop a form of economics for today's world that is built on the foundations of traditional Indigenous economic systems?

First, our solutions cannot involve authoritarian technics; thus cliché solutions such as mega-wind and solar projects may buy us time (although also doing damage), but won't work in the long run. We may, in fact, need to look at surviving without electrical power in almost all walks of life except where it's most necessary.

Second, recognizing limits is inherent to neither capitalism nor socialism, *but recognizing that we have limits is essential to the continuation of human and other life.* We need to recognize we're limited in our ability to produce and consume products. The land is limited in how many humans it can be expected to support. Neither capitalism nor socialism recognizes such limits. An Indigenized economics would.

Third, we need to reexamine our urban areas and reintegrate them into the community of the land. They must stop colonizing rural-wild areas and instead learn to live within the carrying capacity of their immediate bioregions. Rooftop gardens, intra-city forests, locally produced energy...we must make our cities a sustainable part of the surrounding landscape so they cease colonizing rural-wilderness areas.

Fourth, we need to begin the process of rewilding our homelands, people and communities. Our disconnect from the land has led to a false belief in our own god-like powers and to innumerable ecological mistakes. In rewilding ourselves we reconnect and relearn what it means to have a relationship over generations to a particular land and our relations who live there as well. Without this, people won't understand how to participate in the economics of life.

Anishinaabe activist Walt Bresette felt that only when people became indigenous to place could we begin to grow a sustainable society.¹² To do this, Bresette said, people need to commit themselves to the land in which they live, connect with its millennial history, and sink their roots deeply into that land.¹³

Teachings from the Anishinaabeg, an Indigenous nation from the Great Lakes area, tell us that now is the time of the

Seventh Fire. In this time, according to these teachings, all of society must choose between the Burnt Path of industrialism or the Green Path of Mother Earth. To walk the Green Path, the revitalization of the old ways is essential and connections with all our relations must be re-established.

Choosing either capitalism or socialism keeps us on the Burnt Path of industrialism, authoritarian technics, and the destruction of Earth as we know it. But there is a time-tested alternative. We can decide to listen to those old teachings from which many divorced themselves so long ago. We can choose to walk in the footsteps of our ancestors, following the Green Path, bringing their teachings into the modern world.



AIMÉE CREE
 A lifelong inhabitant of the Northwoods, Aimee (unaffiliated Metis) joined the Green Movement in 1986, when she was 10 years old, with her mother, grandmother and sister to protect Native rights and to fight against sulfide mining in northern Wisconsin - she's been involved with the Greens ever since. A part-time instructor at Northern Michigan University's Center for Native American Studies since 2005, Aimee has developed various classes in Indigenous environmental studies. You can find her on Facebook as Wylde Woods.

NOTES

- 1 Mohawk, John. "Subsistence and Materialism." *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization.* Ed. Jerry Mander and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 2006. p27.
- 2 Seneca philosopher, John Mohawk, may differ with the use of the term Indigenous "economics." For him, what we are discussing "isn't an economic exchange. It's a cultural, spiritual, social exchange that's intended to go on for generations" (ibid). However, in this essay I don't confine the definition of economics to transmission of wealth (as it is often defined) but rather to the original idea of economics: the means by which households interact with their world and with each other (i.e. household management).
- 3 See Bodley, John. *Victims of Progress.* 6th ed. Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2015.
- 4 Sami Indigenous People Face Unprecedented Land Grab in Finland." <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Sami-Indigenous-People-Face-Unprecedented-Land-Grab-in-Finland-20160403-0030.html>.
- 5 Marx, Karl. *The Communist Manifesto. A World of Ideas.* Ed. Lee A. Jacobus. NY: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2002.
- 6 IBID p226.
- 7 IBID p240.
- 8 Dunn, Aimee. *Worldeaters: An Ecosophical Critique of Western Industrial Civilization in Selected Novels of Linda Hogan and Ursula K. LeGuin.* <http://seventhfireproject.blogspot.com/>.
- 9 See Jensen, Derrick. *The Myth of Human Supremacy.* NY: Seven Stories Press, 2016.
- 10 Wall Kimmerer, Robin. *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants.* Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Press, 2013. p180, 183.
- 11 Rae, Heather. *Trudell.* Passion River: 2007.
- 12 "Walt Bresette on Becoming Indigenous to Place." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4Vtzj5LwUU>. From Walt Bresette. *Speaking for the Generations.* <http://www.protecttheearth.org>.
- 13 IBID.

Socialism *Reconceived*

STEVE WELZER

In the last issue of *Green Horizon* (Winter/Spring #34), Jon Olsen's article—"Green Party and Socialism: Engagement, but Marriage?"—discussed a newly-adopted plank in the Economic Justice and Sustainability section of the national Green Party platform. In that article Jon offered some interesting thoughts about renewing and reconceptualizing socialism. Here I'd like to expand on his ideas.

It's known that I'm a firm believer that the ideology embodied in the Ten Key Values has more affinity with the communitarian left than with the socialist left—Gandhi rather than Marx; Mumford rather than Harrington. I view the Green Party as the electoral expression of an eco-communitarian movement for a new society. The end-goal of that movement is not socialism, but rather a decentralized society characterized by regionalism and diversity.

I've been critical of old-style leftists who come into the Green Party saying: "The Greens need to be radicalized. They need to recognize that the problem is capitalism and the solution is socialism." Well, that sounds straightforward and (to them) enlightening. But I believe they've been failing to appreciate that the perspective of the Greens is not less radical, it's just more sophisticated. For example, it rightfully makes a distinction between corporate capitalism and local private enterprise. And it justifiably avoids universalist prescriptions.

Traditional socialist theory was deficient in regard to its interpretation of history, its delusion about the proletariat as the agency of social change, and its vision of a "democratically owned and controlled" large-scale planned economy (it should be clear by now how much of a chimerical notion that turned out to be). Having said that, I nonetheless think it's *possible* that socialism might have a role to play in our strategizing about how to get "from here to there."

FIRST: WHY GREENS SHOULD NOT BE SOCIALISTS

Among the Ten Key Values of the Greens, most could be espoused by the vast majority of progressive organizations and tendencies. It's a credit to our outreach over the last forty years that Ecological Wisdom is now widely embraced. But three of the key values distinguish us—and have the potential to transform the left: Decentralization, Community-based Economics, and Respect for Diversity.

Most progressives would be inclined to say that there's commonality in regard to "respect for diversity," but I think there's a deep meaning of that concept that goes to the essence of the distinctiveness of the Green paradigm. It can, and should, imply more than just respect for racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity. In a world of humanly-scaled, decentralized (perhaps bioregional) polities, a realistic and healthy vision would include diversity in regard to all the solutions adopted to address the myriad issues and challenges of human lifeways—education of the young, sexual relations, dealing with sociopathology, healthcare provision, etc. So in a Green world we would expect to see the "communities" (the various forms of decentralized entities) handling the issue of economic relations *in diverse ways*.

A problem with socialism is that it prescribes *one way*—a supposedly best system, advocated for universal application. Such was typical of the modernist ideologies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They anticipated that the "end of history" would be characterized by universal agreement about and adoption of one or another best way—either Keynesian liberalism or socialism or free market capitalism. Relative to this misguided and unrealistic expectation, Green politics is post-modern, recognizing that it's unnatural and even unhealthy to envision universalism in regard to systems, institutions, and lifeways. Moreover, that's why post-modern should mean post-socialist—in the sense of rejecting the idea that socialism is a panacea or an end-goal.

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The end-goal of our movement is not socialism, but rather a decentralized society characterized by regionalism and diversity.

It's possible that socialism might have a role to play in our strategizing about how to get "from here to there."

The *Fifth Estate*

Fifty-two Years in the Underground (Press)

ROBBY BARNES AND SYLVIE KASHDAN WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY STEVE WELZER

Introduction

The radical movement of the 1960s was influenced by and expressed through the thriving “underground” press of that era. There was a certain division at the time between New Leftists, who tended to read *Ramparts Magazine* and *New Left Notes*, and counterculturalists, who were reading the *Berkeley Barb*, *East Village Other* (New York), *Great Speckled Bird* (Atlanta), *Old Mole* (Cambridge, MA), and *Space City* (Houston), among many others. I helped produce *All You Can Eat* out of New Brunswick, NJ. Our “rag” felt that it was especially influenced by Detroit’s *Fifth Estate* (*FE*).

Over the years most of the underground press newspapers and magazines faded away. By the nineties I assumed that they were all defunct. It was with surprise and interest that a friend in the Green Party started talking about the exciting material he had recently been coming across in the *Fifth Estate*.

FE was still going strong! And I’m happy to report that it still is—over fifty years after its launch in 1965.

When I started reading it again on a regular basis, I immediately appreciated the relevance of its perspective to the broad movement that I think of as “the greening of society.” I ordered a bunch of back-issues that contained articles by or commentary on such key writers as Fredy Perlman, Vandana Shiva, David Watson, John Clark, and Gary Snyder. I noticed, though, that *Fifth Estate* wasn’t viewed as a voice of the Green politics movement or the Green Left, but rather of the anarchist movement.

I had identified as a socialist for many years prior to my “Red to Green” transition of consciousness. At the time, conventional wisdom on the left associated the black flag of anarchism with marginality and violence. Yet *Fifth Estate* quoted Gandhi (!) as saying: “I, myself, am an anarchist, but of another type...” Their articles often referenced the work of Theodore Roszak, and here’s what Roszak wrote in his Introduction to E. F. Schumacher’s *Small Is Beautiful*: “Schumacher’s work belongs to that subterranean tradition of organic and decentralist economics whose major spokesmen include Prince Kropotkin, Gustav Landauer, Tolstoy, William Morris, Gandhi, Lewis Mumford, and, most recently, Alex Comfort, Paul Goodman, and Murray Bookchin. It is the tradition we might call anarchism, if we mean by that much-abused word a libertarian political economy that distinguishes itself from orthodox socialism and capitalism by insisting that the scale of organization must be treated as an independent and primary problem. That tradition, while closely affiliated with socialist values, nonetheless prefers mixed to ‘pure’ economic systems. It is therefore hospitable to many forms of free

enterprise and private ownership, provided always that the size of private enterprise is not so large as to divorce ownership from personal involvement and community oversight, which is, of course, now the rule in most of the world’s administered capitalisms. Bigness is the nemesis of anarchism, whether the bigness is that of public or private bureaucracies, because from bigness comes impersonality, insensitivity, and a lust to concentrate abstract power. Hence, Schumacher’s title, *Small Is Beautiful*. He might just as well have said ‘small is free, efficient, creative, enjoyable, enduring’—for such is the anarchist faith.”

Don’t the Green key values Grassroots Democracy, Decentralism, and Community-based Economics derive from such a perspective?

I have an article in this issue that says: perhaps a phase of socialism will be necessary in order to enable a shift away from corporate capitalist dominance. But, ultimately, we should be striving for the deconstruction of all the states, corporations, and empires. An anarchist sentiment, indeed!

Though I believe that our movement will achieve more resonance employing the verbiage of ‘decentralism’ and ‘communitarianism,’ nonetheless I think we should acknowledge the extent to which our heritage derives from a certain strain of the anarchist tradition. It’s on that basis that I remain a fan of the *Fifth Estate*. — SW

The *Fifth Estate* (*FE*), which began its life as an alternative counterculture paper in the social ferment of the 1960s, grew into one of the most relevant anarchist and ecologically aware publications on Turtle Island (aka North America), and continues to inspire critical thought and challenge authority today.

Founded in 1965, it was part of the first wave of periodicals that came to be known as the underground press. As the ‘60s progressed, hundreds of such publications were created, but most only lasted a few years before folding. The *FE* is still alive and thriving.

THE BEGINNINGS

The *FE* was started in a Detroit suburb by a 17-year-old high school dropout, with a little help from his friends. The first issue, dated November 19, 1965, was billed as “Detroit’s New Progressive Biweekly Newspaper.” With the second issue its self-description became “The Voice of Liberal Detroit.”

In 1966, the paper moved to a storefront near Detroit's Wayne State University, a neighborhood attracting artists, radical political activists and others involved in the growing counterculture. The *FE* offered those inspired by the '60s milieu the opportunity to express political, literary and artistic defiance.

The *Fifth Estate* office became a gathering place for artists and a variety of radicals to discuss their concerns and latest projects. There was also a mimeograph machine available for quickly and cheaply producing multiple copies of newsletters, leaflets and other printed material. This was greatly valued at a time when commercial printshops often refused to produce radical or avant garde material they didn't like. The mimeo was often used by high school, civil rights and anti-war groups, dissident union caucuses, and even anti-Vietnam War GIs.

Many early *FE* articles supported the civil rights and anti-war movements, rage against a murderous and unjust society, sexual liberation, as well as a culture based on love and experimentation. From early on, articles also questioned aspects of progress, modernity and industrialization. All of these themes were sharpened in the 1970s and 1980s and still are in evidence in its pages today.

EVOLUTION, 1970-1975

Intensified discussions about societal problems during the 1960s led to a growing consciousness of the devastation caused by U.S. imperialism, as well as the pervasive racism, and police violence against workers, people of color and the poor. The brutal suppression of the 1967 Detroit rebellion, the South Carolina Highway Patrol killing and wounding of demonstrators on the campus of South Carolina State University who were protesting racial segregation, police brutality at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, the Ohio National Guard murders and wounding of protesters at Kent State University and the police killing and injuring of students at Jackson State College in Mississippi, all led to a growing sense of urgency for real societal transformation. But it also led to fatigue and burnout among many. Underground publications across the country folded as internal disputes, financial problems and government repression took their toll. All but a few radical periodicals ceased publishing by 1975. The *Fifth Estate* was not immune to these challenges.

By 1975, the *FE* was unable to earn enough money through advertisers to pay staff and was deeply in debt to printers and suppliers of material needed for production, and stymied by several staff resignations because of personality clashes.

A group of eleven former staffers, constituting themselves as the Eat the Rich Gang, decided that the paper was a valuable community resource worth saving from the destruction of market forces. They transformed it into a non-commercial project, stopped accepting ads and ended paying salaries.

In the August 1975 issue, the new editorial group announced, "The newspaper you are now holding is the last issue of the *Fifth*

Estate—the last issue of a failing capitalist enterprise, the last issue to appear in coin-boxes, and the last issue produced as a commodity dependent on advertising revenue for support, and the hiring of wage workers for its production."

Since then, the *Fifth Estate* has described itself as an anti-profit, cooperative publication, produced by a volunteer collective of friends and comrades, holding a range of views on all issues while sharing an anarchist orientation and a commitment to a nondogmatic and action-oriented radical politics. As opposed to professionals who publish to secure wages or invest in the media information industry, the *FE* collective produces the magazine as an expression of resistance to an unjust and destructive society.

DEVELOPING IDEAS

Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, *FE* staff and their circle of politically interested friends and comrades were exploring ideas that challenged the traditional left and the basic concepts of Marxism. They discussed the ideas of anarchists who had participated in the Spanish Revolution, as well as Situationist International and council communist critiques of the authoritarian left.

This led to articles concentrated more clearly on critiques of Marxism, capitalism and the society of the spectacle; the state capitalism of the so-called communist countries; established labor unions, modern education, the ideologies of work and industrial progress; mass culture and consumerism; as well as ideologies of sexuality and the family.

FE editors and contributors also explored eco-anarchism, becoming more aware of the dimensions and implications of industrial capitalism as a technological system, and its toxic effects on global ecological life webs.

Sharp criticism focused on the notion of progress, the ideological excuse for industrialization and imperial expansion. Many articles, especially during the 1980s, covered the emerging anti-nuclear movement in Europe and the United States and the political debates they engendered.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES

During the second half of the 1970s and first half of the 1980s, participants in the *FE* welcomed the decline and breakup of the political sects and front groups that championed the leninist, state-capitalist tyrannies. They understood these groups as little more than rackets organized, however ineffectually, for seizing power for the militants who directed them.

There were also articles criticizing nationalism and national liberation movements, including zionism and Arab nationalism, that are still relevant and worth reading today.

The *FE* crew also extended its anti-authoritarian critique beyond the obvious oppression of capitalism and the state to uncover deeper roots of the repression of the human spirit and the biosphere. This led to the positions often characterized as

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Ecology is Key in the Fight Against Capitalism

Socialism Could Be a Help, if...

JOHN RENSENBRINK

Ever since the Greens got started in the United States in the 1980s, voices for socialism have appeared among them. In the past few years they have asserted themselves with renewed vigor within the United States Green Party. Voices promoting socialism, though of a different kind, are also active within, and outside, the Democratic Party as aroused by Bernie Sanders.

A recurring plea by Green party socialists is a clarion call to be independent of capitalism and of the political parties rooted in capitalism, especially the major parties. They promote socialism as the necessary strategy to enable the Green Party to reach and preserve its independence of capitalism and of its political mouthpieces, the Democratic and Republican Parties.

This is an interesting claim. On the surface it may seem valid. But looked at again, the claim is far less convincing or compelling. Especially astonishing is the lack of a genuine understanding of ecology.

When the Greens started out in 1984 we created a document that has stood the test of time. It has enabled us to survive, dissolve, and even at times heal the divisions caused by internal struggles: The Ten Key Values. The very first Value was and should still be, *Ecological Wisdom*. This is the key of the keys.

There is no greater foe of capitalism than ecology. Ecology and capitalism are poles apart, in total contradiction with one another. Where ecology is transcendent and produces a new non-anthropocentric way of life, capitalism dissolves and withers away.

If Greens who want socialism as a strong support for independence against capitalism and a strong support against sliding back into co-habitation with the Democratic Party, they need only learn and affirm and deepen their commitment and understanding of ecological wisdom.

Why haven't they? I have a short answer and a longer one.

SHORT ANSWER

The short answer is that ecology, and its philosophical offspring ecological wisdom, are not well understood by socialism and socialists. What the latter seem to understand by the "environment" is akin to the conventional notions present in mass

media coverage. Here "the environment" is an add-on to other major concerns of the day. It's along the lines of what Democrats and some Republicans understand about the environment. It is curious that many Greens who are socialists take a similar conventional approach to "the environment". Many latch on to the hybrid word, "eco-socialism. They mean thereby modifying or even diluting ecology to make it fit with socialism.

Since socialist Greens treat "the environment" as only one among many issues, it makes sense that they do NOT look to ecology for support in their insistence on independence from capitalism and its political party mouthpieces.

I have noticed the absence of the word "nature" from the tens of thousands of emails and blogs and facebook entrees written by socialist Greens that have come my way as a Facebook user and as member of the U.S. Green Party's National Committee.

Furthermore, there is seldom a hint that the economy needs to be revamped to reach a steady state dynamic equilibrium. Seldom is there a word about the threat of consumerism and consumption capitalism. Seldom is there any emphasis on conservation or on thrift. Nor is there a sturdy and compelling analysis of the pervasive threat of climate change. It is mentioned but as in passing.

A huge structural issue for the human and other inhabitants of planet earth is this: can the planet and its over-burdened populations find governing institutions to meet the dire challenges to survival, global impoverishment, and perpetual and destructive warfare? I don't find much of a focus on this from among socialists in the Green Party.

What IS the main analysis according to most of the Greens who are socialists? What are their major preoccupations? This question invites and requires a longer answer.

THE LONGER ANSWER

To suggest an answer. I recall the stellar but foreshortened thinking of Murray Bookchin. He was very important and influential in the intense debates in the decades before and during the formative years of the Green Party. The way he

There is no greater foe
of capitalism than ecology.

formulated the essential starting point of analysis remains as the starting point of Green minded socialists today.

His starting point was not ecology and the human relation to nature. It was “the domination of man over man.” (I use the word “man” because that is the way he phrased it and usually with emphatic effect. As I continue with the article, I will at some point change the wording from “man” to “human.”) At the very core of his thought was a strong leaning to anthropocentrism. Bookchin thundered against “deep ecology.” Their mistake, he maintained, was their claim that man’s domination over nature was key—far more important than man’s domination over man. Bookchin passionately argued that this was wrong. Man’s domination over man was the key. But just as he put the domination of man over man in the driver’s seat of analysis, so did the deep ecologists put man’s domination over nature in the driver’s seat. Each side waxed dogmatic.

During those debates I tried to offer that both “dominations” are vitally important, and—the crucial point—that both are simultaneously and interactively causative. I still maintain that, but realize more than I did then that to follow Bookchin meant underestimating, if not diluting, the crucial importance of the human relation to nature. That we humans are part of nature in the most intimate and fundamental way was thus lost to view. I realize now that Bookchin was not the opponent of capitalism that he and his followers affirmed and affirm so zealously. He and they have watered down the one thing that assures a serious and credible opposition to and replacement of capitalism: ecology and its great offspring ecological wisdom. This underlying weakness in combatting capitalism still inhabits the underpinnings of thought by Bookchin’s Green Party heirs and the underpinnings of thought by younger Green socialists who may not know about Bookchin.

A MULTITUDE OF OPPRESSIONS

A one-sided concentration on “man’s domination over man,” means that strategy for action tends to concentrate on the many oppressions that crowd society under capitalism. In one sense this is very good. But at the same time, and unfortunately, that strategy does not open a way beyond the apparently intractable, universally inevitable “dominations of man over man.” An ecological consciousness and ecological thinking could show that way, but the anthropocentric bias of forefronting “man’s domination over man” stifles it. We become not a Green Party at all, but a standard party like the Democrats, only farther “left”. But it is not a real “left.” It is only a “left” on the continuum of

anthropocentric politics. All major and minor political parties are on that continuum. Except the Green Party.

Thus, given a one-sided fixation on human domination over human,” there rises a clamoring of oppressions. Each oppression favors itself as the one “more” oppressed than any others. Identity politics—to a most distressing degree—takes over.

CONFERENCE ON RACISM

I recall vividly a conference on racism which I attended at Brooklyn College in the late 1960’s. Here Jews and Blacks got into a hurtful and harmful verbal battle. Jews insisted that the oppression they had suffered and endured and continue to suffer and endure was greater than that suffered by Blacks. This was countered by the equal number of Blacks at the conference who insisted that the oppression they had suffered and endured and continue to suffer and endure was the greater. Disagreement turned to angry shouting and barely suppressed invective. I vainly tried to get into the discussion-turned-melee. Finally, I was able to seize a moment and nervously made the argument that both Jews and Blacks were victims of the system—the capitalist system. This did nothing to deflect the angry mood or arguments.

I now recall the point I sought to make with a degree of chagrin. It was my budding socialist moment. I now see that, though my point had its merits (and several people afterwards agreed that it was good to have made that point), I did not see through or beyond my assumption that eliminating capitalism provides the answer to the bitter quarrel. Capitalism itself is just another instance of “man’s domination over man” --though of course a major one. Something deeper is going on; something deeper was being left out.

I know now what was left out: the root of the domination syndrome itself. The root of the domination syndrome gets a strong portion of its vicious start in the long-standing and mistaken domination of human nature over nature. Embedded in that domination is the fateful separation of mind from body. Once you bring that into the picture and once you explore and delve into what it means to change that domination you realize that we human beings are intimately part and parcel of nature. This can and does lead to a healing relationship with one’s self and a healing understanding of all human relationships.

A strong sense of community can now thrive—and in two directions at once: the community of the human and the natural AND the community of human beings with one another. On

Where ecology is transcendent and produces a new non-anthropocentric way of life, capitalism dissolves and withers away.

It is not for ecology to be instructed and adapted by socialism. Rather it is for socialism to be instructed and adapted by ecology.

that basis capitalism-- as a particularly onerous and cruel system of "domination of man over man" can and will be dismantled and destroyed. To this, I devote a part of the book that I published earlier this year, *Ecological Politics: for Survival and Democracy* (Lexington Books).

BUT SOCIALISM COULD HELP! IF

But socialism could help! Could make a difference. After all, socialism believes that human beings are social beings, not, as in capitalism, which believes that human beings are by nature set against one another in perpetual and predatory competition. Socialism believes in altruism, not in the egotism that is inherent in capitalism.

But, once again, there is more to it than that. Socialism's belief that human beings are social beings is not very strong. The belief relies on idealism and exhortation: one ought to be kind, one ought to be altruistic, one ought to be good. But one must ask, what is the exhortation (the idealistic directive) based on? What is its philosophic and scientific grounding?

This is murky. It is not based on nature—or rather it is based on the separation of the human from nature. Socialism has a long history of sharing an anthropocentric attitude towards nature with capitalism. The rise of capitalism went hand in hand with the philosophy and science of early modern thinkers led by Francis Bacon, Rene Descartes, and Isaac Newton. They laid the groundwork for an all out

anthropocentric separation of the human from nature, a nature they viewed as immersed in predatory competition, the war of all against all, as Thomas Hobbes put it. Capitalism gobbled it up and spewed it forth as the new gospel. Unfortunately, few socialist thinkers disagreed. Most have acquiesced to, if not applauded, the ascendancy of the human over nature, a nature understood to be subject to us, something for us to exploit and control.

Only with the coming in the early years of the twentieth century of Einstein's immense revolution and with the further exciting discoveries of his scientific and philosophic colleagues, starting with quantum physics, did the mechanistic and atomistic world view begin to fade, undergo a radical shift. This shift has also meant a strong shift in the scientific and philosophic attitude toward nature. The cloying and stifling domination of science and philosophy by anthropocentric views and assumptions has been dissolving for decades.

This fortunate process is going on apace, but most politics and politicians in the world are still enslaved to this dissolving world view. The opportunity is ripe for socialist leaders and thinkers to help end that enslavement. Greens who are socialists, with post-anthropocentric vision and principles, can help us all to get a new grip on reality: to learn fully that we are already related by nature. We don't have to be schooled and indoctrinated to believe

We would become not a Green Party at all, but a standard party like the Democrats, only farther "left". But it is not a real "left." It is only a "left" on the continuum of anthropocentric politics.

that we must *become* related; that we must be manipulated by human contrivance and idealistic moral systems to do what nature has failed to do. Nature has already done that.

Our job is to figure out what *kinds* of relationship, we need and want. Nature has already related us. We need wisdom (ecological wisdom) on how to make the relationships work-- and work better.

Science and philosophy can now be a grounding support for the socialist belief that we are social beings; based on fact, on a new and refreshing science, not on "up-in-the-air" idealistic sentiments of wishing, sermonizing and moralizing.

It is not for ecology to be instructed and adapted by socialism. Rather it is for socialism to be instructed and adapted by ecology.

THE TEN KEY VALUES of the Green Party of the United States

[as adopted in the 1980s]

- Ecological Wisdom
- Personal and Social Responsibility
- Grass Roots Democracy
- Non-Violence
- Decentralization
- Community Economics
- Post-Patriarchal Values
- Respect for Diversity
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JOHN RENSENBRINK

Co-editor of *Green Horizon*, John 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 new book is *Ecological Politics: for Survival and Democracy* (2017). The book will be reviewed in the next issue of *Green Horizon*, Number 36, coming out in March, 2018.



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