



GREEN HORIZON

Magazine

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL PUBLISHED BY THE GREEN HORIZON FOUNDATION



Global GOVERNANCE

Can We
Talk About It?

MUST WE?

PAGES 3-8

AND THIS:

Fukushima:
Meltdown on the
Ring of Fire

Working for change:
One foot in front of the other?

What the grandchildren will be facing

Theory is not a four-letter word

To U.S. Green
Party's National
Committee: If we
can't do better,
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Seize chances to win
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LETTERS:
Including debate about
authorship of the Ten Key Values

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Visit Our Redesigned Website!

One of the major themes throughout *Green Horizon Magazine* is community, with emphasis on engagement, participation, and mutual enlightenment. And now, with the intention of better supporting our community of readers — and also to foster the development of an online GH community — we've redesigned our website (www.Green-Horizon.org). We welcome you to visit.

We will be updating the site on a regular basis with information about Green movement news and events. We'll be posting articles from current and previous issues of the magazine. And we'll be making it possible for readers to interact with contributors, staff and each other.

We also hope to start taking steps beyond print to connect more personally with our readers through audio and video podcasts (via YouTube and iTunes). Through these media our editors and writers can introduce themselves "off-the-page," adding a whole new dimension to the *Green Horizon* project.

Brie Welzer will be coordinating our online presence and we think you'll be impressed with her aspirations to transform

the web site into a vibrant multi-media platform. For example, she's planning to schedule live Q&A virtual events where contributors can answer questions from readers and elaborate on concepts mentioned in their articles. We feel that these and other modes of online engagement will represent a logical progression for us, enabling our readers to become active and involved. Our hats off to Brie and to Evie Leder our very capable and creative Webmaster.

We look forward to hearing your thoughts about these new directions and we hope you'll be motivated to participate in the kind of dialoguing that has the potential to enrich us all. We've always appreciated our community of readers and contributors. Now we anticipate an exciting expansion of that community as we substantially enhance our online presence.

The Editors

WHERE TO FIND THE LETTERS:

This issue, pages 25 to 30

THE TEAM

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GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Can We Talk About It? Must We?

JOHN RENSENBRINK

We live in a balkanized world. Huge problems of global dimensions are dealt with poorly or not at all. This is largely because the solutions are sought within a framework of separate and independent sovereign states and with a consciousness in each state imbued with the fervor of the national interest.

Can we talk about this? Must we? I think we should. Yet I realize the matter is deeply complicated and tormenting, very hard to face by all across the entire political spectrum from conservative to liberal to radical and revolutionary.

Things global are at a crux. A crux is defined in my dictionary as a vital and decisive point, something that torments by its puzzling nature. At *Green Horizon* we think it's now crucial to delve into that torment, to give it due consideration and to explore the alternative to the world of sovereign states in the form of an effective, just, and locally rooted world governance system. In this article I present an argument for going in that direction. Charles Keil, in the article following this one, presents a model of a way to move in that direction

Green Horizon has featured many articles in the past several years on local projects, local politics, and community-building. It is an emphasis that as an editor I have promoted and rejoiced in— to the point of urging the U.S. Green Party to shift its strategy to catch the local wave now surging in the country beneath the radar screen of the corporate mass media. But though a strong and celebratory emphasis on the return of the local is current and tremendously important, a serious discussion of the global is overdue. Not only for *Green Horizon* but for other Green and progressive publications, as well as for Green parties, peace and environmental and social justice movements everywhere.

Some may say with a degree of asperity: How can you talk like that! Isn't global action already what umpteen NGOs (non-governmental organizations) are already doing? There are over 25,000 NGOs in the world dealing with one issue or another. Many contest with one or more of the 67,000 multinational corporations that bestride the world. There's a United Nations, don't forget, and many attendant agencies such as UNESCO. Most NGOs are active in putting pressure on these institutions and corporations. So what's your problem?

Well, it's not so much that I have a problem, though that may well be. The planet has a problem. The world is not well governed. More truthfully, the world is not governed at all. It is like it would be if your town, county, city or state has no police force, no fire-fighting brigade, no sewage treatment plant, no public schools and no place to meet together to hash out and make decisions about common problems. There is no office or person(s) in office whose primary task it is to care for the whole.

There are hosts of pressing problems in the world that spill over the borders of nations. And, yes, there is response. The plethora of NGOs has been mentioned. Groups and governments and powerful institutions like the World Trade Organization try to give serious attention. But the attention is focused on a particular issue or a particular interest. Actions are fragmented and tend to be episodic.

*"You can't solve a problem
with the same level of
consciousness that created it."*

— *Albert Einstein*

Actions for peace and solving global problems are up against the most stubborn barrier of all: sovereign war lords—big and small States—especially the big ones.

One can name just a few formidable issues, each crying out for resolution: deep and widespread poverty, enormous population pressures, the mal-distribution of food, the increasingly desperate search for water, endless wars, barriers to peace by militarist national governments, nuclear proliferation, the poisoning of the world from nuclear disasters, the nuclearization of space, sexual violence against women, massive refugee dislocations, the shutting down of movements for democracy in country after country, pollution, hurricanes, tsunamis and floods, the often runaway exploitation of workers and land by the afore-mentioned multinational corporations, and the sure evidence of climate change seen in the melting of the polar ice caps and rising ocean levels everywhere.

There is every reason to give this host of problems very earnest attention. But something is missing. A political answer is missing—a holistic political answer. And since a global political answer is crucial, the discussions and actions undertaken lack depth. They lack coherence, lack coordination. They often work at cross purposes.

WAR LORDS

Actions for peace and solving global problems are up against the most stubborn barrier of all: sovereign war lords—big and small states—especially the big ones.

Let me explain. Take my example above of your town, county, city or state being without government. But actually that picture is not complete. In this governless situation there are forces—in the form of many pseudo-governments—within your town, county, city, or state that try to establish a semblance of order in the chaos. Each inevitably competes with others. They are chiefs, each with their retainers and followers desperate for protection. In ancient China when this happened, they were called warlords.

So it is in the world now. The world is rife with warlords. They are called states but behave in the world-at-large as warlords. The big ones dominate the little ones, jostle with the other big ones, and are wary of the middle sized ones waiting in the wings for their turn in the spotlight. They all strive and compete with one another for resources, geopolitical position, and spheres of influence.

PUSHING THE POLITICIANS

Here is something even more interesting, puzzling and tormenting. Shift the focus from the international to the national level. Concerned people, progressive movements and political parties—everyone with a heart and a mind for a better world—push their national politicians in all kinds of ways to get them to “do the right thing.” They push them to “do something”. To do something about climate change, or about starvation in many parts of the world, or about nuclear proliferation. And so forth. It’s hard not to applaud this. Hard not to applaud and identify with the people who get on tightly packed buses for untold painful hours to join another massive demonstration in Washington, D.C. Going there to hear the speeches that implore and challenge the politicians to do the right thing. I’ve made this trip many times over many decades.

It should be noted that, again, it’s each issue at a time, and after a time it gets a little blurry as to what one is supposed to go to Washington for this time. But something much more tormenting is going on.

The inconvenient truth is that the politicians won’t or can’t do what is asked, even if and when they want to. Two crucial factors are at work, at least these two. Most politicians of the nations from the top down are imbued with a settled belief in the sanctity of the national interest. The national interest is first. Not the planet’s. The second major factor is that their national government is caught in the vortex of a worldwide global structural impasse. The impasse is the nation-state system composed of sovereign state entities. This system may have worked in centuries past (barely), but now has outlived its usefulness. Yet, as it nevertheless remains firmly in place, it condemns every nation-state to follow its own narrow interest even in the face of overwhelming need for collaboration and effective global action for security, justice, and responsible governance. Andrew Shmookler has analyzed this situation in a provocative book he published in 1984, *The Parable of the Tribes: the Problem of Power in Social Evolution*.

Politicians who bravely try to get their government to deal with matters that can only be dealt with effectively on a global basis and in a global framework, and that therefore require a strong and steady collaborative effort of a global kind, must

either severely water down what they propose or face charges of betraying the national interest, of failing in their patriotic duty, and worse. James Douglass tells us in a compelling book, *JFK and the Unspeakable*, that John Kennedy sought to rise beyond national self-interest in order to reach a basis for peace and collaboration. But he paid for it with his life.

CAN SOME THINGS GET DONE EVEN SO?

But even supposing some things can get done on a piecemeal basis. Absorption in piecemeal efforts in an ad seriatim way consumes the time and energy of countless good men and women. Time that could be spent on a global focus for action.

We need a rapid development of a global political consciousness, starting with ourselves. This is what should be happening — but energy and time is taken up with actions that more often than not go nowhere because they bump up against the structural impasse of a nation-state system gone awry. They get smothered by the settled belief in the sanctity of the national interest. One-at-a-time actions could be meaningful (in spite of all, in spite of huge pressures on politicians to toe the nationalistic line). But until we work to couple those actions with a deepening global political consciousness on our own part, a consciousness that can migrate to others in a growing way, they remain ineffective.

An example of lost opportunity is the large climate change rally in Washington on Saturday, February 17, 2013. One sadly, even furiously, notes the absence of a speaker who might have included in his or her speech the need for a global political answer to climate change. The speakers were content to prevail upon, coax, and shame Washington's politicians to get the government to do the right thing, when most if not all the movers and shakers in the government already believe they are doing the right thing, which is to act in terms of the national interest.

Well, you may say, maybe the planners of the rally and the speakers were trying to get the politicians to include an appeal to enlightened self-interest as part of the national interest. That may have been in Bill McKibben's mind and in the mind of the Sierra Club leaders who were chief sponsors of the rally. If that note was there, it was not strong, not what it should have been for loud and clear sounding of a theme.

But the deeper problem with appeal to enlightened self-interest is its inherent weakness— overwhelmed by the immediate and implacable national self-interest. Furthermore, what is the

enlightened part of enlightened self-interest in this case? There is no image that comes with it of a tangible global political answer, one that has in it a provision for a public office, and for people in that office, for whom the care of the planet is THE mandate—their reason for being.

ARE THERE SOURCES FOR GENERATING A GLOBAL POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS?

Peace movements the world-over as well as Green Parties in almost every country might seem very good sources for generating and nurturing a global political consciousness. The peace movement in the United States, for example, surely could be that, but it expends itself mostly in protest against the actions of the United States government. A negative posture abounds. It ties the movement into the nation-state paradigm or framework. One might think that after decades of ineffectual protest, the peace movement might couple their protest with strong calls for a transnational solution—including models of what those models can or might be. But there is very little coming from the movement that points in that direction.

I am reasonably familiar with Green Parties in the world, enough to know that the generating and nurturing of a global political consciousness is not on their agendas. Though a Global Green organization has been created in the last 12 years, it gives little sign of fostering a global political outlook. Its only effort in that direction is a Global Green Charter, approved at the first global gathering of Green Parties in Canberra in 2001. But the Charter seems on the shelf. Yet there is great potential in the formation of the global greens. This is a subject for subsequent articles in *Green Horizon Magazine*.

The United States Green Party (USGP) follows a protest pathway much like the peace movements; both mirror the steady barrage of reactive critiques of U.S. government by writers awash in a rhapsody of nay-saying. Let me quickly add that such critiques are often accurate, as such, and needed. But the problem is not so much what is said. It's what isn't said that is very troublesome. And because of that absence, the critique itself often falls flat.

The International Committee of USGP, of which I am a long-time member, also pursues a reactive mode for the most part. However, in one regard, it offers a strong hint of the kind of approach that's needed. For several years, under the leadership of Justine McCabe, it has steadily promoted a One State

*The inconvenient truth is that the politicians won't or can't do what is asked, even if and when they want to...
The politicians of the nations are imbued with a settled belief in the sanctity of the national interest. Not the planet's.*

A global governance structure is needed that incorporates the grass roots principle of subsidiarity.

Solution to the knotty Israel/Palestine problem. Regardless of whether you agree or disagree with it, this represents the kind of modeling (or visionary/framework thinking) as a guide to action that needs to be applied to the planet as a whole.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Due mention has been made of the United Nations. Doesn't it have that status and intent to be a public global office, and to have people in that office for whom the care of the planet is their reason for being? Yes but mostly no. Their care for the planet is filtered and radically watered down. Its structure is fatally flawed. The Security Council is composed primarily of the warlords, the big nation-states, each one having absolute veto power, and each pursuing its own national interest. The resolutions passed by the UN Assembly, a body composed of all the nations of the world, have a weak rhetorical significance. Anything beyond that is subject to veto by a member or members of the Security Council. The Secretary General occupies the one global office that might stand as a source of caring for the planet. But the Secretary General is hemmed in. He or she (so far only a "he") is dominated and blocked by the Security Council, composed of the big warlords locked in ineffectual dispute with one another.

There are two ways to look at the UN. Either it is a very poor substitute for the real thing and of such a dismal nature as to hold back the formation of the real thing. Or it is a kind of successor to the old League of Nations, and may be seen as a further stage on the road to an effective and truly transnational governing force. Those who may argue this positive view have a hard sell.

A VISION FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND THE PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARITY

We need a vision of an effective transnational governance structure whose responsibility it is to care for the planet with the power and authority to match its responsibility. For this to be real it must be anchored securely in democratic accountability and in strong and vital local political bodies. A global governance structure is needed that incorporates the grass roots principle of subsidiarity.

The principle of subsidiarity states that a matter should be handled by the smallest, lowest, or least centralized competent authority. Political decisions should be taken at a local level in possible, rather than by a central authority. A central authority should have a subsidiary function, performing only those tasks which cannot be performed effectively at a more immediate or local level.

We need a big discussion about global governance. The world was treated to animated discussion about global governance on the heels of WW II. Emory Reeves' *The Anatomy of Peace* made a big stir. Albert Einstein and other creative global thinkers supported his work and advanced the dialogue. But it petered out, submerged by the cold war and then by the bid of the United States for imperial ascendance.

In the article following this one, Charles Keil offers a provocative thought experiment—a possible model of where to begin in raising consciousness of the need for global governance. We need more thinking like his, more discourse, more probing of possibilities. A flood of articles here, in other publications, and on line will spark and deepen awareness. They will animate the consciousness of political parties and movements. This can be done. We are not helpless spectators of our collective doom. As a reminder of impending doom, unless appropriate action is taken, consider the article that follows Keil's article—Romi Elnagar's searching article on the Fukushima nuclear disaster and its looming global aftermath.



JOHN RENSENBRINK

is co-editor of this magazine, founding member of the Green Party of the United States, author of *Against All Odds: the Green Transformation of American Politics*, and professor emeritus of Government, Bowdoin College.

Proposal for a Global Organization Of Democracies (GOOD)

The big world conferences on climate every 20 years (1972 Sweden, 1992 Brazil, 2012 Denmark) have failed. Bill McKibben and 350.org are raising consciousness and prodding consciences daily, but the big lever of “world opinion” needs a pivot point or fulcrum, a forum or year round parliament of small and responsible democracies so that all the rapidly growing threats to species and cultural diversity can be addressed rationally and continually. I believe that dramatic steps toward nuclear and general disarmament are both necessary and possible at this time. This will open the way to reduce or eliminate “war budgets” and release funds for rapid reforestation and permaculturing of the planet. I outline my proposal below. But first these observations:

Since I witnessed Biafra going under in the 1960s, the UN has never stopped a war, or an “ethnic cleansing,” or an “administrative massacre” (Hannah Arendt’s precise term replacing ‘pogrom’, see her *Eichmann in Jerusalem*), or an “attempted genocide.” Many of the wars by states against nations (e.g. U.S.A. against the Six Nations confederacy or Haudenosanee, China against Tibet and the nation peoples of Sinjiang Province, Russia against Chechnya) described very precisely by Bernard Nietschmann as “The Third World War: Militarization and Indigenous Peoples” (*Cultural Survival Quarterly* 11(3), 1987), are still ongoing a quarter of a century later. From Nietschmann: “Every nation people that has resisted state invasion has been accused of being terrorists: Karens (all 5 million), Miskitos, Kurds, Palestinians, Basques, Irish, Oromo, Tamils, and so on. From the state point of view only terrorists resist state ‘integration’.”

In other words the “war on terror” became World War Three immediately after World War II (circa 1948) when Burma invaded 5 nations within its borders, India invaded Nagaland, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran divided up Kurdistan, Israel was given a piece of Palestine—and now World War Three has become the unwinnable War on Terror again. None dare call this progress.

War doesn’t work anymore. Big expensive tech is easily destroyed by low cost tech. Think roadside bomb. Think rocket propelled grenade. Think drone attack blowback. An old mortar can destroy any nuclear power plant. The greatest aircraft carrier is undone by a half ounce of anthrax, bioengineered smallpox, bigpox, or by radiation, or by chemicals. And finally, big states, power politics, growing populations have come up against walls of limited resources and vast pollution. The American Empire or “global economy” will shrink steadily or collapse quickly whatever we call it. China, and every other state, faces the same limits.

Smaller democracies like Denmark, Costa Rica and Vermont are doing well. The Swiss Confederation is doing very well. Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel/Palestine/Lebanon could figure out how to share water, basic resources, and thrive economically as Confederations. Somalia might work as a confederation. Indigenous nation peoples all over the world require something like the Swiss confederate model to survive in peace and prosper.

The following proposal aims to conserve both species and cultural diversity on this planet:

CHARLES KEIL

*War doesn't work anymore.
Big expensive tech is easily
destroyed by low cost tech.*

Think roadside bomb.

Think rocket propelled grenade.

Think drone attack blowback.

FOR THE COMMON GOOD

To stop the ecocatastrophe and build world peace processes a Global Organization Of Democracies (GOOD) supporting the International Criminal Court (ICC) could coordinate efficient regional police to help prevent “administrative massacres” and terrorism, thereby enhancing the security of all peoples and encouraging states to redirect a growing portion of their military budgets to economically sustainable and resilient problem-solving over time.

A Global Organization Of Democracies whose representatives meet year-round to instruct a reform caucus at the UN and to mobilize regional police in pursuit of justice as defined by the arrest warrants and subpoenas of the International Criminal Court (ICC), might undertake five important processes:

— 1 —

a continuing effort to intervene diplomatically, economically, politically, and to make arrests, if necessary, whenever the ICC determines that the “cleansings” or “administrative massacres” which lead to genocide are in the planning and/or early execution stages

— 2 —

the pursuit and arrest of individuals and small groups of terrorists, identified and located by open-source international intelligence, for the ICC

— 3 —

a continuing effort to halt the invention and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, so many of which are ever more easily delivered by a single person

— 4 —

promote steady nuclear and general disarmament processes in all the nations of the world that would release billions of dollars, euros, yuan, yen, rubles, francs, pounds, kroner, pesos, etc. as well as many brilliant minds

for

— 5 —

solving the world’s most pressing life problems — climate change, ozone layer depletion, top soil erosion, AIDS, illiteracy, overpopulation, famine, landmines, etc. — that currently are the root causes of civil unrest, wars, more terrorism, insecurity, etc.

A Global Organization Of Democracies (GOOD) whose representatives meet year-round to instruct a reform caucus at the UN and to mobilize regional police in pursuit of justice... might undertake five important processes.

Without small, professional but unarmed police teams in each region of the world that are capable of making arrests, giving safe haven to witnesses, backing up the diplomacy of democratic nations supporting the international courts, there is no reasonable alternative to unjust and unwinnable wars that destroy people, destroy Nature — the uniquely co-evolved & irreplaceable speciation we depend upon for our very survival.

Without a growing sense of peace and security world-wide we are not going to decentralize, revive, and transition to local communities quickly enough. To survive we have to stop burning fossil fuels, commit to appropriate and sustainable tech, achieve a moratorium or ban on genetically modified organisms...I feel a very long list coming on! But what is the point if there is no GOOD meeting daily to discuss these issues, plan accordingly, set goals, reach agreements, issue guidelines?

Steps to take daily ourselves: 1) collect GOOD endorsements from all the organizations, NGOs, non-profits; 2) keep asking the small democracies to take action.

Without a growing sense of peace and security world-wide we are not going to decentralize, revive, and transition to local communities quickly enough.



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.

FUKUSHIMA: *Meltdown on the Ring of Fire*

ROMI ELNAGAR

On March 11, 2011, at 2:46 p.m. Japan Standard Time, the strongest earthquake known to have hit that nation struck. The magnitude 9.03 Tohoku earthquake, with an epicenter approximately 43 miles off the northeast coast of the main island of Honshu and 20 miles down, was one of the five most powerful in the world since modern record-keeping began in 1900. As the Pacific Plate dug underneath the neighboring Okhotsk Plate, the quake displaced portions of the main island of Honshu as much as 2.4 meters, moving it closer to North America, and shifting the Earth's mass ever so slightly, thereby changing its tilt, its spin and its wobble, and thus shortening the day by a small but measurable 1.8 microseconds.

The earthquake generated a tsunami which spread out across the Pacific, causing widespread damage, but nowhere more so than in Japan itself, which lost twenty thousand human beings in the combined earthquake and tsunami, mostly by drowning. Tsunamis often do not always arrive as one single wave, though, but as a series of waves, increasingly high. The first one did not overtop the protective wall at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power station, designed to withstand waves of 5.7 meters in height, but the second one did. The wave that crashed the plant was reportedly 15 meters high. Tsunamis damaged reactors at Fukushima Dai-Ni as well and the waves threw a storage tank across the road to Fukushima Daiichi, making it impossible to bring water by truck to cool the reactors.

It was the earthquake itself, though, which caused the most damage to Fukushima Daiichi. Tokyo Electric (TEPCO), owner of the power station, tried to conceal this from the public, fearing that it would become obvious that the reactors it owns cannot sustain earthquake damage and continue to operate. Geologists had warned of a previous disaster, the Jogan Sanriku earthquake and tsunami which devastated the Fukushima region in 869. The reactors at Fukushima were built between 1967 and 1973, and as critics point out, the pipes in reactors throughout the industry become brittle with age due to intense radiation.

Anti-nuclear activists have long contended that both Japanese and American regulatory agencies have failed adequately to address geological and other hazards when licensing nuclear plants, but TEPCO lobbied to hide the risks, and from the beginning of nuclear power in Japan, government officials colluded in the deception. They smoothed over regulatory concerns about the industry. Their complicity and lax oversight was rewarded with lucrative employment in the company when they retired from Japan's regulatory agency, the Nuclear Industrial and Safety Agency. Japanese routinely call the relationship between government and industry a "nuclear village," implying that pro-nuclear advocates throughout society, especially in the utilities, big business, the government bureaucracy, the Diet (Parliament), the media and academia, had a common agenda to promote nuclear power, not to regulate it.

Immediately after the disaster, the wind blew towards the east, taking radiation from the reactors out to sea, but on the afternoon of 14 March the winds swung around towards shore, spreading radioactive particles over much of the country, including Tokyo. On 12 April, the Japanese government raised the radiation severity level to '7', the same as the Chernobyl catastrophe.

As TEPCO shirked responsibility and shifted blame for the disaster, Fukushima released in the first week of the meltdown more radioactive cesium than Chernobyl in

As TEPCO shirked responsibility and shifted blame for the disaster, Fukushima released in the first week of the meltdown more radioactive cesium than Chernobyl in 1986 and all nuclear weapons detonated during testing combined.

France's Radioprotection and Nuclear Safety Institute has called the disaster, "The largest release of artificial radionuclides into the marine environment ever observed."

1986 and all nuclear weapons detonated during testing combined. The latest analysis indicates that xenon-133 also began to vent from Fukushima Daiichi immediately after the quake, but before the tsunami, suggesting to experts that even without the devastating flood, the earthquake alone was sufficient to damage the plant. The Japanese government acknowledged that the shaking at Fukushima Daiichi exceeded the plant's design specifications.

Last January, the Japanese government also admitted that in the days following the disaster it had feared an evacuation of up to 250 kilometers from the plant, including central Tokyo, would be necessary. It had discussed evacuation protocols similar to the Chernobyl disaster, but crucial information about radiation dangers was mishandled. At that time the chief of the Japan Energy Commission, Dr. Shunsuke Kondo, had argued that with no workers to control the situation, the cooling systems at reactors 1, 2 and 3 would be lost and the spent-fuel pool in reactor 4 would collapse as the rods melted through its concrete walls. In July, 2011, TEPCO confirmed that the 100 ton fuel cores of Units 1, 2 and 3 melted through the containment and fell into the basements of the reactor buildings. It is mostly likely that the radioactive cores went through the concrete basements and entered the soil and water tables.

Scientists, activists, and the public have been frustrated with the Japanese government's mishandling of the crisis, continuing collusion with the industry, and backtracking on commitments to phase out nuclear power. In October, TEPCO admitted that the accident was caused by overly optimistic risk assessments, a longstanding resistance to international safety standards, and the typical institutional tendency to cut costs by cutting corners, jeopardizing safety.

Whether this confession, and the creation of a new nuclear watchdog agency (the Nuclear Regulatory Authority) headed by an acknowledged member of the "nuclear village" will lessen the power of the nuclear power lobby remains to be seen. The government has proved adept at blurring responsibility and accountability for regulating an influential and aggressive industry.

REACTOR NUMBER FOUR AND THE "SPENT" FUEL POOLS OF FUKUSHIMA

One of the most appalling of all problems of nuclear power is what to do with the waste, the "spent fuel rods," which are the most radioactive of any material in the "nuclear cycle." The industry has yet to find a place permanently to bury this waste, or a procedure to ensure that it will remain isolated for the millions of years it poses a danger to living organisms. Here in the United States, a permanent dump planned for Yucca Mountain in Nevada was opposed by a powerful politician, Senator Harry Reed, and the plan was abandoned.

At Fukushima, there are thousands of the spent fuel rods. As in many other nuclear facilities, they are housed in "pools," located above the reactors a hundred feet from the ground. At Reactor Four, there are 1331 used (radiated) fuel assemblies (consisting of 50-70 fuel rods each) and 204 unirradiated fuel assemblies. Each assembly weighs about half a ton and contains plutonium, the most deadly substance on Earth, which is produced in nuclear reactors. If the fuel rods are not continually covered with water and the zirconium cladding on them burns, around ten times the amount of cesium released at Chernobyl will escape, and that's only one of many dangerous radioactive elements, such as plutonium, in the rods. "I'm sure there's a lot of damaged nuclear fuel in Fukushima spent fuel pools—the tubes are cracked—maybe completely severed," says Arnie Gundersen, a nuclear engineer with decades of experience in the industry. The spent fuel is so highly radioactive that not only will it kill workers who attempt to handle it, but it is impossible to manipulate with robots. At Chernobyl, intense radiation interfered with electronic circuitry, making remote controlled equipment inoperable.

Engineers predict that the building which houses the Reactor Number 4 fuel pool will collapse in the event of a magnitude 7 earthquake. Since Japan is still experiencing aftershocks from the 2011 event, this is not unlikely. Scientists predict chances of major earthquake in the next four years at around 75%, some scientists think the likelihood in the next three years is more than 90%. Earthquakes of magnitude 6 and higher have already occurred in the area.

Gundersen worries TEPCO will not get such a building erected until the beginning of 2014 at the earliest. So, he says, "We all gotta pray... that the [present structure] holds intact." The situation is deemed so ominous that Sen. Ron Wyden of Oregon appealed in April, 2012, to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon for international assistance to Japan to prevent an international catastrophe that would dwarf Chernobyl. As this article goes to press, the international community has yet to stabilize the fuel pools at Reactor Number Four, and according to experts, cleaning up Fukushima is beyond current technology. The Japanese are planning to rid themselves of the waste, estimated to fill 33 stadia, by incinerating it and dumping the ash into Tokyo Bay. This procedure will not lessen the radioactivity in the ash.

Knowledgeable observers such as former UN diplomat Akio Matsumura envision disaster if the fuel pools spill onto the ground. He says it will force Tokyo and Yokohama to close, creating a gigantic evacuation zone. "All the scientists I have talked with say that if the structure collapses, we will be in a situation well beyond where science has ever gone. The destiny of Japan will

be changed and the disaster will certainly compromise the security of neighboring countries and the rest of the world...” Matsumura warns.

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE FUKUSHIMA DISASTER

Public opposition to nuclear power increased in the wake of the disaster at Fukushima. Throughout much of Europe and Asia, plans for new plants have been scaled back or scrapped.

But not so in the United States. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission—like everyone else—saw the disaster unfold in Japan, but the collusion of industry and government regulators still continued, as it did there also. The lone voice of reason on the NRC, Chairman Gregory Jaczko, was harshly criticized by his fellow commissioners. Jaczko publicly advised the NRC to examine the causes of the Fukushima disaster to learn from them, but the backlash within the NRC and the nuclear power industry to his concerns was so great that he finally resigned last May.

Jaczko had been against the waste dump at Yucca Mountain. Senator Reid says he was the first NRC chairman who had never been a part of the nuclear industry. Another of the commissioners, however, Bill Magwood, ran a consulting firm before he was on the NRC. The client of that firm was Tokyo Electric and dozens of environmental groups had opposed his appointment to the agency. Reid calls Magwood, “a consummate liar and... a tool of the nuclear industry.” Magwood led the cabal that unseated Jaczko.

Nonetheless, nine states have banned construction of new nuclear power plants until the issue of waste is resolved, but according to Gundersen, the NRC is not making the US nuclear power industry learn from the lessons of Fukushima. He points out that the NRC assumes that design measures to correct these problems have a zero probability of failure, plainly an erroneous assumption. No changes have been made to the cooling of the fuel pools in reactors the NRC is licensing now, in spite of the Commission’s having urged the industry to do so. Problems easy for the layman to foresee, such as rubble from the explosion of one reactor affecting the cooling systems of nearby reactors, are completely ignored by regulators.

Governments worldwide have been covering up “incidents” at nuclear plants for fifty years to protect the industry, which in the US is insured by the taxpayer under the Price-Anderson Act. Gundersen charges that the NRC has refused to look at reports by independent experts pointing out potential problems. “The Nuclear Regulatory Commission uses something called ‘risk-informed decision-making,’” he says. “Fukushima shows this is wrong. They are using improper probabilities that are...too low, so that they... rationalize decisions that really put the risk on [the public] and minimize the costs to the people that are building these reactors...What’s the rush at the NRC?...America doesn’t need the power...It doesn’t make sense except for the political pressure that’s being applied.”

In February, 2012, the NRC approved construction of two reactors in Georgia after a moratorium of nearly thirty years following the Chernobyl disaster.

Now and for millennia to come, Fukushima will emit dangerous radiation into the soil, atmosphere and ocean. France’s Radioprotection and Nuclear Safety Institute has called the disaster, “The largest release of artificial radionuclides into the marine environment ever observed.” Yet in April 2011, US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton made a secret agreement with the Japanese government to continue to buy fish from Japan. Experts like marine chemist Ken Buesseler want a ban on fishing in Fukushima-impacted waters. Groundwater from Fukushima is flowing into rivers and thence into Tokyo Bay and the ocean, and freshwater fish in Japan and saltwater fish in the Pacific now test positive for radiation from Fukushima; the levels have not declined since March 2011, but the US government stopped monitoring radiation levels on the West Coast in late April 2011, claiming its equipment didn’t work. Before the EPA stopped testing, radioactive iodine, cesium, and uranium were measured in the US at hundreds of times their legal limit, which is already unconscionably high. Radiation many times the limits set by the EPA has been detected in water and fish, dairy products, vegetables, fruits, and beef. After years of decline, Philadelphia and Los Angeles have seen a 35% rise in infant mortality rates, thought to be due to atmospheric radioactivity from Fukushima.

The Fukushima disaster has many components, but two stand out: the predatory nature of the capitalist system which demands profit at all cost, and the corollary which is its corruption of government. As in Europe, US Greens must continue to oppose the nuclear power industry.

Sources for this article included Robert Alvarez, Dr. Rosalie Bertell, Dr. Helen Caldicott, Prof. Robert Duffy, Arnie Gundersen, David Lochbaum, Joseph Mangano, Grigori Medvedev, Lori Mochizuki, Tim Shorrock, Washington’s Blog, and Harvey Wasserman among others. In Washington, Senator Bernie Sanders, and Congressmen Edward Markey and Ron Wyden are enlightened on this issue. The Asia-Pacific Journal, Beyond Nuclear, ENNews, the Green Party, and the Nuclear Information and Resource Service are also trustworthy sources in this field which is rotten to the core with industry and government disinformation. Email me at bluesapphire48@yahoo.com for a complete list of sources.



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A Transformation of Consciousness

— or —

One Foot in Front of the Other

Getting to sustainable communities

GREG GERRITT

Poverty, violence, climate change, extinctions, inequality, and food insecurity stalk the land. According to the ruling class, these issues are either non-issues, or the fault of the people suffering from these traumas. We are also told that these issues are completely separate with no linkage between them. We are told, repeatedly, there is nothing wrong with the dominant ideology in which a small number of people get very rich exploiting labor and resources. Consumerism is the best thing ever. People get stuff.

But we know better. Things are connected, and much that is going on can be traced back to greed and violent domination. We may not have perfect knowledge, but we know how things got so bad. Despite the bankers cult of TINA (There Is No Alternative) we know there are other paths. <http://prosperityforri.com/38-studios-and-economic-development-in-rhode-island-2/>

For an example of connections take air pollution. Carbon dioxide in the atmosphere does not directly make people sick. But burning coal not only produces the carbon dioxide that is radically warming the planet in ways that physicists can demonstrate quite clearly, burning fossil fuels is always accompanied by an array of particles that can cause great harm in and of themselves. Much follows from that, And if we do not stop burning the 300 million year accumulation of decaying organic matter from low oxygen conditions, we are in a heap of trouble. Ask the folks in China choking in the Killer Smog that hit as this essay was being written <http://www.treehugger.com/corporate-responsibility/killer-smog-cloud-smothers-sunlight-across-asia.html>. Ask the people still recovering from Superstorm Sandy brought north by incredibly warm waters.

Individually and collectively, those with the bent for it ponder what are the obstacles to peace and prosperity. What are the obstacles to living in harmony with Earth? We look for general rules and specific examples clarifying what to do and what not to do. We are living under a global wealth elite that manages an ever greater share of what people do. We look for ways to challenge and change the framing to make it much easier, or at least more likely, that as individuals and together we can democratically create a society—a society in which all people, not just the few at the top, are treated with respect and dignity, a society in which healing the earth has a central role in our economy.

I am not sure if it is possible to be right about this: about how to heal the planet and its communities. No one person is going to think of all the different possible ideas and act upon them. I am not sure there is a cure for the impulse of planetary destruction, nor one way to heal the planet. I am not sure anyone could describe all of the ways the 1% manipulate our desires, subtly and crudely, and their ways of turning those desires into more for them-

selves. Or all the ways they use violence to take what they want and keep more than their share. And no one knows all the ways the 99% push back in the struggle to protect our planet and our communities. I sometimes wonder if the pondering is all that necessary, that maybe instead putting one foot in front of the other on the journey through time and space is all we can do. Yet I ponder, frequently, as it helps me do better work day to day.

RECENT READING

Recently I have been reading a variety of books and articles about this struggle and how to overcome the inertia that keeps our society and the global economy on such an unsustainable path. Where to start that exploration? Due to my predilections, I often start with primate evolutionary biology. While genes are not destiny, it is clear that many of our societal and ecological traumas are amplified due to deep seated behaviors coming out of our primate heritage. That and \$3 will get you a cup of coffee brewed from coffee beans grown in what was once a forest full of monkeys. In practical terms it just sort of reminds me how hard the task of those who seek to heal the world is. Clearly paths other than primate evolution can also bring us insights and possible leverage points as we seek transformation away from consumerism, ecological destruction, and the violence used to keep the looters and exploiters in charge.

In “The Coming Transformation” edited by Stephen Kellert and Gus Speth, the different authors explore a variety of approaches to solve the problems we face. Essays explore the spiritual components of our malaise, the psychological roots of consumerism as it takes root in people with little money and a less than joyous home environment, exploited by Madison

Avenue. Essays explore the spiritual and religious dimensions of the transformation and the efforts to create a change in consciousness. Kellert and Speth are especially convinced that such a transformation of consciousness is the only way forward. They too refer to the biology of humans, with its history of violence, and say to change the behavior we have to change the consciousness. There is no simple way to make it easy to do the right thing without a whole lot more people “getting it” and being willing to take a stand.

One essay I really enjoyed was “A Transformational Ecology” by Jonathan F.P. Rose. When a business man starts a chapter with the words: “Getting and spending we lay waste our powers. And getting and spending, we lay waste the earth’s ecology. How might we align the extraordinary powers of the human species with the health of the earth? To do so, we need to transform our relationship to the earth’s ecology.” it is a good start. He explores psychology, history, biology, and religion in an effort to help us see the roots of the problem and the way forward. We are left with mind and spirit to change the world.

The one place he frustrated me was in only going up to the edge of the cliff that says economies in the west, already shrinking for most folks, actually have to start shrinking as part of the ending of the cult of stuff. The business man in him has not reached that place yet.

I can not say you will like all of the essays in the book, but the odds are pretty good that if you are a *Green Horizon* reader some of them will resonate. A friend sent me the link to the free download, and I highly recommend it.

The same friend, a few hours later, sent me the pdf of Cynthia Kaufman’s book *Getting Past Capitalism*. This book explores the

“We are told, repeatedly, there is nothing wrong with the dominant ideology in which a small number of people get very rich exploiting labor and resources. Consumerism is the best thing ever. People get stuff. But we know better.”

*“There is no answer as to whether we shall see a change in consciousness, or if we can spark one.
There is no answer as to whether any of the things we do will heal the earth.
But many of us know we have to try. “*

same kind of issues and has the same holistic view of the disaster being inflicted on people and planet by the 1%. Kaufman is more like I am in that she thinks it's critical to “keep on keeping on” in the struggle, noting and coordinating with folks doing the right thing. And she does not think there is some overarching change, a sea change of consciousness. that we can wait for, rely on, or anything else.

I stop my literature review here. Every day I read something else that makes me think, makes me wonder about the hand basket trip we find ourselves on. Some of it brand new, some of it historic such as Martin Luther King's speech “The Fierce Urgency of Now: Beyond Vietnam” (April 4, 1967). http://www.jillstein.org/mlk_speech?utm_source=jillstein&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=mlk_speech&recruiter_id=803 Can we change how people think or can we merely hope for changes in what they do? Will the rich give up the power peacefully, can we use democracy to save the world, can we close the military industrial complex, can we make sure everyone has health care so their insecurities, and those of their parents as they grow older, can be alleviated, making them less susceptible to consumerism. Can we kick the growth obsession and the need to eat more of the planet every day to feed it? Can we all just get along and live in peace and harmony?

There is no answer as to whether we shall see a change in consciousness, or if we can spark one. There is no answer as to whether any of the things we do will heal the earth. But many of us know we have to try. So I am going to stick to business. This year I expect to write quite a bit, study on the state of the world and how to help heal the people and planet, run a conference based on building the compost industry in Rhode Island, testify in favor of making it easier for community gardens to start compost programs in their neighborhoods, help an anaerobic digester find food scraps to digest for clean energy, make a video about tadpoles in an urban cemetery on the shoulder of I-95, help Green Party candidates run for office, and organize a conference on “Ecological healing, Ecological economics, Economic

Justice: Creating Prosperity for the 99% in Rhode Island”. Will it help? I do not know, but I know that if I do not do something, then there will be no change. This way at least I am in the struggle and may do some good. I will leave transformation to others.

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GREG GERRITT

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involved in efforts around the exploration of the ecology/economy interface, urban agriculture, compost, river restoration and the administration of the coalition of environmental organizations in RI, Gerritt has been the leading advocate in RI for making sure ecology is actually a component of efforts to create a sustainable economy in Rhode Island. In 2012, received a Merit Award from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA Region 1) for advancing the cause of compost in Rhode Island. Gerritt was a founding member of the Green Politics Network, the national group whose work in creating the Association of State Green Parties (1996-2001) led to the formation of the United States Green Party in 2001. He has run for legislative office as a Green; is a former member of the National Committee of the U.S. Green Party; and is presently a member of it's International Committee dealing with African affairs.

THOUGHTS For My Grandchildren

...on *What You'll be Facing*

This is the second in a planned series of articles by Steve Welzer

STEVE WELZER

DEAR GRANDCHILDREN:

In my last notebook entry I mentioned that your lives will unfold during special times. We'll be discussing that at length below, but, in a nutshell, here's what I mean: The direction of many of the most fundamental trendlines of human history have arrived at a point of major transition, such that the conditions you'll be facing will be unique and unprecedented.

There have been inflection points of historical direction before...from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age, from antiquity into the Medieval period, from the Renaissance into the Industrial Revolution. But what is underway now is more than that. Rather than just a modification or acceleration, we're facing a radical break, a civilizational Turning Point [acknowledgement to Fritjof Capra for the term]. It will have many consequences and some are bound to be problematic.

Now, I don't wish to saddle your young lives with pessimism. You're full of hope and anticipation of opportunities. And you, as much as anyone, know that it's not in my nature to be a gloomster. Our time together is spent playing games, enjoying the outdoors, focusing on fun. I think Fun should be one of the Key Values!

I won't be giving you a lot of advice in these notebooks. My intention is mostly to help you orient yourselves in an increasingly disorienting world. But here I want to throw some in:

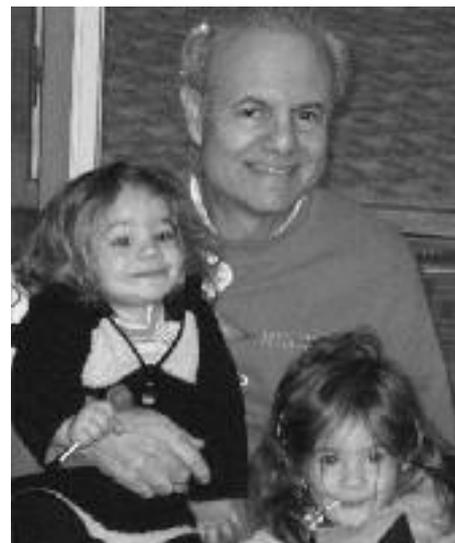
Hand-wringing won't solve any problems. Some sacrifice might be called for, but it would be presumptuous to think that our own Heroic Efforts will save the world. Let's be modest and not burden ourselves in that way. Let's remain open to joie de vivre.

E.B. White:

I arise in the morning torn between a desire to save the world and a desire to savor the world. This makes it hard to plan the day.

Here's a related quote, paraphrased from Edward Abbey:

Don't burn yourself out. Be only a part-time crusader, a half-hearted zealot. Save the other half of yourselves for pleasure and adventure. It is not enough to fight for the earth. It is just as important to enjoy it while you can. So get out there to places where the air is still clear and sweet...explore the forests, climb the mountains, run the rivers. Sit quietly for a while and contemplate the stillness of the lovely, mysterious, and awesome space. Enjoy yourself. Keep your brain in your head, your head firmly attached to your body, the body active and alive.



History is facing a Turning Point because some of its fundamental, longstanding trendlines are unsustainable.

The accelerating trendlines were viewed as manifestations of a beneficial process of progress and development until very recently; now we are starting to re-think those notions.

Future historians likely will date the beginning of the era of the Turning Point to this century, the 21st, your century; its implications will color your lives.

The advice is sound. It's not fair to the Being inside if you strain so much trying to solve the problems of the world that you neglect your own health and well-being. If you don't nurture your soul, who will?

So value and cherish soma, fun, laughter, and love. Interact with others in a way that fosters those things, for you and for them. Try to stress the positive in your relations. An inclination toward focusing on human deficiencies, folly, and frailty will lead you toward pessimism or cynicism really fast. Be accepting of human frailty by retaining a sense of humor (there's another Key Value: Humor!). But realize that acceptance of individual idiosyncrasies and deficiencies is not the same as acceptance of the current human condition.

Facing a crisis, there is a tendency in our society right now toward denial and avoidance...a kind of striving to be sanguine. "Life will go on." "People will be people." "I'm OK, You're OK." Or, we *could* be OK if we would adjust a little bit and detach a little bit and each tend to our garden.

Gardening is great. It's green, local-practical, and therapeutic. It's part of "the solution" because it's life-enhancing. It's a way to savor the world, which is all to the good...unless the savoring and local-preoccupation become reclusive, or self-nourishment becomes self-absorption. We can wish the personal best for you and for me without avoiding the fact that there are some bottom-line truths that need to be faced.

The world does need saving.

CRISIS OF UNSUSTAINABILITY

History is facing a Turning Point because some its fundamental, longstanding trendlines are unsustainable. For example, think about a graph curve representing levels of production through time. For millions of years prior to the Ascent into Civilization it was fairly stable at a low level, as humans mostly lived off the bounty of nature. Reliance upon self-production of food and other necessities of life is a relatively recent phenomenon dating to the period of the Neolithic Revolution, about ten thousand years ago. Since then, as one social unit after another adopted agriculture and division of labor, the "gross world product" has risen steadily. The curve has gone *parabolic* (accelerating rate of increase) since the inception of the Industrial Revolution. A corollary has been that the related curves representing population and consumption growth have also gone parabolic.

Such trendlines were viewed as manifestations of a beneficial process of progress and development until very recently. Now we

are starting to re-think those notions as we realize that along with accelerating production, population, and consumption have come accelerating levels of pollution and resource depletion. What kind of progress has it been if we now find ourselves on the brink of a global unsustainability crisis?

HOW WE'VE GOTTEN TO THIS POINT

Early consciousness of the looming Turning Point preceded its materialization by decades. For example, all the trendlines were still rising without constraint when Earth Day was inaugurated in 1970. Atmospheric carbon levels, aquifer draw-downs, soil depletion were not yet fetters on growth, not yet immediate concerns. Some were starting to discern Limits to Growth, as well as the spiritual bankruptcy of an "influenza"-plagued lifestyle, but most people (in western nations) were still absorbed with the pursuit of abundance.

Future historians likely will date the beginning of the era of the Turning Point to this century, the 21st, your century. Its implications will color your lives and, even more so, those of your children and grandchildren.

Civilizations have declined before, but this will be the first time such has been a global phenomenon. The situation will frighten many people and cause unpredictable social reactions. An understanding of how we've gotten to this point and where we might consider going from here could help with the challenges of coping and enlightened decision-making.

As I try to help you think about the process and its implications I'll be using four key terms in ways that might not be so familiar to you:

1. DUALITY. The specialness of human life is characterized by a number of related dualities, such as: body/mind, nature/culture, society/state, aboriginal/civilized.
2. LIMITS AND BALANCES. The ecological implication of these common words is profound, as we'll see.
3. HYPERTROPHY (abnormal enlargement or excessive growth). Things can get out of balance when limits are disregarded, resulting in some aspects or dimensions becoming hypertrophied.
4. LEVIATHAN. If things get very out of balance they can become monstrous. We will be referring to modern society in this way.

Clearly these indicate a countervailing perspective, one that calls into question the notion of 'progress.' We're going to make the case that the latter has been a mystique of the historical period. We can start by reflecting upon the duality between pre- and post-Neolithic lifeways.

TWO DISTINCT WAYS OF LIVING

For millions of years the experience of most humans was grounded in their tribal community...a stable group of people living together interdependently; within a bounded, comprehensible territory; alongside familiar fauna and flora; attuned to accustomed natural cycles...all felt to constitute Home.

What I'm going to call the Old Ways [after Gary Snyder] were basic, simple, and straightforward. People lived off the bounty of nature as did the animals around them. People had no more conception of development, exploitation, or ownership than did the animals around them. Life was characterized by a limited, manageable domain of experience.

People weren't "going anywhere." There was no teleology or sense of linear history.

But humans were a successful species. The populations of successful species tend to rise — up until the point where density strains available resources. For most species, at that point, population growth terminates. Humans solved that problem through adaptability. Tribes split, with migrants setting off for new territories, learning to live in less-favorable environments where necessary. Most individual tribes did not expand their territorial boundaries, but there was a general human diffusion due to out-migration — first from Africa into Eurasia, eventually into all habitable areas of the planet.

As broad areas started becoming "full" of people (full relative to resources) population growth tended to moderate. But over time people learned the arts of cultivation and found that if they augmented the bounty of nature through self-production of food they could support ever-higher population levels. We can conjecture that crises developed when they became dependent upon horticulture to support populations that otherwise would not have been supportable...and then discovered how difficult it is to assure adequate harvests year-by-year.

The situation created a stress, under the pressure of which human behavior started to change. Once sustenance and security depended upon adequate harvests, new lifeways developed. A more complex, structured, disciplined mode of social organization was required. Productivity became a value. Control of the provision and safeguarding of the harvest became issues. Self-production entailed considerably more work than had basic hunting/gathering.

BOUNDARIES BURST ASUNDER

Tribal peoples had often skirmished due to the felt need to be vigilant about defending what they considered to be their territorial boundaries. But they rarely engaged in wars of conquest; there was little to be gained. Under the New Ways, conquest could yield additional arable land and the conquered could be put to work. Tribal limits and boundaries were ruptured by wars of conquest and the world became something of a free-for-all.

Groups had to set up military defenses or face the prospect of being conquered. Technological development was spurred, both by the need for maximal harvests and by the striving for martial superiority.

SOMETHING OF A FREE-FOR-ALL

The Sumerians were conquered by the Akkadians, who then were conquered by the Gutis, who were conquered by the [c.b.t.] Babylonians, c.b.t. Hittites, c.b.t. Kassites, c.b.t. Assyrians, re-c.b.t. Hittites, re-c.b.t. Assyrians, re-c.b.t. Babylonians, c.b.t. Persians . . . and that describes the chaos in just one of the so-called Cradles of Civilization. With that kind of experience in the cradle, it's no wonder the poor child grew up to be a wreck!).

Under these conditions it became clear that the human capacity for technological development is nothing short of awesome. What was created was impressive. Domestication and irrigation were mastered. Innovations proliferated. Organizational efficacy leapt ahead.

AND THE HARVESTS DID GROW.

As is the case with any species, if the food supply is abundant the population will increase. A cycle of more food — more people was established and has persisted to this day. Also established as a trend, under the pressure of competition and vulnerability, was a shift toward an increasingly aggressive-defensive, controlling character structure. This took cultural forms (like walled cities) and it became manifest in individuals. Original simple interest in growing some crops developed into aspirations to fully control the land. Agriculturalists cleared it of all other flora and fauna (viewed as "weeds" and "pests"). They felt a sense of ownership toward the produce. Issues arose about its allocation. The striving for More and the striving for dominance became factors within and between communities. Power elitism developed. Cities became power centers and then imperial centers.

All in all, within a very short period of time from the standpoint of natural history, the human species transitioned from one way of living to another: from gathering to production; from tribe/village to city/state/empire; from cyclicity to progression; from stability to development; from egalitarianism to class division; from personal to institutional relations.

From Home (familiar community living close to nature) to Leviathan.

...to be continued



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THEORY

is Not a Four-Letter Word

JON OLSEN

In his article “Will the Green Party Catch the Wave?” (*Green Horizon* #25, Spring/Summer 2012), John Rensenbrink demonstrates that GH is not limited to Green reporting or topical discussions, but can truly be a theoretical journal as well, and this is exciting. As someone wisely said, “theory without practice is impotent, but practice without theory is blind.” Scott McLarty’s contribution regarding communication is welcome in this regard as well. As my academic background was in philosophy, what I will try to do here is expand on this discussion.

Rensenbrink correctly scores the paucity of intellectual honesty by the pandering political campaigns of the Democrats and Republicans (whose high levels I refer to as Demagogues and Repugnants), whereby “left” in the political sense is now attached to the corporate-embracing policies of Obama and entourage. This is laughable. Even more absurd is the claim that he is a “socialist!” That claim derives from the idea that socialism = big government. I am certainly no fan of Obama and his policies that continue the era of Bush/Cheney, but it is imperative to clarify the historical meaning of “socialism.” Fundamentally, socialism means “empowerment of the working class and the sharing of wealth that is collectively produced.” This sharing of wealth, even in a capitalist society is well understood. Public schools, libraries, roads, museums, parks, and recreation centers come to mind. These aspects of society can reasonably be called “socialist features” within an overall capitalist society, defining “capitalism” as the private (both individually and as corporations) appropriation and accumulation of collectively produced wealth. This wealth, as Marx well explained, derives from the surplus value of the labor employed. If employers only broke even every year, they would stop employing workers.

NEED FOR ACCURACY IN USE OF LANGUAGE

It is generally thought that 1990 was the defeat and end of “communism,” with the incorrect assumption that late-stage USSR was characterized by communism because it called itself so. By analogy, can we justly refer to wealthy TV evangelists as being “Christian,” if that word means “follower of and emulator of Jesus Christ?” Or, can we call the USA a “democracy” when the electoral process and mass media is so heavily skewed to ensure victory only for the two imperial parties? Let us be more precise with words. In regard to the USSR, I will just briefly mention the two volume work of Charles Bettelheim, *CLASS STRUGGLES IN THE USSR*, in which he demonstrates that the correct designation of the USSR from quite early on would be state capitalism, wherein the profit from surplus labor value is appropriated by the state rather than private corporations, or returned to the workers themselves. To a substantial degree, this description can apply to China today as well.

'Conspiracy theory' used as an epithet short circuits honest inquiry.

In his article, Rensenbrink says, "It takes conceptual power to wrench free of the mind-set emanating from the ruling elite and their well paid scribblers." Further "... it's very clear that a new political spectrum is needed." (p.21) I would say that we need to actively resist the triple D's: the dumbing down of discourse. In describing the dysfunction of discussion between members of the two mega parties as they try to govern, "Dialogue is squelched at the roots and thus does not happen. Thought is ruined and turns into propaganda." (p.22)

Precisely! I'll give you a perfect example. How many times have we heard the phrase "conspiracy theory" used in a derogatory manner to deliberately sabotage rational discussion? The (CIA?) pundits use it all the time, especially with regard to understanding the numerous anomalies associated with the tragic events of 9/11. For some reason, psychological or otherwise, even some colleagues active in the anti-imperialist movement will not "go there." If anyone is willing to follow truthfully the evidence no matter where it leads, I can say with certainty that the courageous scientific investigation done by Architects and Engineers for 9/11 Truth (AE911truth.org) has proven beyond any rational doubt that the reason for the collapse of all three buildings (not two) that day was neither plane impact nor the consequent fires, but of pre-planted explosives, causing controlled demolitions. Their evidence can be seen in a video they produced called "Experts Speak Out," in which prominent professional architects, engineers, chemists, and physicists go on record to declare that the government's story defies the laws of physics! They make no claim about the "Who" or the "Why," but just present the physical science.

However, "conspiracy theory" used as an epithet, short circuits honest inquiry and sabotages rational discussion. Honest people will refuse to be intimidated. As for conspiracy in other contexts,

just to start, one can mention the overthrow or murder of heads of state in Guatemala, Congo, Indonesia, Iran, and Chile. Going back even further, there existed an obvious conspiratorial collusion during the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani in Hawai'i in 1893.

"Thought as a guide to action is respectful of action and the life world. Its effort to frame a problem and to frame a way to meet the problem is an offer to think the problem through and assist in finding effective means to reach a solution." (p.22) This kind of thought has a name. It is called "theory" and should be elevated and honored as an attempt to make coherent, rational sense from diverse phenomena, and not be ridiculed or denigrated. Consider, for instance, the famed "Theory of Relativity."

Rensenbrink posits that we Greens sometimes act as though we had the exclusive vision/message to be promoted as something people now lack. While there is no doubt some truth in this, I think a better way to frame it is that our role is to CLARIFY the vision, the message, that so many people, including us, are trying to find. We feel in our bones that the system itself, not merely fossil fuels, is profoundly unsustainable. That means it will end. But most of us are at a loss how to make the change, given that the usual channels of change are full of debris that prevent clear passage (like convoluted and discriminatory election provisions).

PHILOSOPHY AS OUR INTELLECTUAL GPS FOR OUR POLITICAL EVOLUTION

I would suggest that one thing that is needed is a clear, relevant, and exciting ideology, one rooted in Green values, but not limited to the skeletal 10 key values. Part of this new ideology would embrace the phrase "conscious evolution" where we choose our way democratically out of the pending catastrophes. Indeed, this is the

What is warfare today but human sacrifice on a huge scale?

*As Greens...we certainly emphatically reject the prevailing global corporate order.
But we also find no attraction to the state capitalist model of the late USSR.*

very message in Ellen LaConte's fine book LIFE RULES. The old order is characterized by a top-down authoritarian command-and-obey mentality. It is present in the military, government, corporate organizations, and in education. There are exceptions, of course. The kind of decision-making we are evolving is horizontal, not vertical. Think of the Mic-check discussions at Occupy events, for instance. It terrifies those used to hierarchical decision-making. But like those who came with sledge hammers to destroy that quintessential symbol of oppression, the Berlin Wall, we come to the tasks with joy, exuberance and love. I have coined a new term for this expression—we are REVEL-utionaries.

We are properly horrified at the stories we have learned of human sacrifice practiced by primitive societies where one hapless individual is ritually sacrificed (killed) for irrational reasons. Yet what is warfare today but human sacrifice on a huge scale? Why don't we pin THAT tail on the donkey of rampant militarism? Visualize posters mimicking those of the government, but with different words.: "Enlist today! Tomorrow engage in human sacrifice! (But will YOU be the one being sacrificed?)"

As Greens living in the USA today, we certainly reject emphatically the prevailing global corporate order. But we also find no attraction to the state capitalist model of the late USSR or the fusion of the two that appears to characterize modern China. What if instead, we proposed a form of democratic socialism with some capitalist features that allow (up to a point, to be negotiated) encouragement of entrepreneurship? Consider the following perspective:

Major infrastructure—transportation, communication, heavy industry, energy production (for grid purposes, with individual and community production encouraged as well) would be for the most part socially owned, either at the local, state, or federal level, with preference being local as much as possible, depending on scale.

However, it would be possible and even encouraged for individual or collective entrepreneurs to enter into voluntary cooperation to own and manage their own enterprises. Mammoth corporations would, in the course of this evolution, go the way of the biological mammoths. We would of course have to be vigilant against any Big Brother encroachments in the communication sector.

I would also propose that the minimum wage be directly tied to maximum income, including interest, stocks and bond dividends. Certainly the maximum should not exceed 100 times the minimum wage for full time work. If we set \$10/hour as the minimum wage, it comes out to \$20,000 per year for 50 weeks.

100 times that is \$2 million. No one needs more than that to live very comfortably. No billionaires and no homeless street people! If the richest want to have more, they would have to agree to raising the minimum wage accordingly.

Final point: Occupy Sandy has shown us the way to solve the single payer health system issue! While FEMA and Red Cross were tied up in their own bureaucratic hand-wringing and convoluted procedures, Occupy people sprang into action and delivered real material help—food, clothing, medical supplies, and the like—in a fast and efficient manner to those hard hit in NY and NJ, putting the mega agencies to shame. The lesson, then, is not to try to get the constipated federal bureaucracy (including the high level Repugnant obstructionists) to expand Medicare (how likely is THAT?), but instead, DO It Ourselves! Imagine, with even 1 million people putting in about what Medicare premiums are (\$100 per month), we would have \$100 million per month income! With that, we hire our own physicians, nurses, accountants, attorneys, therapy people, alternative treatment (natural remedies, acupuncture, massage therapy and the like) with the aim of keeping people well in the first place! Everyone would earn a fair salary, but there would be no \$3 million CEO salaries with bonuses! The job is to treat people as needed, not tie fee structure to specific treatments. It is time to abandon the idea of merely expanding Medicare in this political climate—dead horse. With a do-it-ourselves program, we would blindside BOTH the insurance companies AND the federal government. Keep Medicare in place, but cover everyone else, incrementally, this way. All in favor, say "Aye!"



JON OLSEN

is a self-described "unrepentant sixties radical activist" who grew up in Maine and got a philosophy degree from Bates College, then moved to Hawai'i for a Masters Degree in philosophy. He remained there for 36 years. He was a founding member of SDS, Resistance (to the Draft), Peace and Freedom Party, and in 1989, the Hawai'i Green Party. For 20 years his major work was marketing solar water heating systems. Upon returning to Maine in 2001, he quickly joined the Maine Green Independent Party. He has served on the State Steering Committee as well as the Merchandising Committee of the Green Party of the United States.

If we can't do better,

WHY DO IT?

I am presently serving on the nine member Steering Committee of the Green Party of the United States and have been doing so for just shy of two years. It is a rough and tumble experience; and at the same time it has its moments of exhilaration and sense of genuine accomplishment. I've been asked by John Rensenbrink of *Green Horizon Magazine* to write up a commentary on what it is like to serve on the Steering Committee and to engage in responsive dialogue with the wider National Committee.

It's a very large subject, to be sure, so I have focused on some of the problems of communication between and among members of the Steering Committee and members of the National Committee. I realize that problems of communication are not just something that Greens experience, as if other parties and action groups are blessedly free of such problems. But I am moved by the thought and the proposition that we Greens can do better and that we must do better. It is in that spirit that I offer these observations, a challenge, and a plea.

DARRYL L. C. MOCH

It seems to me that there are a lot of:

- old wounds
- past hurts
- unresolved issues
- missing affirmations
- misunderstandings
- people who've been members for a long time stuck in old fights that new people either don't know about or have too many new issues and battles to fight to get mixed up in the old stuff

There are lots of ways that we damage our party and keep it from progressing. It is not only a "have it my way or no way" mentality but it is also holding on to old issues and not letting them go and/or not being willing to come to resolution and healing from them.

I am not saying these old fights are irrelevant; I am saying that everyone on whichever side you may fall has responsibility to hear, listen, respond, accept, resolve, and build for the future on each and every issue.

When I joined the party I believed in it. Thought "now here is a chance to make a difference—to have an impact." But what I find is less empowering. Is it race, gender, age, length of time in the party, perspective (which usually comes from age, geography, and experiences), sexuality, religion, or something else? I don't know, but what I know is if we cannot air these things in a healthy way we will never move forward.

I wanted to do more of this at our annual meeting last summer in Baltimore (July 12-15, 2012) but people seem reluctant to do the hard work - which involves confrontation, compromise, and in some cases simple forgiveness (which can be very hard) especially when no good resolution can be had except to apologize and forgive. Sometimes you don't have to be wrong to apologize. You just have to acknowledge that somehow something happened that caused a rift and that now the rift is there and amends need be made.

I really don't know how we all do this and keep going. What is it you and I really want? A place to argue or a place to build a movement and "be the change"? My elders (some among and some elsewhere) told us to go get our education, have experiences, learn and return to help our communities. They told us to take the lessons of the past and use them to move forward, to never forget where you came from, to "be the change," to be nonviolent, to take up arms when necessary... and a host of other things; and when we do just that we are often ridiculed, beaten down, disenfranchised, emasculated, de-feminized (my word), and so forth.

I want to ask you: What do you want? And can we get it the way we have been going? If not, then we need a hard reset. History is important and has its lessons to offer- but we are living in the present and we must decide for TODAY what we will do NOW. We have got to change or we will have exactly what we have now, and the rest of us will be gone. We are looking for an alternative to age-old bickering, infighting, blaming, scapegoating, and hateful ways disguised as: progressive liberal anti-capitalist, environmental justice, peace, civil rights, equality, and inclusion activism. That is nothing more than a wheel spinning waste of time, energy, and consciousness resulting in more of the same with an "organic" label on it.

There have been recommendations over the years for changes, including some structural changes:

- A smaller Steering Committee has been suggested
- Having a designated Spokesperson, or two designated Spokespersons
- Specifying times for the National Committee to take up proposals (both substantive and procedural) instead of doing that on a continuing basis throughout the year, thus giving the Steering Committee more focused time to do their work
- Using a forum style discussion process where people can maximize their engagement by minimizing being inundated with email and comments
- Streamlining our policies and procedures including simplifying our by-laws
- Increasing our diversity through better inclusion of people of color, women, differently abled, and young people

I want to ask you:

What do you want?

And can we get it the way we have been going?

If not, then we need a hard reset.

These changes and others could be discussed and from that improvement may come. But we won't accomplish that or arrive at good choices unless we improve the spirit and letter of our communications.

If we cannot do better why do it at all?

I'm just asking.



DARRYL L.C. MOCH

of Washington, DC, is a Co-Chair of the US Green Party (USGP) and a community activist and advocate rooted in social justice, equality, and quality of life issues for African-American/People of Color, LGBTQ constituencies, people living with mental and physical challenges, the homeless, as well as people living with, and/or affected by HIV/AIDS

and other health disparities. He is the Executive Director of the Labor Heritage Foundation (an arts and culture non-profit in the labor movement). He is the co-founder/President of Inner Light, Inc, a community based organization associated with Inner Light Ministries in DC. He is a member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and a member of UAW/ National Writers Union. Darryl! was a recent steering committee member of the DC Statehood Green Party and is a delegate to the USGP National Committee, USGP Black Caucus, USGP Platform Committee, and USGP Media Committee. He ran for DC City Council in the 2010 DCSGP primary. His motto: "Remember to live in Love and let LOVE live in you, around you, through you, and...AS you."

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Think BIG

and seize chances to win reform with major party allies

ROB RICHIE

Backers of a multi-party politics independent of the two-party system often assume that the major parties will oppose any reforms that encourage more voter choice. You will hear the same argument from people who despair about achieving any major changes in voting rules. They resort to the common refrain “why would people elected by one set of rules ever support new ones?”

But our history is replete with examples of those elected by one set of rules backing change. The key is context – and being ready to seize the day and build a winning coalition when a reform opportunity presents itself.

Consider our history of suffrage expansion. Initially, an overwhelming majority of Americans were blocked from participation – nearly all women, people of color, teenagers and people without property and multi-year residency. But leaders elected by a smaller electorate repeatedly acted to expand suffrage, including constitutional amendments extending suffrage to African Americans (the 15th amendment), women (19th amendment) and 18-year-olds (26th amendment).

The U.S. Senate backed a constitutional amendment to require all senators to be elected. Congress adopted campaign finance reform. Southern Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act to protect African American voting rights. Many states have reduced barriers to ballot access, and major party nominees for Congress and governor have welcomed third parties to debates.

Rather than dismiss chances for reform or believe that change is only possible by initiative, third party reformers must be ready to build winning coalitions with major party backers. Current examples of what’s possible include the movement for ranked choice voting in Maine and the growing chance to replace winner-take-all elections for Congress.

Maine has had strong independent politics for decades. Of the last 10 gubernatorial elections, a major party nominee has only once won with more than 50%. Three of the past five elections have been won with less than 40% — one each by an independent, Democrat and Republican. Paul LePage’s 37.6% win in 2010 was particularly controversial, as he clearly would have lost badly in a match-up with second-place finisher Eliot Cutler.

In 2012, independent Angus King was elected to the U.S. Senate, with the Democrat again finishing a weak third. Looking to the 2014 governor’s race, Republican LePage, independent Cutler and a Democrat are all expected to run. Polls show that LePage would lose badly to either Cutler or a Democrat, but wins with a plurality vote against both of them.

These conditions create a perfect storm for support for ranked choice voting (RCV), the instant runoff system that allows voters to rank candidates in order of choice and use those rankings to simulate a runoff between the top two candidates. RCV gives voters the chance to vote for their sincere first choice and still help a lesser choice

Nationally, there's a similar dynamic in replacing winner-take-all voting rules for electing Congress. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Congress can pass a simple statute to establish fair voting systems of proportional representation for congressional elections.

defeat their last choice. Of great interest to third parties wanting to escape the “spoiler” epithet, adoption of RCV for governor has drawn the backing of more than 40 Maine state legislators, including Democrats, independents and Republicans. If the governor vetoes the bill, a measure could be put on the ballot by a coalition of insiders and outsiders ready to work together to improve elections for all Mainers.

Nationally, there's a similar dynamic in replacing winner-take-all voting rules for electing Congress. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Congress can pass a simple statute to establish fair voting systems of proportional representation for congressional elections. Winner-take-all, single-member districts are no more the historic norm than having 435 House seats. What we need is the political will to replace the thoroughly discredited status quo with rules that give every voter a meaningful vote in every election – and that leave few voters stuck with representation from only one party.

FairVote presents plans for all 50 states in an interactive map at FairVoting.US, with associated factsheets and analyses describing the impact and legality of reform. Skeptics should remember the lessons of our own history—and the fact that even though hardly anyone in 1985 thought the people of South Africa and Eastern Europe had any chance of throwing off the chains of dictatorship, within a decade their nations all held democratic elections.

For replacing winner-take-all elections for Congress, potential allies include:

Democrats: In 2012, Democratic House candidates won more votes than Republicans and had an underlying voter preference of some four percentage points. But they won only 46% of seats, and likely needed a ten percentage point edge to earn a simple majority. Democrats had been victimized by gerrymandering in several states, but their real problem is structural: Democratic voters today are more concentrated in urban areas, and even “fair” redistricting done by commissions would leave Republicans with a significant edge.

Republicans: House Republicans may benefit in the short-term from winner-take-all rules, but their party does not. Since their 1994 takeover of the House, Republicans have won the popular vote for president only once – George Bush's narrow re-election in 2004. In 2012 they lost badly to a weakened Barack Obama and won fewer U.S. Senate seats than any major party a half century. Defined by House leaders who in turn are shaped by their strongholds, Republicans are unlikely to become

a majority party again until able to run and win across the country, with a more representative mix of winners.

The discontented center: Single-member districts result in a highly partisan House – with every Democrat now to the left of every Republican. While many in Washington wish for representatives able to build bridges between the major parties, they fail to see that the bridge has been washed away by winner take all voting rules. With the public seeing each party as quite distinct, it is nearly impossible today to win in a district leaning toward the other party – but it is precisely those Members who used to help Congress get things done.

Under-represented constituencies such as third parties, women and people of color: The share of the electorate registering to vote outside the major parties keeps growing, but has almost no representation in Congress. More than 80% of Congress is men, with little progress for women for two decades. People of color are bumping up against a winner-take-all election ceiling that caps representation — and even that representation is at risk if the Supreme Court weakens the Voting Rights Act.

All these constituencies have a common interest: having a chance for the left, center and right in all parts of each state to earn fair representation – something that would happen with even modest forms of fair voting in larger districts. In a fair voting election for Connecticut's five House seats, for example, a candidate would win with the strong backing of 17% of voters.

Just as in the opportunity to win RCV in Maine, building a reform coalition will take smarts – and realizing that prophecies of failure are self-fulfilling. It's time to think big, find allies and win real reform to take action when the political opportunity arises, as it inevitably will.



ROB RICHIE

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

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Authorship of the Ten Key Values

Charlene Spretnak responds to Mark Satin's article in the last issue:

TO THE EDITOR,

I am writing to correct misperceptions and historical errors in “Miraculous Birth of the Ten Key Values Statement” by Mark Satin (Fall/Winter 2012). Around the time your issue came out, he published a more extreme version of that article under the same title in his online *Radical Middle Newsletter* that contained several fabrications, unsubstantiated claims, and puzzling aggression; he eventually replaced it online with the version you had edited and published (which still contained some false claims). I mention this in case some readers are confused by the two different versions of his article.

I understand that a lot of people who have come into the Green Party since the 1980s are interested in learning about what it was like in the early years. I recommend the book *Green Parties: Reflections on the First Three Decades* (Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2006), which is a collection of presentations made at a conference in Washington, DC, in 2004 and which includes articles by several of us who were involved with the US Greens early on.

During the closing session of the founding conference, in St. Paul, MN in August 1984, a proposal was approved that three of us – Eleanor LeCain, Mark Satin, and myself – should write a statement based on a session in which we and others had brainstormed about values of the new Green organization; this

statement became the Ten Key Values. Although our writing group had no strong ideological differences, we did have a geographical challenge, as there were 3000 miles between Eleanor and me in Berkeley and Mark in Washington, DC. There were no faxes then, but we had lots of conversations and sent photocopies of the drafts back and forth. We were pleased to be spurred on by each other's suggestions as our statement took shape. When we had arrived at our final draft, we felt we had crafted a new American political perspective that was deeply Green in its premises and implications. As I have noted elsewhere many times, the important idea to phrase the subtopics under each value in the form of questions in order to encourage discussion came from Mark.

Apparently, Mark was set off recently by seeing that a couple of websites and a book erroneously state that I was the sole author of the Ten Key Values. I was unaware of those sites and that book. I have never claimed sole authorship.

After Mark's article came out, I telephoned Eleanor to tell her that, quite surprisingly, he was now claiming that she was never on the committee at all and that he was actually one-half instead of one-third of the writing team. (I have not been in contact with either of them for decades.) Eleanor's response was that she did not remember that Mark Satin was on the writing committee! The explanation for this situation is that conference calls were not available on home phones in 1984, so I had many conversations with each of them and conveyed the emerging ideas back and forth, including my own contributions. Had conference calls been easily

“Once Eleanor and Mark each agreed to join me...two members of the newly constituted national steering committee [said] they would support the idea if proposed. A formal proposal was then made during the closing plenary session that our scribe committee—Eleanor, Mark, and myself—write a draft of a values statement... The entire plenary session approved this proposal with no qualifying conditions.”

available to us, both Eleanor and Mark would remember that we all three had many conversations about the Ten Key Values. As it was, though, they each remember talking only to me. Eleanor certainly confirms my recollection of the work we did and the way our working group came about at the founding conference.

Some context is necessary here regarding that gathering. First, the planning committee for the founding conference (myself and four others) was unable to convince journalists to cover it – with the exception of New Options, a one-person newsletter run by Mark Satin. His journalistic mode was unusual in that he often printed provocative accounts of events and people that were only loosely accurate, or not, and then waited for the letters of correction to come in; he once told me that he was always pleased to print those letters because it proved that he was being read. (It seems that this pattern is still in effect in his writings.) Nonetheless, we on the planning committee were very happy that Mark Satin showed up (he was invited as media), stayed throughout the weekend, and wrote an article about the new organization. Several of us had friendly chats with him during the gathering. He seems now to be confusing the founding conference, when neither I nor anyone I know of was miffed at him, with later Green conferences where, I gather, that changed. At the founding conference, we definitely welcomed his presence.

The second bit of context is the unexpected dynamic that emerged at the founding conference regarding one organization, the Institute for Social Ecology (ISE) in Burlington, VT. They packed the meeting by sending eight people, when the invitation to organizations and institutes all over the country had clearly invited each to send either one or two representatives. In addition, their airline tickets were bought with money taken from the conference budget and quietly given to them. (The person on the conference planning committee who volunteered to send out the letters of invitation and to be in charge of the \$10,000 donation was employed as the office manager at the ISE.) Moreover, the ISE people exhibited overbearing behavior as a tight group throughout the weekend, glaring at anyone they didn't approve of, harshly criticizing options they didn't favor in discussion sessions,

and imposing their anarchist-syndicalist ideology (no party formation was to be allowed; no activism at the state or national level was to be allowed, only the local; no national steering committee was to be allowed [they insisted that it be called the “interregional committee”]). The proof? Had they behaved in a more collegial manner, instead of asserting that their ideology was the One True Way, the rest of the 62 participants would not have resisted so strongly when the ISE group proposed on Sunday morning that their ISE office be made the site of the headquarters of the new Green Politics organization (the Committees of Correspondence). Immediately many people scrambled to find an alternative proposal for a site. The closing plenary session enthusiastically voted to place the headquarters with Harry Boyte and others in Minneapolis, rather than Burlington. (The following year, it was moved to Kansas City, headed for years by Dee Berry and Ben Kjelshus.)

Prior to the founding conference, I had not given a thought to who might write the draft of a values statement for the new organization, but after listening to the ISE people forcefully declaim their ideology at every opportunity, I realized the obvious: that a values statement in their hands would wreck our potential for outreach and education about a deeply Green, eco-social politics in this country. (They labeled any Green who didn't agree with their ideology a “conservative.”) A brainstorming session about the values of the new organization was held late on Saturday. I participated in the session and took notes, as did many other people. (Mark was hardly the only person taking notes in that session.) I kept hoping – dearly hoping – that, after the pieces of butcher paper taped to the walls were filled with suggestions, the values statement would be saved from ruination because the session would simply disperse at the end of the allotted time with no mention of who should take the next steps to write it up. Thankfully, that is what happened.

Before the closing plenary session the next morning, I quietly approached two people I knew to be talented political thinkers and asked if they would be willing to work with me to write a draft of what would become the Ten Key Values. The first was

“Contrary to Mark’s comments in his article, our writing group worked together smoothly with no significant differences...I believe we each felt it was an honor to be doing that work.”

Eleanor LeCain, whose impressive work I knew from the peace and nuclear disarmament movement in the San Francisco Bay Area. The second person I invited to join the committee was Mark Satin. (Note: This would not have happened if what he mistakenly wrote about negativity toward him at the founding conference were true.) Although his journalism was known for being highly impressionistic, this was not a journalistic task, and I knew from conversations that Fritjof Capra and I had had with him while writing the book *Green Politics* (Dutton, 1984) that he had some good insights about presenting this new politics in our country. Once Eleanor and Mark each agreed to join me, I quietly ran the idea of our writing committee by two of the members of the newly constituted national steering committee (Interregional Committee). They liked it and told me they would support the idea if proposed. A formal proposal was then made during the closing plenary session that our scribe committee of three – Eleanor, Mark, and myself – write a draft of a values statement, drawing from notes from the brainstorming session, and submit it to the Interregional Committee of the Committees of Correspondence to be circulated and discussed. *The entire plenary session approved this proposal*, with no qualifying conditions. (We were tasked with the writing and were definitely not urged by the plenary session to take on “assistants,” as Mark erroneously wrote.)

Since Mark has forgotten that Eleanor was also on the committee and with status equal to his own, he has apparently imagined a number of scenarios to support his confused memories. Most surprisingly, Mark imagines that a groundswell of support for him during the closing session on Sunday (even though most of the participants who flew in from around the country did not know who he was) resulted in a popular call for the reporter in the back of the room to be the person who would write the values statement for the new organization (along with me). That could not have happened for many reasons, not least of which is that any sort of open call from the floor would have allowed the ISE people to volunteer for and pack the writing committee. No, the only way that the Ten Key Values statement turned out the way it did is that the scribe committee was constituted *before* the formal proposal was made in the closing plenary session. Mark remembers correctly that a proposal was made that a values statement be drafted and that his name was part of that successful proposal, but he apparently does not remember that that was the very proposal I had run by him, and by Eleanor, prior to the closing session. Only one proposal was made regarding this task. Mark definitely did not speak up at that point to explain to the plenary session that he cannot bear to work on committees and that, therefore, Eleanor LeCain would have to be dropped or demoted to being an “assistant.” My proposal for our committee of three was enthusiastically approved, and we then set to work.

Contrary to Mark’s comments in his article, our writing group worked together smoothly with no significant differences.

Mark’s stated belief that politics is essentially about feelings (that is, any successful political presentation must reach people’s deep feelings about collective problems and issues) was balanced by Eleanor’s thoughtful, analytical approach, to which I added my knowledge of the values statements produced by European Green Parties and my own thoughts on the subject. I believe we each felt it was an honor to be doing that work.

Once we had consensus on a draft, Eleanor and I submitted it to the Interregional Committee of the new Green Politics organization (on which she also served as the representative from California). They circulated it for discussion in local Green groups and then requested some minor edits, which we made. The Interregional Committee then voted unanimously to approve the final version and put it into use nationwide. (Later, the ISE person on the Interregional Committee tried to change his vote approving the Ten Key Values but was not permitted to. The ISE people eventually wrote their own version of a values statement.)

I do agree with the gist of the last section of Mark’s article, about the fate of the Ten Key Values statement. Even though it has remained central to Green Party efforts for nearly 30 years, it has become rearranged in various versions, with the question format often dropped, and it was not used as effectively as it might have been. The Ten Key Values is an encapsulated presentation of a deeply eco-social analysis and vision, which is different from the focus of traditional liberal, left, and conservative parties. Ecological Wisdom came first because all human systems must (quickly) learn to fit in with the Earth’s systems, not be designed as if on top of nature and unconnected to it. Community-based economics and regional trade together are the antidote to corporatism, globalization, and vast concentrations of wealth and power, which severely subvert democracy. Sadly, many Green Party platforms around the United States now mimic the Democrats’ platforms, having deleted from their preamble and other sections the framing of a deeply Green, eco-social perspective.

A historical note: The founding conference voted to seed the ideas of Green Politics around the country before founding a party, which most of us thought would happen within a few years, as there was much momentum then. Instead, the Greens associated with ISE blocked formation of a party for many years. Finally, at the national conference in 1991 in Elkins, WV, John Rensenbrink and other pro-party Greens succeeded in establishing an option for starting state-level Green Parties. Almost immediately, Green energy across the country flowed out of the initial organization (which had recently come largely under the control of ISE people) and into the formation of state-level parties, which united as an association in 1996 that subsequently became the Green Party of the United States. It was a long detour.

Charlene Spretnak
Ojai, CA

*Eleanor LeCain responds to Satin's article:***TO THE EDITOR:**

While I was delighted to see an article about the “Miraculous Birth of the ‘Ten Key Values’ statement” of the Greens (Fall/Winter 2012), I was disturbed to find in it some major errors of fact. Mark Satin captures some of the excitement we felt at the 1984 founding of the US Green movement. Although Ronald Reagan was at the height of his power, we knew that the current path was dangerous and unsustainable, and that we needed a new politics, more just and more in harmony with mother nature.

It is puzzling that Mark claims I was not on the committee writing the Values statement. Charlene Spretnak shared her letter of response to *Green Horizon* with me, and I agree with her description of what happened. Charlene, well known and highly respected by us all as a pioneer in green thought and the principal co-author of the groundbreaking *Green Politics*, was the main person who brought us together. She asked me to serve on the committee writing a values statement and I agreed. The group approved of the proposal that Charlene, Mark and I be the scribes writing a Values statement - with no conditions - and we did.

It is also puzzling that Mark says so many negative things about other conference participants, calling them “feuding, immature, alienated bullies”. I remember thoughtful people concerned about pressing problems and dedicated to making needed changes despite tremendous odds. I remember courage and creativity, even with differences of view.

At the time, I was in favor of launching a green *movement* but not a green party. Election laws make it extremely difficult for any third party to be successful. Also Green Party candidates would most likely draw away votes from a Democrat and make it more likely that a less attractive and even dangerous candidate would win. This is indeed what happened in 2000 when Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate for president, received over 97,000 votes in Florida that Gore lost by just 537 votes thus electing George W. Bush, a disastrous presidency from which we have not yet recovered. (While not all voters for Nader would have gone to Gore - some would have gone to Bush and others would not have voted - most objective observers agree that without Nader in the race, Gore would have won Florida and the presidency.) Moreover, any position that you would advocate as a Green Party candidate you can advocate as a Democratic Party candidate.

I went on to work within the Democratic Party and helped elect some wonderful people to office, including most recently Senator-elect Elizabeth Warren from Massachusetts.

The key is not running on a third party, the key is persuading enough people to vote for a candidate and a platform reflecting Green values and positions. That is a matter of educating and

organizing, the challenge which still remains urgently before us. Thank you for providing a thoughtful forum for Green ideas and discussion.

Eleanor LeCain
Washington, DC

Eleanor LeCain, former Massachusetts Assistant Secretary of State, is the founder of The Breakthrough Way and author of *Breakthrough Solutions: How to Improve Your Life and Change the World by Building on What Works* with an Introduction by the Dalai Lama (www.TheBreakthroughWay.com).

*Mark Satin responds:***DEAR GREENS,**

1. Like Eleanor, I met wonderful people at our founding meeting. We were all heroes in our different ways. But we were imperfect heroes, and as my article makes clear, the pressures we felt plus human ego turned our meeting into a painful experience for most of the attendees I've heard from over the years.
2. I cited examples of poor behavior by Charlene, Murray Bookchin, and me because we are public figures. But many of us had fingers on the trigger. In her *Green Parties* essay, Charlene discusses memorable founding-meeting tussles starring activist Linda Bullard and mediation-institute founder John Marks. Charlene blames Linda and John, but that's too easy.
3. In her letter, Charlene attributes the bad blood at the meeting to eight social ecologists. But the social ecologists were not the monsters she portrays. They were imperfect heroes who took full advantage of two self-destructive decisions by our imperfect organizers: (a) To not specify the kind of entity invitees were being asked to create, and (b) To run the meeting by consensus rather than Robert's Rules.
4. Of the zingers about me that Charlene puts into her letter, I particularly enjoyed “the reporter in the back of the room.” If you are unfamiliar with my role in the social change movement over the last 50 years, please see the award-winning Mark Satin biography on Wikipedia.
5. Charlene speaks in an authoritative tone about how she selected Eleanor and me to be on a Ten Key Values drafting committee. But all any of us has to go on is memories. If my own principal drafting assistant, Gerald Goldfarb, were alive today, he would support my origin story as faithfully as Eleanor supports Charlene's.
6. The only other origin story on record from a founding-meeting attendee - Howie Hawkins's, in Greta Gaard's book *Ecological Politics* - portrays Charlene and me as the “principal writers.” He repeated that assessment to me this week.

7. Although Charlene never breathed the word “committee” to me, she did use the word “scribe,” and we would tease each other about that; she would call us “mere scribes!” and I would laugh and say, “No, no, we are Marx and Engels!” Ah, Charlene, had we not been such imperfect human creatures, our manifesto might have found its Party in the 1980s, when so many well-connected people were waiting for us, and we were all so young.

Mark Satin

Reply from Eleanor LeCain to Mark Satin’s response:

TO THE EDITOR:

Mark’s original article and his response look like an attack on Charlene, and that’s puzzling. I worked with Charlene for years; in my experience she is bright and a delight to work with. Unfortunately I have seen this kind of treatment toward women who step into leadership roles.

If Charlene were hostile to Mark, why would she have chosen him for the Ten Key Values committee?

Charges about imagined slights are only a distraction. The main issue is bringing concern about ecological devastation and excitement about a green vision into the mainstream. Let’s stay focused on moving a green vision forward.

Eleanor LeCain

Reply from Charlene Spretnak to Mark Satin’s response:

TO THE EDITOR,

Readers will note that Mark has not refuted what I said happened at the founding conference, nor can he substantiate his accusations that I was hostile to him because they are untrue. The main dynamics at the founding conference were political. The Institute for Social Ecology anarchists demanded that Greens operate solely at the local level, and they got strong push-back from two activists from Washington, DC (John Marks and Linda Bullard), who felt the Greens should immediately have a national presence and put the headquarters in DC. The ISE group wanted it with them. In the end, we in the majority voted to place the headquarters with neither faction and to allow the Ten Key Values to be drafted by the working group I proposed: Eleanor, Mark, and me.

As for Mark’s fabricated, or imagined, charges of “poor behavior,” I did *not* say anything to him at the founding conference about a book review, discussed months earlier. Also, I did *not* cross the room during the brainstorming session and make a put-down comment to him. (I sat against a wall taking notes.) He knows our conversations at the founding conference were friendly.

I do not know why Mark keeps trying to claim Eleanor’s share of the credit for drafting the Ten Key Values or why he fabricates disparaging claims. The founding conference was exciting and hopeful and for me was the beginning of years of association with hundreds of dear-hearted Greens nationwide who worked so hard. Greens being “imperfect” or “too young” is not why a Green Party did not happen in the 1980s. We, the early US Greens, did not enlist the sort of broad representation in many sectors that would have been necessary to achieve our goal.

That work still lies before us.

Charlene Spretnak

OTHER LETTERS

TO THE EDITOR:

The Fall/Winter edition (2012-13) of *Green Horizon* was another good read. I was especially interested in David Schwartzman’s article on the shift to solar energy. I appreciate his argument that makes global cooperation a basic tenet of the shift. We must cooperate both in reducing carbon emissions and in finding ways to share the world’s remaining oil reserves as we move to sustainable replacements.

Schwartzman even dares to say that global cooperation is not possible until the U.S. Military Industrial (Congressional) Complex is understood to be obsolete. I find it refreshing to see that in print.

Though I confess to missing quite a lot of the science of his essay, I certainly got the message that a shift to global solar/wind is possible as part of a Global Green New Deal but that there is no time for ongoing delay.

Is it possible for the United States to change course in time, to give up our addiction to global dominance and thrill to the possibilities that can lie ahead? Divestment from fossil fuel corporations, as Bill McKibben crusades for, is an important step in that direction.

Rosalie Paul
Georgetown, Maine

TO THE EDITOR:

Greens and friends will appreciate this quip by comedian Cory Kahaney, heard on “The Late Late Show” hosted by Craig Ferguson on November 27 last year:

“A Democrat is like this really nice aunt who promises to take you to Disneyworld, but then something always comes up and she never comes through with it. And a Republican is sort of like this really mean uncle who tells you that he can’t afford Disneyworld, but then you find out that he went without you.”

(A Green would be like the relative you’re not allowed to visit, because Mom and Dad tell you that one aunt and one uncle are enough.)

Scott McLarty
Washington, DC

TO THE EDITOR:

The Bogeyman Strategy for US Elections

I think I have figured out the ruling elite’s plan to keep us so divided yet corralled. I will call it the bogeyman strategy. It goes like this: Despite relatively minor differences on vital policy, like war, civil liberties, economy, and ecology, “they” play the game of a huge gap between Democrats and Republicans. On the one hand, they whip up hatred for the Democratic candidate, which mobilizes the far right very well. On the other hand, they stimulate fear of the Republican candidate for president among those to the “left” of the far right, but especially among liberals. Now, to be sure, there is some merit to their arguments, but much of it is hyperbole. This is how they marginalize us Greens on the left and Libertarians on the right. Greens mobilize their base through love for their own candidate.

Thus, every four years we have an election between the representative of HATE vs the representative of FEAR. The names don’t much matter. I remember my first election in which in 1964 I voted enthusiastically (and, it turns out, naively) for LBJ as the “peace candidate” over the scary Barry Goldwater, the militarist. Within two years I was a vigorous protester against LBJ and his war against Vietnam. In 1968, it was a lose-lose, as both Humphrey and Nixon refused to break with the

war effort, after the most promising candidate Robert Kennedy was assassinated (lots more to THAT story than a misguided soul named Sirhan Sirhan). Then came 1972, when the roles were somewhat reversed and McGovern threw fear into the hearts of the right and center right even while he drifted back toward center for the general election, alienating some of his base support on the left.

This same scenario played itself out in the two burglarized elections that put Bush Jr. into office. Hatred of Gore and Kerry on one side vs fear of Bush/Cheney on the other. “It works every time,” they must be saying gleefully to each other. Now, they can say, “Yup, we just did it again.” They conjured up hatred of an articulate black president who sort of talks a liberal game but walks the corporate highway, versus fear of the quintessential corporate scavenger, described by one commentator with a sense of humor as “like Bob Dole but without the sparkle.” Once again, the corporate elite win and the people lose. But, we can feel it in our very bones, the system is unsustainable and will fall, We sense something big is coming, but no one knows just what or when. Meanwhile, we organize and educate.

Jon Olsen
Jefferson, Maine

TO THE EDITOR:

As a new (December 2012) member of the Green Party, Minnesota Fourth Congressional District chapter (St. Paul and some of its suburbs), I am highly experienced in and retired from a long career in communications and believe deeply in strengthening our communications resources at all levels and place heavy emphasis on recruitment of new members.

I believe many long-time Democrats like me have had it with that now wholly-owned subsidiary of the Republican Party and are looking for a new political home.

Why not us? We are not selling a pig in a poke; we need to reach out to them, urge them to examine our mission statement, platforms, principles and achievements and invite them to meet us in person by attending a local meeting.

Recruitment is the lifeblood of any organization and communications are its platelets.

Recruitment and improving communications should be at or near the top of the to-do list of all of us at all levels, no matter who winds up running for which offices in elections to come.

Willard B. Shapira
Roseville, Minnesota



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