

IMPRESSIONS OF THE CALIFORNIA
GREENS

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COMPOSTING A WAR

The Persian Gulf
Is filled with Blood and Oil
Smoke in Eyes
Mingles with tears of grief.

Springtime, NEVERTHELESS,
Will not be stopped
Earth does not give up
On healing Her wounds.

As we share in Earth's grief,
Seeking to change our hearts
May we open our hearts
To receive New Life.

Seeds call to be planted
Buds seek to blossom.
Springtime's joyful hopefulness
Seeks hearts for messengers.

-Karl Ostrom

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Finally, we wish to express our whole-hearted appreciation and great respect for Paul Niebanck, a true educator, who conceived of this project and has stood by us like a midwife as we struggled and labored, and finally gave birth.

The students who produced this report are a reflection of the phenomenon they studied. Both the Planning Practicum and the Greens are low-budget, ragtag groups of people who care deeply, don't quite know what to do, and are committed to learning, persisting, and changing the world.

"We make the road by walking," says Myles Horton and Paulo Freire in their 1990 book of personal dialogue. That declaration might as well be the motto of the Greens, and of the Practicum. So, none of the major institutions-governmental, corporate, religious-seem able even to recognize the problems much less to address them. So, the people who see things clearly are few, and scattered, and inexperienced. So, they have a vision of something much different, a much finer representation of human beings, together with each other and with nature. So, there is one thing to do: take a step towards the vision.

From January to June of 1991, seventeen students with majors in Environmental Studies, Environmental Journalism, Modern Society and Social Thought at UC Santa Cruz devoted themselves to understanding the "Green" phenomenon. They focused on California, where the Green movement is very new and very tentative. They investigated its philosophical, historical, sociological, political, organizational, personal and practical aspects. They designed and conducted field research that took them across the length and breadth of the state. They searched for meanings, with the Green literature, within their experiences with the Greens, and within themselves. Now they have put onto paper what they are beginning to know.

The Practicum format for learning is a risky one. Each participant has to give over a certain amount of security, on behalf of a greater possibility. The effort is full of contradictions. Signals are inevitably mixed. Relationships shift, and outcomes are surprisingly different from what was originally planned. Most things happen at obscure levels, even as consciousness is heightened. There are losses. Prices are paid.

Again the mirror of the Greens. And, as with the Greens, through it all, hope is enhanced. Community is strengthened. Individuals leave the experience more autonomous, more able, more trustworthy, than when they entered it. And results are tangible. Change has actually occurred. The pathway is clearer.

We are all exhausted from the investment we required of ourselves in relation to the practicum. Personally, I would make the same investment again. My part has been the easy part. It is the students who took the risks. It is they who did the work. They have embodied the hope. I am proud of what they have done, and of who they are becoming. I am privileged to have stood by them, and to have helped out from time to time.

Paul Niebanck, Professor Environmental Planning

*We dedicate this to all those
working to build more vital local and global communities*

"The tree which moves some to tears of joy is in the eyes of others only a green thing that stands in the way."

-William Blake

APPROACHING GREEN

We came to this practicum experience as sixteen undergraduates from three different majors to write about a vaguely defined topic. On the first day we met, we were presented with the word "green" and asked by Paul, our advisor, to express what this word invoked. The responses ranged from "technology" to "grass" to "life." From this first critical meeting to the present, we have struggled to integrate our diverse backgrounds and our various voices in order to work together on a collaborative product. This has involved much more than any of us ever expected. In the last five months, we have: read hundreds of books and articles on the California Greens; travelled the entire state from San Diego County to Humboldt County; interviewing countless Greens and several others and attending Green meetings; and spent endless hours in retreats and meetings to finally produced the only collaborative work in existence on the California Greens. During this process, we have experienced much: we mourned and protested together as our federal government poured money into a war and our state government simultaneously raised our registration fees forty percent; we felt joy and a sense of accomplishment as we saw our field work and final product come together; we felt frustration as we experienced the inevitable tensions that are bound to exist in any group trying to create a work in accord with the challenging concept of "unity in diversity"; and we felt disappointment when certain members of the practicum couldn't finish their pieces for this publication or weren't happy with the piece they had created. We realized our expectations were incredibly high, and had to come to terms with falling short. This work is not complete without this understanding of our process, which has changed all of us. Most of us had never worked in a group setting, let alone tried to write together. We are all products of a system that affords us no real or preparation to work in a group or create community. We are proud, nonetheless, to have come this far together.

We found this process to be as important at times as our elusive subject: the California Greens. The Greens' process is as complex and difficult as our own, and we have often identified with their struggle while acknowledging the obvious and subtle differences. We call this work Impressions of the California Greens, having integrated sixteen perspectives on the Greens which range from friendly to hyper-critical and run the gamut in terms of form from fiction to critical analysis to a demographic report outlining who the Greens are in this state. We hope that this

collection will serve as a catalyst for much discussion and debate among Greens, ourselves, and all those interested in movements trying to bring about change. We realize at times that the reader might encounter ideas that seemingly contradict, but we feel that these differences perhaps inform a greater, more holistic truth; dialogues are active and open.

The work is loosely grouped into three sections: Green Evolution, which traces the Greens from their roots in Europe to who they have become in California; Green Thought, which offers tidbits of the lifestyles, philosophies, and spiritualities that the Greens have embraced and evolved from in five varying ways; and Green Visions, which examines briefly where Greens are, but mostly explores where Greens could go. It is a moving, dynamic collection, which we offer in a spirit which is well expressed by Starhawk in a ritual:

... Because no one alone can dream the dark into love. We need each other for that. We need all the power we can raise together. ... Take hands for we are the circle of rebirth. If there is to be renewal, it begins with us. We can touch - through these words, these pages. We can know the dark, and dream it into a new image. As life, friends, as source.

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INTERNATIONAL GREENS

The International Greens' reality is a dynamic reality, with each country having a different history, political structure, and concept of "green." Despite the diversity however, we observe a process of emergence, growth, crisis and response, that is sufficiently common from country to country that it deserves to be stated up front. While the process is not deterministic, it does seem to have a certain degree of power, and it is thus a useful starting point for our analysis.

The Greens are very much like a living body in that they have distinct life stages, beginning with conception. Greens were conceived from parents that have given the world many environmental hardships and degradations such as the effects of Chernobyl in Poland and Italy's increasing reliance on nuclear power. They were also conceived out of a search for new values, e.g. Iceland's need for a post-patriarchal society and New Zealand's frustration with its value structure. The Greens' conception has also come about through a disillusionment with traditional political parties, a phenomena exemplified by Sweden and Italy. We feel that these three realizations, together, are the principal sources of Green vitalization worldwide.

The excitement of a new political party and a sometimes rapid gain of political seats typifies the birth and early childhood of the world Greens. Usually there are levels of progression to the emergence and growth of the Parties. First there is local acceptance of Green ideals and politics which, in

WORLD GREENS

Year Founded	Country	Name Of Party	Number Of Members
--	Australia	Green Independents	NA
--	Greece	(no party)	NA
1972	New Zealand	Values Party	NA
1973	UK	Green Party	8,000
1980	Germany	Die Grünen	40,000
1981	Ireland	Comhaontas Glas	300
1981	Portugal	Os Verdes	1,000
1981	Sweden	Miljöpartiet de Gröna	6,500
1982	Belgium	Agalev	1,300
1980		Ecolo	1,000
1983	Canada	Green Party Of Canada	NA
1983	Denmark	De Grønne	800
1983	Iceland	Kvennalistinn	NA
1983	Netherlands	De Groenen	NA
1983	Norway	De Grøenen	NA
1983	Switzerland	Die Grüne Partei Le Parti Ecologiste	4,000
1984	France	Les Verts	1,200
1984	Luxembourg	Déi Gréng Alternativ	125
1984	USA	CoC	NA
1985	Spain	Los Verdes	700
1986	Austria	Die Grüne Alternative	NA
1987	Finland	Vihreä Litto	NA
1987	Italy	Liste Verdi	NA

* Table taken from Green Parties an International Guide

turn, leads to a proportion of local governmental seats. Once there is stability in the local sector, the country's regional government attains a certain amount of representation. It is at this point that in some countries Greens falter, but there are a good number that eventually get national representation.

The success at gaining Green representation in different levels of government is a sign of the onset of adolescence. It is in this stage of life that awkwardness develops and problems arise. After the euphoria of gaining governmental seats begins to wear off, the realities of party organization and structure need to be addressed. It is at this point that infighting (which is often the result of personality conflicts) can become a problem. This was exemplified in France, where one person's personal agenda was a key factor in destabilizing the Party. Factions begin to develop that represent philosophical, political and personal differences. For example, in West Germany it was the growing dichotomy between Realist and Revolutionary roles of Greens that led to factions, while in Spain the Green party actually split into three separate and distinct Green Parties. Fragmented groups such as these become more and more insular causing individuals to become frustrated and disillusioned with the Greens. At this point, individuals frequently become attracted to an established party which is adopting many of the ecological policies once exclusively embodied by the Greens. Factionalization and loss of members may result in the loss of original seats and translate into reduced power, beginning a road of decline. Or, an internal re-evaluation may occur, resulting in a richer conception, a new commitment, and perhaps greater successes. Unfortunately, we do not see much of the latter so far on the international Green scene. Then again, a troubled adolescence does not at all necessarily preclude a long and vigorous maturity for the Greens.

Conception

"Green" doesn't just happen by itself. The formation of each Green group has been preceded by some catalyst, whether it be a particular event or change of values. In order for a Green group to emerge certain things must be present. For instance, environmental problems may exist that produce the public concern needed to found a Green Party. In a way, Green needs an "unhealthy" environment in which to grow; if we lived in "ecotopia" we wouldn't need Green parties. If environmental issues are already being addressed by a group, another political party, or the government, it is harder for a Green group to establish itself. This explains the lack of a strong Green party in the Netherlands where there are already established political parties that

have responded to very strong peace, environmental, and anti-nuclear movements which address green issues.

Italy, in contrast, does not have the internal structure to acknowledge such environmental degradation. In 1975 the Italian government published its national energy plan, a plan which included increasing reliance on nuclear power. The "Anti-Nuclear League" was formed in response, and by 1977 the group had evolved into "Amici della Terra" (Friends of the Earth). Some members of the Italian Communist party were dissatisfied with the communists' pro-nuclear stance and formed a committee for control of energy strategy. Some members were prompted to leave the Communist Party and later became Green members of parliament. Since no one was addressing the issue of nuclear power and its ills, the Greens were able to move to the forefront of this issue and increase their following.¹

In Poland, extreme environmental degradation led to the formation of several environmental groups. Poland has been one of the more polluted countries resulting from rapid industrialization. People claim that focus has been on economic growth with no consideration for the health and safety the local people or environment. Air, water, and soil pollution is so bad that one third of the population (thirteen million people) have been estimated by a Helsinki Watch report to be susceptible to environmentally caused cancers and other diseases within the near future. Water quality is decreasing so rapidly that in a few years the entire water supply of the nation may be unfit for use.

In 1980 the Polish Ecology Club (PKE) and later in 1985 Wolność i Pokój (WiP, Freedom and Peace), were established to deal with these numerous environmental problems. The explosion at Chernobyl prompted WiP to organize demonstrations in Eastern Europe and also to start protesting the construction of nuclear power plants in Poland. A seminar held in 1987 by WiP attracted 200 supporters from 17 countries despite considerable harassment of activists by the government. Concern grew as damage to the environment increased with the accident at Chernobyl. This concern contributed to the formation of the WiP, the main organizing force of the Polish environmental movement.²

Another catalyst in the conception of Green parties results from people being disillusioned from traditional political parties, which was certainly the case in Sweden. The Green party in Sweden became necessary when it was apparent that the traditional center-left was not supporting the total elimination of nuclear power. This was made evident by the Social-Democrats and the Centre party, both of which supported nuclear power. Even though the

Centre party was seen as an advocate of the environment they refused to take a firm stand on the anti-nuclear position.

So in 1979 a liberal member of parliament named Per Gahrton became so disenchanted with his own party's pro-nuclear policy as well as the whole parliamentary system that he abandoned his post in the traditional government and joined the anti-nuclear movement. Gahrton wrote about the need for a new political party in his "personal manifesto" which he sent to 22 people and ten different local councils. Together, they established Miljöpartiet, a new national political party in the city of Örebro, on September 20, 1981. This new party served as a harbor for many of the country's disillusioned people who wanted an alternative to the traditional left and right winged parties.³

The conception of the World Greens has also come about due to a yearning for a new social value system. A case in point is Iceland's Kvinnalístinn. Although Kvinnalístinn (Women's Alliance) does not say they are a Green party, they are as green in ideology as any world Green. This call for a new social value began on October 24, 1974 when Iceland's women went on strike, refusing to toil in their daily tasks, and instead attended demonstrations and outdoor meetings. These demonstrations were significant in that they illustrated women's importance in society and their resistance to the dominant patriarchal institutions.

In 1980 Vigdis Finnbogadóttir became the first woman president of Iceland and established herself for re-elections in 1984 and 1988. In 1982 groups of women in the cities of Akureyri and Reykjavik put together lists of women that they felt should be in local government to effectively represent women's and children's issues. Two were elected to each city council doubling the proportion of women councilors from six to twelve percent. This action led to the founding of the Women's party, Kvinnalístinn in March of 1983. While the movement tends toward new values spawned from women's issues, it embodies many of the Greens' values and aspirations. This is an excerpt from the Women's Alliance Policy Statement of 1983.

The world community, future generations and the environment are threatened by the arms race, over-exploitation of natural resources, land waste, industrial pollution, mismanagement and greediness. Poverty and injustice is on the increase in the world in spite of technical progress. Weapons have the final word and power is used without constraint to oppress individuals and nations. . . Women have been outside the power structure. . . have been treated unjustly, both overtly and covertly. . . We cannot allow this to continue. Women must therefore become active participants in the decision-making process of society. We must fight our own fight for our rights and for a better world, nobody else is going to do it for us....⁴

It is interesting to note that in August of 1987 when the International Green Congress was held in Stockholm there was an announcement that an independent Icelandic Green party had just been formed. Kvennalistinn refused to join with the Greens and have gained consistent support.

Another example of how new values act as a catalyst for Greens can be found in New Zealand. Tony Brunt, the founder of the Values Party believes that it was the public's desire for a change of values that led to the emergence of the new party: "People were 'lying under the tap marked Labour, waiting for a drop of moral leadership.'" When Brunt, a former journalist, suggested the idea of a new party and found that the idea was well accepted, he set up a meeting at Victoria University. There, on May 20, 1972, the Values Party was founded. The party's manifesto, Blueprint for New Zealand, promoted the group during those crucial months leading to November's elections. This platform built a strong public backing of the Party, especially from those who were environmentally concerned and disapproved of the materialistic values of society. It was this backing that gave the Party 42 out of 87 regional seats that launched them into the political structure.⁵

Childhood

One or all three catalysts must be present for the birth of a Green party. Since most of the countries that have spawned Greens have proportional representation in government, it becomes possible to found a new party with relatively few votes. Usually this proportional representation happens in the local realm in one of two ways. The first way is a grassroots political strategy, whereby the Greens rally individual localities, which creates excitement and hope for a more promising ecological future. The second way is an attempt to gain national representation directly. While this method does not usually attain direct national representation, enough people are swayed to vote Green in their local elections by the onslaught of publicity. In most instances, the choice has been to establish local representation.

When the party has a firm grasp on the local sector, regional elections within each country become the next area of focus and success. As before, the publicity of Greens trying to gain national representation rallies municipalities to vote Green, or the Greens focus on each individual district which air issues of environmental concern and the need for an ecological party. The result in most countries is the gain of a few regional seats by the Greens, though proportionally not as many as they established at the local level.

Many countries can then obtain national Green representation through the publicity and support of the established local and regional offices. Each step only requires between three and six percent (depending on the country) of the total vote to attain seats. However, as the population increases, it becomes more difficult for the party to meet its percentage quota.

Adolescence

In general, once the Greens have had rapid success during their birth and childhood the reality of adolescence becomes very prominent. This awkward stage leads to decline for some Green groups. After the euphoria of gaining party status and governmental seats begins to fade, it is time for groups to get realistic. They first realize that even though they have achieved some political power, they face the difficult task of organizing the party platform and political agendas, including the casting of the group's philosophy into tangible policies. Often this causes severe infighting between polarized groups and individuals. Bickering can lead to factionalization, and factionalization to frustration and disillusionment for groups and individuals within the party. To groups this frustration might lead to the establishment of competing Green parties. To individuals it may mean leaving the party for the comfort of more traditional political groups who now embrace "green" agendas. In either case, the result is a reduction in political power for the original Green group, characterized by a loss of governmental seats which leaves the Greens susceptible to vanishing as a political entity.

Los Verdes. One such example of this scenario happened in Spain, where the Green party split into three separate factions. In June 1984, Los Verdes (The Greens) was confirmed as a party and began to set in motion its political agenda through the first congress in Cardedeu on February 1, 1985. It was at this meeting that the party was to approve the statutes and program to take the Greens on their way to achieve ecological reforms.

At this point, internal quarreling and personal differences raged for almost an entire year, eventually separating the party into three different factions. During the 1986 general elections, all three factions used Green as their political slogan, Los Verdes, Alternative Verde, and VERDE. Their combined votes of 89,000 was impressive, but alas, they were not united.

A brief description of the three groups is in order. VERDE actually stands for Vértice Español de Reivindicación (Spanish Vertex for the Reclaiming of Ecological Development). Our understanding is that group falls to the right on the political spectrum. Alternative Verde had the name of the Catalan group which belonged to Los Verdes but soon broke apart due to

personality problems and internal disagreement on what form the national party should take. In November of 1986 after many name changes, they stuck with the name Confederación de los Verdes. All of these variations may illustrate how Spanish Greens are deeply influenced by personality struggles and show how anxious they are to split at the beginning of inner party strain.

Los Verdes and Confederación de los Verdes contributed lists for direct elections in the European Parliament in June 1987. Los Verdes polled 0.6 percent with 107,001 votes, while Confederación polled 0.3 percent with 64,847 votes, which resulted in no seats for either faction. Each of the groups presenting their own lists of candidates resulted in discouraging voters and convincing them that a unified Green Party may never exist.⁶

Die Grünen. Another example of a group who had a very healthy childhood and a harrowing adolescence is the notorious Green party, Die Grünen, in West Germany. In the beginning they had marked success, but like most Green groups the excitement tapered off as they entered adolescence. It was during this stage of life that problems arose including the creation of factions, personality conflicts and competition with other parties, each weakening Die Grünen.

Around 1977 local Green parties began to form, such as the Grüne Liste Umweltschutz in lower Saxony. More and more groups concerned with nature protection and social issues started popping up, and by 1983 a headline in The Times read "Greens headed for Bundestag" (the West German parliament). In the 1980 federal elections Die Grünen had scored 1.5 percent with a buildup of successes at the local level. Then in 1983 Die Grünen entered the West German Bundestag with 28 seats. Although the West German Greens were not the first Green party to ever enter a national parliament, they attracted the most attention.

After getting national representation, the Greens unfortunately had internal problems to deal with, keeping them from focusing on the outside world. This is characteristic of Green groups: once they establish themselves in the political scene, conflicts appear within the group that keep them from the task at hand. Arguments and factions arose within Die Grünen. First there was the debate between the fundamentalists and the realists. The fundamentalists or "fundis" believed that there should be no compromise with other parties while the realists or "realos" believed that with that kind of oppositional stand the Greens would be stuck on the sidelines with no power to bring about reform.

Political rifts between people with ideologies leaning to the left and right also took their toll on Die Grünen. The Green party had absorbed many people from leftist politics. Petra Kelly, one of the most well known West German Greens, argued that the former Communists were still loyal to Communism and everything they did in the Green party had to serve their leftist agenda.

The third type of faction was the special interest groups that began to form. Sometimes the opinions differed between the parliamentarians and the people in the state governments making it difficult and sometimes impossible to form cohesive election manifestos.

Another problem Die Grünen had was with midterm rotations. Whether to have parliamentarians in the Bundestag rotate halfway through their term was debated. Some officers were very reluctant to give up their positions of power, but when they did rotate out, connections with media and other institutional groups became murky. The new officers, some of which were very inexperienced, found it extremely difficult to re-establish the rapport their predecessors had with the outside groups. These midterm rotations tended to weaken the ties and immobilize the Greens from interacting with the established institutions. Due to this and other problems with midterm rotation they abandoned the practice which caused controversy in the group. Without the built-in checks on power, the Greens were more likely to become what they had tried so hard not to emulate--a hierarchical institution.

Meanwhile in Hesse, the SPD (Social Democrat Party) made attempts to deal with their competition (the local Green party). They used the "fundi" philosophy to counter the Hesse Greens "realo" position, encouraging people with fundi philosophy to join the SPD and not the Greens. The SPD and the Greens tried to draft a "toleration agreement" and were pressured by the press and opinion polls to join forces; this agreement was not successful. In other areas the Greens were undermined by parties who tried to mimic the Greens and others who sullied their reputation by releasing personal information about Die Grünen's members. These are just a few of the cases that show how other parties were working to weaken the Greens, making it hard for them to grow in such a hostile environment.

The life story of Die Grünen has been plagued with problems such as factionalization, personality conflicts and injury caused by other parties. As Die Grünen struggle with these problems, they become less appealing to the public; this was demonstrated by their failure to attain seats in the 1990 national election.⁷

Maturity or Demise

As we have seen, international Green parties are like a new life with distinct stages. Life begins with conception through catalysts such as environmental degradation, disillusionment with established parties, and a desire for a new value structure. Birth and early childhood are the next stages where Greens gain political power by being represented in the local, regional, and national governments. The third stage is a troubled adolescence where infighting and factionalization eventually reduce the Greens' established power leading them on a road of decline.

There now seem to be two logical pathways in which this fragile life could move. One possibility is that the Greens could have a resurgence in which the difficult step to maturity and stability is achieved. This resurgence could be through another set of catalysts such as even greater environmental degradation. The exhaustion of petroleum reserves or ozone collapse may cause the public to focus more intensely on ecological issues. With this perception of eminent environmental destruction the Greens would be propelled into the power structure in which they could invoke social and environmental reforms.

Another possibility is that the Greens could follow their present path of decline and be terminated in their struggle to emerge from adolescence. These impediments that we have discussed in adolescence may lay too heavy a burden on Green parties for them to exist as independent entities. However, while the Green parties as we know them may be destroyed, their essence will not necessarily disappear. Many of the Greens' ecological and social policies have already been adopted by established traditional parties as seen in German Social Democrats.

People throughout the world are deeply committed to ecological and social reform. This commitment can be seen in the extensive computer data bases that have been formed in the last ten years. Such things as Econet and Peacenet are vehicles through which anyone around the world can tap into ecological and social justice information with a microcomputer. These data bases can also link individuals and groups for communication to brainstorm issues and solve problems. Perhaps this is a viable way in which Green groups can attain support through their troubled adolescence. The California Greens are attempting to do just this. Bob Von Holdt of the San Francisco Greens has been a founding member in establishing an International Working Group (IWG) in which a link through Econet and Peacenet will be established to communicate to Greens around the world. Through communication the IWG can easily disseminate information and attempt to coordinate and solve global issues. It is this type of dedication to the Greens or at least Green ideals that gives us hope for the international Green Movement.

NOTES

1. Sara Parkin, Green Parties: An International Guide (London: Heretic Books Ltd., 1989) 332.
2. Ibid., 148.
3. Ibid., 316.
4. Ibid., 187.
5. Ibid., 235.
6. Ibid., 266.
7. Ibid., 245.
8. Ibid., 111.

CALIFORNIA GREEN ACTIVITIES

The California Greens are very much like other states' in that they begin with a Green ideal that has been imported from overseas like the value structure set up in the Four Pillars of Germany. These values have then been manifested and expanded into the Ten Key Values that we are familiar with today.

Once the idea of "green" has been conceptualized, many individuals romanticize the idea and begin to take measures in starting their own Green groups. One avenue that these excited pre-founding members take is to become involved in regional initiation meetings. One such conference was the "Greening of the West" which took place in La Honda in 1989. The conference educated people on Green goals and instructed those interested in starting groups on the organizational aspects of the Greens.

Two Greens that have instigated this process are Mindi Lorenz and Gary Flow. They have been noted in our discussions with Green groups as charismatic Green representatives who have been instrumental in establishing new groups. Not only have Mindi and Gary spoken at initiation meetings, but they have helped to stir the interest of individuals at other conferences. They also have travelled to newly-founded chapters, attracting new members and giving the groups encouragement.

Another avenue for the establishment of Green groups has come from the directional change of environmental organizations from single-issues to

Greens Contacted

Location	Structure	Year Founded	Status	Principal Focus*
East Bay Area	Party	1990	=	Ap,R,
Fresno	CoC/Party	1989	=	Ad,Ap,O
Hollywood	Party	1990	=	R
Humbolt County	CoC	1984	=	E,F
Malibu	Rebels	1990	=	Ap,S
Marin County	CoC/Party	1987	+	Ad,Ap,E
Mendocino County	CoC and Party	1990	=	Ad,Ap
Napa County	CoC/Party	1989	=	Ap,S
Nevada City	CoC/Party	1988	+	Ad,Ap,Cb
North County	CoC/Party	1989	=	Ap,R
Coastal				
Ocean Beach	CoC	1989	=	Ap,Cb,S
Pacific	CoC	1990	0	Ad
Pasadena/	CoC/Party	1989	-	F,P,S
Foothill				
Pomona Valley	CoC/Party	1989	+	E,S
Riverside County	CoC/Party	1990	=	F,R,S
Sacramento	CoC/Party	1988	=	Ap,P,R
San Francisco	CoC/Party	1985	+	P,R
San Francisco State University	Collective	1989	0/=	Ap,E
San Luis Obispo	CoC/Party	1990	0	E
Santa Barbara	Party	1989	=	Ap,P,R
Santa Cruz	CoC and Party	1988	+	Ap,P
Univeristy of Calif. at San Diego	Collective	1989	=	Ap,Cb,S
Yolo County	CoC/Party	1987	0/=	Ap

*While most groups are broad based and encompass many activities we feel that each group has its own principal focus where most of their efforts are directed. (See Key)

Key

Types of Green Activities

Ad Direct Action

Ap Political Activism

Cb Coalition Building

E Education

F Fund-raising

O Outreach

P Public Event Participation

R Voter Registration

S Self/Group Enhancement

Status

+ Escalating membership and/or activities

= Stable membership and/or activities

- Declining membership and/or activities

0 Group is no longer active

0/= Group fluctuates due to academic calendar

Group Affiliation

CoC: Green Committee of Correspondence

Party: Green Party

CoC/Party: The group participates in both types of activities

CoC and Party: Individuals participate in either CoC or Party activities, depending upon task/criteria or circumstance.

Rebel: Do not affiliate with either CoC or Party, but hold Green ideals

Collective: A Green college organization

the Green multi-issue approach. Most traditional environmental groups are just that, strictly environmental; they refuse to delve into other areas that may be just as important in the causes of

our environmental crisis. The Greens understand that the causes of environmental degradation are interconnected, so that a patriarchal society is as much a cause environmental degradation as toxic waste is. In some instances this multi-issue approach has created an umbrella that covers the entire range of ecological and social justice groups.

It is in this section that we will briefly note the groups we have communicated with as well as offer a flavor of the different types of Green activities. We will then move to focus on three Green groups, all of which are in different states of development. The common denominator that binds all of the Greens is a sincere desire to improve existing and create new social and ecological conditions in California. They do this by engaging in many different and sometimes creative activities that will hopefully achieve these ends.

Direct Action

Several Green groups actively work at the local level to produce ecological and social changes. They do this by taking matters into their own hands, going into an area that needs help, and actively taking a role in its restoration; we call this direct action. For instance, The Fresno Greens make an effort to reclaim the drought-stricken oak trees within their county. Four or five members take the initiative to carry water, sometimes a mile away from the main road, in an attempt to save these precious oak populations.

The San Francisco Greens take a somewhat different approach. Instead of mobilizing to the outdoors, they combat environmental degradation in the home. The Greens do this by presenting local alternatives to toxic chemicals used in the household. When the issue of lead and other toxins came up at a S.F. Greens meeting, it was evident that a large number of pollutants were being used in the home and furthermore, they could easily be replaced by biodegradable products. The Greens responded with action. A few members of the San Francisco Greens organized a small mobile exhibit. The exhibit showed people how to clean household items by using alternative products instead of their commercial toxic counterparts. One example is using baking soda instead of the store-bought product to remove silver oxidation. This presentation was fairly successful and was expanded to travel to fairgrounds and neighborhoods in the larger Bay Area community. The Greens and their presentation were well-received by people interested in making changes in their use of toxic household products.

Political Activism

Political activism differs from direct action in that it uses civil disobedience and other legal forms of protest to gain public attention on peace and environmental issues. The Greens hope to use this publicity to convince corporations or governmental offices to institute significant change regarding these issues. The Ocean Beach Greens have established a committee within their group called the "Action Faction" to use political activism in an attempt to stop one franchise of a national corporation from using styrofoam. Styrofoam is known to contain CFCs which depletes the upper atmosphere's ozone layer. In efforts to make Ocean Beach a styrofoam-free city, this "Action Faction" mobilized about seventy concerned citizens and other Greens to protest outside of the extremely styrofoam-dependent McDonald's. The story made headlines on the five o'clock news, and resulted with an agreement from McDonald's to change their packaging within the next month.

And, of course, many of the Green groups were involved with protesting the war in the Persian Gulf, notably the San Francisco Greens. In January 1990, three hundred thousand people demonstrated in San Francisco to protest the United States involvement in the war with Iraq. The San Francisco Greens took part in these protests, advocating peace in the world community. The Greens used this opportunity to educate these thousands of people gathered about the Greens' nonviolent ethic as well as the other Ten Key Values. In the process they were able to register 1,000 Green Party members in one week. Along with this political action, the San Francisco Greens held a series of lectures educating themselves and others on the

ecological damage caused by the war. This further motivated the Greens to leap out into the streets to raise their voices against military involvement in the Persian Gulf.

Coalition Building

Since Greens are relatively small in number, it becomes necessary for them to link themselves with single-issue groups to achieve direct and political action. Not only does this increase the Greens' numbers and power through grassroots networking, but it also moves the Greens out into the community to educate others about the Greens and Green values. In addition, they become educated on the goals and values of that particular single-issue group. The following is a small list of some of the issues the Greens have addressed, with corresponding examples of established coalitions to illustrate the diversity of Green involvement:

1. Anti-Nuclear Groups, e.g. Nuclear Free Zone.
2. Peace Groups, e.g. Peace in the Middle East Coalitions.
3. Social Justice, e.g. Martin Luther King Jr. Coalition.
4. Environmental Restoration groups, e.g. Rain Forest Action, Coalition To Stop Aerial Spraying In San Diego, Air Quality Coalition, Solana Recycler, Adopt a Highway.

Education

Education is an integral part of informing the public of Green concerns and can help to spread Green ideology. This can be seen in activities ranging from Green lectures to putting out Green publications. Such groups as the Pomona Valley Greens, the San Francisco Greens and the Nevada County Greens are involved with efforts to educate their communities. The Pomona Valley Greens, for example, have had many guest speakers at their meetings who represented such Green issues as malathion spraying, sustainable lifestyles, consumer boycotts, water politics, economic democracy, air pollution control, sexual diversity, politics of ecological sustainability, epidemiology and politics of AIDS, rights of the handicapped, the campaign to register voters, mediation, and consensus processes. By addressing these issues the Greens become clear on the pressing needs of their community. The Greens benefit from having a working knowledge from which they can formulate a strategy to begin the long process of reform.

The Nevada County Green Alliance is has put considerable effort into printing and distributing newsletters and fliers. Their monthly newsletter called Burning Issues not only educates the general public on ecological and political issues but also supplies subscribers with a calendar of upcoming Green-related events. The group has also been involved in sponsoring ecological children's workshops called "Growing Up Green." Educating the public on political and ecological issues provides the Greens with a sympathetic and supportive audience for Green action.

Fund-raising

Since the Greens are a nonprofit organization and their dues do not come close to paying the incidental costs of newsletters, guest speakers, and the rental of a meeting hall, fund-raisers are needed to supplement these expenses. The Pasadena/Foothill Greens have been very successful in raising such funds. On Earth Day 1990, the Greens, like many other environmental organizations, set up a booth to educate the public about the Greens and other environmental concerns. In addition, they also sold books on various "green" subjects. This practice of selling what you teach was very lucrative, raising over 200 dollars for the group's treasury.

The Humbolt Greens tend to link their public events with fund-raising by asking for a donation upon admission to their educational lectures and music events. With these proceeds they are able to meet their costs of maintaining a viable working group.

Outreach

Outreach to expand and diversify Green membership has admittedly been an area in desperate need of attention for most groups. To uphold the key value of social justice, diversity and representation of all citizens is a must. However, the Greens have generally had a difficult time in succeeding in this area despite their efforts. Some Greens attribute the lack of outreach to the hegemony of the group. In general, the Greens tend to be white, middle-class folk who haven't had much to do with the issues of those traditionally underrepresented. This can discourage these underrepresented individuals from joining Green Groups.

Nevertheless, some Green groups have attempted to reach out to the community. One tactic has been posting and distributing fliers and newsletters to inform the public of Green existence. Other Greens have participated in ethnic groups' events such as the celebration of Martin Luther King Jr.'s contributions to America and the festival of Cinco de Mayo. There are also Green individuals who are involved with separate social organizations who have helped to

include outsiders. This has been the case with the North County Coastal Greens where a Green member works closely with the Homeless Task Force to help the homeless reclaim their lives while, at the same time, representing and addressing homeless issues at Green meetings.

Public Event Participation

One of the most effective ways of spreading Green thought is through involvement in public activities. Giving something back to the community through education and entertainment gives Greens positive publicity. All Green groups have in some way participated in Earth Day. Earth Day was established in 1970 as an environmental festival to celebrate the Earth and to recognize and reconcile our abuse to it. The Greens honor this through their involvement in the festival. This may range from small booths from which they distribute Green literature to the actual coordination of all groups participating in the event.

Greens have also participated in, and or sponsored many other festivals besides Earth Day. For instance, the Santa Cruz Greens had what they called an Ecotopian festival where they invited the public, for a small donation, to hear Ernest Callebach, author of Ecotopia and Ecotopia Emerging, speak about his books and his vision of the future. Vegetarian food (transported by bicycle) and world beat music also helped make this event a huge public success. The Santa Cruz Greens had fun as well as got the word out about the Greens as well as raising money for their treasury.

Voter Registration

The Greens' desire to become a national political party has ultimately spawned two groups from the initial movement: Green parties and Committees of Correspondence (CoCs). Since the emergence of the Green Party from the CoCs in February 1990, registering voters has become a major objective for several groups who are affiliated with the party effort. The Green Party has obtained over 14,000 votes as of March 1991 and need a total of 80,000 by January 1992 to reach official party status.

Many different approaches have been made with regard to registration. Methods range from mailing voter registration forms in newsletters to setting up registration tables at public events. A popular means of obtaining signatures for the Hollywood Green Party is tabling outside of local supermarkets. In contrast, the Riverside Greens' approach to collecting signatures involves more novel techniques. One such registering drive was held at a fund-raiser

in a local club where a collection of rock bands played. The Greens set up tables to register voters which resulted in nineteen new Greens.

Self/Group Enhancement

All Greens work on self/group enhancement by adjusting their value structures towards the goals of the Ten Key Values. This is done in some Green groups by spending time at the beginning of each meeting articulating one of the Ten Key Values and then seeing how it applies in the context of their group. Individuals may continue this process through their own spirituality whether it is quiet meditation on Green ideals or the incorporation of Green values in their organized religion. Depending on the group or individual, the road to improvement is different. The Malibu Greens have unique and playful way to enhance their group.

The Malibu Greens don't regard themselves as CoC or party so as not to be caught up in them squabbling between the two. Since they do try to follow the Ten Key Values, they see themselves as a lone, Rebel Green group. They have spent much time as a small core of about seven who share and debate many Green ideas at frequent potlucks. This type of active engagement with one another brings out diverse ideas such as the role of capitalism and communism within a Green world. These discussions aired in a friendly, informal atmosphere bring about many criticisms of the Greens as well as motivating the group to take direct and political action in pursuing ecological reforms.

Can Green Survive?

The CoC in the Pasadena/Foothill area was founded on July 23, 1989 by Bill Reinshagen and a group called Socially Responsible Singles (SRS). In June 1989, the SRS hosted a lecture about the Greens. It was through this organization that Bill collected a list of interested members to meet in July. Six individuals attended; four became members and called themselves the Pasadena/Glendale Green Committee of Correspondence.

At the second meeting the group changed their name to what it is today, the Pasadena/Foothill Green Committee of Correspondence. Also at this meeting the group joined the larger regional Green alliance called Southern California Green Assembly (SCGA). In October 1989, at the third meeting, the group accumulated a few more members and organized a newsletter.

The next important event was the fifth meeting in December. The group presented an article to the the Pasadena Weekly on the Greens and Earth Day. When more than twenty people attended the January 14, 1990 meeting, it was apparent that this kind of publicity worked. They then changed their meeting place to accommodate these new members.

It was during the next several meetings that action committees formed. The transportation committee was to pursue a plan that removed the dilapidated and unused train tracks to make way for new bicycle lanes. The committee also had the responsibility of putting bike racks on buses and improving the overall bus transportation. Whether it was too large a project or people just lost interest, nothing came of that committee. This seemed to be a trend for the group. In fact, many members complained that committees rarely took much-needed action.

Bill, who had taken most of the responsibility for the local chapter as coordinator, treasurer, and publicist, began to feel overwhelmed. When Bill gave up the role as publicist, no one filled the position. The result was that the meeting announcements were not given to the local paper. This eliminated their main source of publicity.

At the same time, Bill was having great frustration with the SCGA because of his belief that they were "incompetent." He felt this group had very poor newsletters was not an effective regional center. He also felt this type of frustration towards the entire CoC system. Bill felt that correspondence was a misnomer in terms of communication; hence, both memberships lapsed.

From March to the end of April, the group focused on realistic goals. Events included organizing a talk on ecofeminism, signing up for the ecological computer network: Econet, and hosting a regional meeting at the Eaton Canyon Nature Center. The group also attempted outreach to new members by compiling a mailing list from other like-minded groups, but the committee coordinating this effort was bogged down by logistical and technical problems and mailed only half of their potential.

According to Bill, Earth Day was the most successful event in which the Pasadena/Foothill Greens participated. They had a booth at Arroyo Seco park and handed out literature about Greens and their meetings and sold books. This raised over two hundred dollars for the groups treasury.

It was in the beginning of June 1990 that people were tired of just talking about "green." Its core members splintered into new groups that focused on specific issues such as Earth Team, whose main focus is to plant oak trees, and the Arroyo Seco foundation whose goals are to

remove exotic vegetation and replant endemic species to make Arroyo Seco more ecologically sound. This crippled the Pasadena/Foothill chapter by reducing the time and energy of its most valuable members.

Only ten members showed up to their June 17, 1990 meeting, the smallest attendance since the group moved. From this point on, the Pasadena/Foothill Greens had mainly talks concerning Green politics, reforestation, and reports on other Green groups around California.

The membership and interest in this Green chapter has declined over the recent months. Bill feels that the only way this group can survive is through a radical new membership drive with motivated members, otherwise, people will continue to diffuse into other single-issue environmental groups.

There are many factors leading to the decline of the Pasadena/Foothill Greens: lack of support from the SCGA and the California CoC system, the majority of the organizational responsibilities being put on one person, and the underachievement of the action committees. We think that the road of decline was mainly paved with the splintering of the core group members. When they gave most of their time and interest to other projects the Greens no longer had a stable foundation. We feel that this could have been partially avoided by establishing long-term goals, and adopting significant, realistic single issues. Since many of the core members were enthusiastic to plant oak trees and other endemic species perhaps this should have been the group's main focus. With this focus, the core members would have been more engaged, thus avoiding the splintering. While this Green chapter is bordering on collapse it does not mean that environmental thought is dead in Pasadena. As we have seen, the new periphery of single-issue groups are rising and actively participating in the restoration in this area's ecology.

How Far Can Green Go?

The Nevada County Green Alliance has been chosen for a case study for several reasons, but primarily because of their wide recognition within the local community and because of their representation of the Ten Key Values. The average attendance at their meetings, ranging from thirty to fifty people, may itself be representative of their popularity and local acceptance. The group is comprised of what they call affinity groups which focus on various aspects relating to Green values. Through these groups each member's individual interests are addressed making it difficult for the group to get caught up in just one topic, so they remain a multi-issue, grassroots group.

The Nevada County Green Alliance (NCGA) was established in 1988 primarily by Jacob Wolfe and Dee LeVan as a local forum for individual people and groups to share their visions for the present and the future. Jacob Wolfe attended the 1987 "Greening of the West" meeting and workshops in La Honda where he first heard and was inspired by the Ten Key Values . After deciding that he wanted to be involved in initiating a group in his area, Jacob attended an organizing workshop and then chaired a potluck meeting in his community which attracted about thirty people. After the members got to know one another, they found that they had like-minded ideas and formed alliances initiating a Green group. From these meetings the group developed affinity groups which included Recycling and Solid Waste Management, Pro-Peace, Nuclear Free Nevada County, Green Education, Global Concerns, Spirituality in Activism, and Animal Rights.

The NCGA now has ninety paid members and has obtained a substantial number of registered Greens. They meet each month and spend the first portion of their meeting on orientation, then continue with presentations and discussions. They have a steering committee which sets the agenda for each meeting where discussions center on one of the Ten Key Values and the corresponding affinity group discusses their issues and actions.

From the minutes of a January 1990 meeting, we can get a flavor of what their meetings are like. Mindi Lorenz gave a twenty-minute introduction on the history and background of Greens, the four basic global values, and future strategies for the Greens. This was then followed by a

lengthy question and answer period. An overview of their activities and meeting topics are also discussed in their local newsletter entitled Burning Issues.

The issues and accomplishments that the NCGA has dealt with through the affinity groups have been diverse. One group worked with the Peace Center to make Nevada County a nuclear free zone. The Forest Issues Group was influential during the initiative campaign for Proposition 130 in November 1990 by rallying and educating the public on the changes needed in the forest management practices. In addition, the Greens submitted an appeal to the Tahoe National Forest management plan that they felt would have "a real bearing on the final outcome."

The Green Education group has set up a program of several workshops and lectures in 1990 called "Growing Up Green." The philosophy of this group is that "we must start with the young if we are to change society through education." Both children and adults attended presentations on toxic disposal and other environmental issues by speakers including Vivienne Verdon-Roe, Bill Drake, and Damon Smith. They held an alternative energy workshop where participants were taught about self-sufficiency through a demonstration of energy efficient tactics such as solar energy, gravity utilizing water pumps, and propane refrigeration. Certain individuals in the community donated ten percent of their incomes for one year to "Growing Up Green." This raised \$1,800 to fund these workshops through the group's future.

The Nevada County Greens were instrumental in starting the California CoC in the spring of 1990, and Jacob Wolfe is now the secretary. They were also the host of the first joint state-wide conference on the Green Party and the Green Movement called "Greening California" in June 1990. They participate in both areas and believe that the two can, and do, exist together and cooperate in this locality successfully. The Greens have also been involved in the local government projects such as the Solid Waste Task Force. They also have representatives involved in the revamping of the county's general plan.

This group participated in the 1990 Earth Day Festival and went as far as sponsoring the 1991 Festival. The day went really well for the Greens with lots of crafts and Green literature and information on current issues. In conjunction with the "Growing Up Green" theme of this Earth Day celebration, there was a "Growing Up Green Room" where they showed videos and had displays, story telling and discussion on environmental topics.

Some of the other ongoing projects include their involvement with the Citizens For a Nonviolent Solution in the Persian Gulf. This is a group that has decided to continue meeting as

a support group even after the immediate Gulf crisis has ended. This Green group has also been involved with Cal Trans in the Adopt-A-Highway program through which they have adopted a two mile stretch of Highway 20 between Grass Valley and Penn Valley. Once a month since 1990, they have been picking up litter there and have planted trees and wildflowers.

The group has been successfully received by the Nevada City region and has been able to get things done. This can perhaps be attributed to the dedication of the core group and the overall willingness of the whole group to communicate and work through difficulties. Also giving the group a rich perspective and a strong commitment to grassroots is the diversity of age within the group. The sub-groups enable individuals to focus on specific areas of interest with similar people, giving them a sense of belonging, and perhaps encouraging them to be more active. It may also be that they like to bring in new people and new interests, and that they focus on local issues which can make people feel more comfortable.

Maybe their "success" has been due to the qualities and structure of their community. This Nevada City region is a socially close-knit community where the Greens seem to be outgoing, well-known, and welcoming people. The Greens know a lot of people in various trades with whom they're able to trade labor, etc., to get certain things accomplished. The community itself is a relatively small, rural area. As Jacob has pointed out, many of the residents are there for the quality of life and are willing to work together to affect change with their creative, alternative ideas and liberal politics.

Whether it is one or many of these qualities that create the originality and endurance of the NCGA, they succeed in attracting the most members of all Green groups visited, and come the closest to embodying all Ten Key Values and are truly making a difference in their community.

Do We Need Green?

First, we must establish that San Luis Obispo is a very conservative, white community that is also very environmentally aware. Such things as rallying against Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant, protesting off-shore oil drilling, stopping rampant pesticides use, and working to prevent species extinction are all activities that people in this area truly embrace. This is because the local people wish to keep the area as pristine as it was forty years ago.

They tend to pursue these environmental issues not through political avenues but through separate non-political groups such as Sierra Club, of which two percent of San Luis

Obispo's population are members. In tandem with this preservation ethic, the largely Republican population of San Luis Obispo tends to stay away from "liberal/radical" organizations. When politics are a necessary avenue to environmental change (such as ordinances to stop livestock from polluting the rivers), the environmentalist that moves such legislation is an educated conservative rancher whose family has been in the area for 150 years.

One local Green put it very well when he stated, "If you are going to be in politics, you have to paint your self red, white, and blue, and be real conservative. If you are going to play environmentalism you can't paint yourself with any politics and rely on the issues themselves or you just won't be heard." However, the Green Party has managed to register over 300 people. These Party members, while not active in the Green Movement per se, look at their registration as a symbol of their environmental awareness and engage themselves in other environmental work.

The San Luis Obispo CoC (which also happened to take on party registration) was started in January of 1990 by a few interested environmentalists. The way that the formal Green chapter began was through the original CoC people who brought attention to the existence of the Green Movement at the local farmers' market. This was a place where many environmental organizations gave out information and like-minded people congregated. It was here that Tom Knepher became interested in the movement and was instrumental in forming the chapter as an umbrella for many of the area's peace and environmentalist groups.

Some of the activities that the Greens organized were a debate on Green politics during Peace Week and a talk by some Sacramento environmentalists on lobbying techniques to get environmental legislation passed on the local level. The Greens were also involved in Earth Week disseminating Green literature and hosting a debate on ecological sustainability. They also held many smaller talks at their monthly meetings.

The attendance at meetings was sporadic. At some meetings there were as many as fifty people, while at other meetings there were only three individuals. Surprisingly, there was no cohesive core group due to the time involvement individuals had with other issue-specific environmental organizations. In fact, one of the founding individuals Tom Knepher, is now a leading member in the Sierra Club. Without this foundation of persistent core members, the umbrella could never fully be opened, and after a few months the attendance became steadily smaller until the formal meetings ended.

The main reason why the Greens have not move forward or, in one Green's words, "couldn't get off the ground" are the political issues mentioned above. People do not want to work within the bounds of a new political system or movement such a grassroots organizations. They believe that environmentalism and politics need to be as insular as possible. The second reason is that there are an incredible amount of ecological organizations that cover every issue from recycling to range management. In this regard, the Greens are simply not needed to produce ecological reform. A third reason that corresponds with the first is that the Greens lack of support from Cal Poly, the local state university. The university has traditionally been quite conservative with students not actively wanting to change the present political atmosphere.

We have seen that the California Greens are a dynamic movement with each locality focusing on different activities ranging from direct action to self/group enhancement to promoting social and ecological change. The three groups that we have focused on, Pasadena/Foothill, Nevada County, and San Luis Obispo Greens, have all worked hard to establish themselves in their respective communities, and we applaud their efforts.

While the Pasadena/Foothill Greens are in decline and the San Luis Obispo Greens never became established, we realize that it is not due to lack of commitment or apathy. Instead, it is the environment of each locality that has hindered a viable Green existence. We feel that in each case the underlying reason why Green has faltered is because of the rejection of the Greens' multi-issue approach. Both regions have tried to pursue ecological reform through single-issue groups such as the Arroyo Seco Foundation and the Sierra Club, which have been very successful. Where other single-issue groups flourish, the Green struggle to find their niche. However, residents of Nevada County have embraced the multi-issue approach, and they have, in a small community, made the Green presence felt. While Greens might find this disheartening, it is important to remember that regardless of the approach that works best for a region, single or multi-issue, we are all working towards a common vision of a more ecologically sustainable future.

WHO ARE THE CALIFORNIA GREENS?

As we developed the instrument that would show us the demographic characteristics of the California Greens, we recognized that we held several Green stereotypes. Some of us said, "The Greens are a radical, white, middle class, college educated, youthful, heterosexual environmental group that resides on the fringe of post-industrial society." Others proclaimed that "The Greens are the hope, vision and reality that everyone has been waiting for." As researchers, we asked questions, in reference to these and other expectations, and evaluated the evidence that supports them. We realize, of course, that our engagement with California Green demography does not end by summing up the answers to our questions. Therefore, we ask an additional question; "So what do these numbers tell us? The Greens are y% young, o% old, w% white, b% black, g% green, v% warriors, p% pacifists. What significance do these statistics bring to the future of Green existence, influence and effectiveness?" This powerfully charged question is implicit in all our work and is addressed head-on in this section.

Methods

During the initial planning and design stages of our research, we decided that a study of Green demographics would be a pillar within the larger research process. This survey was necessitated by the need to investigate the "who" that defines the Greens as individuals and as a movement. We developed and refined the standard demographic questions of age, sex, race and ethnicity, income, occupation, family size and background, religion and spirituality, and current as well as previous party alignment. We then pursued the larger and less-traveled territory of Green experiences with questions pertaining to other social, political, and environmental efforts, psychological growth, non-Green stereotypes of Greens, and the visions and practices belonging to a "Green World."

The seventeen question survey (See Appendix) was administered during March and April, 1991, to 153 California Greens during Green Party, Green CoC and Green Collective meetings. Most people took ten or fifteen minutes to respond to the survey questions. Surveys were administered at the beginning of meetings, during scheduled breaks, or in the closing minutes of the meetings.

The responses were converted into qualitative and quantitative figures and tables. The integrity of the responses was maintained in most cases. However, responses to questions 3, 10, 11, 14, 16 and 17 were condensed into flavorful and thematic outlines that reflect the full array of responses.

The concluding step in this study was to compare Green demography with the demography of California's registered voters. Making this comparison, we expanded our evaluation of the current and potential Green identities and roles at individual, community, regional, and national levels of interaction. In short, we observed who the Greens are and who they might become.

Results

The written interpretations of the figures and tables are expressed in fractions and percentages while the figures and tables themselves show only the raw numbers.

The reader should note that the basis for these figures and tables is not a random sample. Rather, we took from what we had before us on our field trips: a certain number of Greens, gathered together in a certain number of California locations at certain moments in time. Here is a list accounting for the number of surveys administered at each location.

East Bay Greens (S.F.)	15 (Respondents)
Fresno Greens	9
Los Angeles	10
Malibu/Riverside	9
Marin	8
Mendocino/Humbolt	11
Nevada County	6
Norcal Regional Meeting	8
Pomona Valley	28
San Francisco	22
UC San Diego	5
Santa Barbara	22

	153 total

Party Alignment

The first question invited individuals to indicate their current and previous party alignments. However, it did not ask individuals to identify whether or not they were Green Party, CoC or members of another Green group. For this reason, comparisons between individuals representing the four different concentrations of Green activity were not developed.

Seventy-eight percent, or 120 of the 153 surveyed, were registered with the Californian Green Party. The remaining individuals represented other concentrations of Green activities. All responses, including those given by non-registered Greens, are given equal consideration as Green responses and are used to create a profile of those involved with or sympathetic to the Green Movement.

Age and Sex

The Greens are a youthful group in terms of age and spirit. Forty-three, or almost thirty percent of the 153 respondents, are under thirty years of age. Another 57, or almost forty percent,

are between ages of 30 and 39. About one quarter of the Greens surveyed are in their 40's and 50's, and only about one-sixteenth are over 60 years of age (Figure 1).

Eighty-three respondents are men; 67 are women, and three did not respond. These figures convert into a percentage ratio of 55 to 45, men to women. Greens are young women as well as young men. For both groups, the participation peak is currently in the early thirties. The "median" California Green is 35 years old.

Homes and Homemates

The Greens establish their homes in a variety of settings: apartments, condominiums, boats, mobile homes, houses, housing cooperatives, and even motels. More than sixty percent of the respondents are renters. Forty-nine individuals, or 32 percent, are home owners. Six individuals are living with their parents (Figure 2).

The respondents share their living spaces with parents, children, spouses and partners, homemates and friends. Forty-three individuals, or 28 percent, live alone. Approximately 22 percent live with friends. Thirty-one respondents, or twenty percent, live with their spouses or partners. Seven percent live with their children. Three percent live with their partners and children (Figure 3).

Two people indicated that they were living in a housing cooperative with 79 other friends and homemates. These two, in addition to the others living in cabins, boats and mobile homes represent the versatile and innovative elements of Green lifestyles. The large portion of people living with friends and family are also characteristic of Green living as they have the opportunity and support needed to create environmentally and socially healthy living situations.

Relationships and Sexual Orientations

The Greens described their relationships and sexual orientations using various combinations of the categories represented in Question 6. The survey results extend beyond the scope of standard questions dealing with the afore-mentioned topics. Therefore, the results reflect a broad diversity of responses that are difficult to classify. However, the responses are consistent with Green efforts to create and maintain "unity in diversity" with regards to sexual orientations and relationships.

The results show that more than half of the respondents are single. Another twenty percent are involved in committed relationships. Twenty-nine, or 19 percent of those surveyed,

are married. Forty-two percent of the individuals within these three categories are heterosexual. Ten respondents, or seven percent, are gay, lesbian or bisexual. Interestingly, 33 percent (assuming that married respondents are heterosexual) did not identify their sexual orientation. Approximately 20 percent identified as being monogamous while nine percent identified as being non-monogamous (Appendix, Item 1).

Question 8 inquired about the number of children belonging to those surveyed. Forty-eight parents have a combined total of 100 children. The other results associated with this question were inconsequential.

Income and Employment

The largest percentage of respondents earn under \$15,000 per year. The second largest grouping, representing 29 percent of those surveyed earn between \$15,000 and \$30,000 per year. Twenty-eight individuals, or 18 percent, earned between \$30,000 and \$60,000. Eight respondents, or five percent, are unemployed or have no earnings (Figure 4). The average income for those surveyed was \$25,000.

Interestingly, 67 percent of those surveyed come from middle income backgrounds, yet 74 percent are currently earning less than \$30,000 per year with twenty-five percent being self-employed. These figures may be signposts of Green lifestyle transformation.

Question 14 invited those surveyed to describe their occupations, vocations and professions. The results display an astounding mix of people, some of whom are seaweed harvesters, civil servants, aerospace engineers and entrepreneur, just to name a few. The following table accounts for the 23 most frequent responses.

Occupations-Vocations-Professions

Students	26 (Respondents)
Teachers	11
Professors	9
Activists	9
Artists	6
Managers/Organizers	6
Writers	6
Architects/Designers	5
Librarians	4
Landscape Gardeners	4

Computer Programmers	3
Publishers	3
Energy Consultants	2
Researchers	2
Physicians	2
Nurses	2
Musicians	2
Mothers	2
Biologists	2
Film Makers	2
Journalists	2
Carpenters	2

*List of the most frequent responses in relation to Question 14.

By reviewing the previous table, one will get hints and glimmers of the types of organizations for which Greens work. Twenty-five percent of those Greens surveyed work within the public sector while while 72 percent work within private sector organizations. Approximately eleven percent, or 17 respondents, work with non-profit organizations (Figure 5).

One useful way to grasp Greens and their interaction with "employment" is to imagine the possibility of a self-supporting community that is enriched with people who are able to provide for basic as well as complex needs.

The Greens are active in alternative modes of employment, and they also participate in various conventional roles in business, science, education, medicine, law and sales.

The more detailed results, that are not apparent in the list and figure, suggest that Greens are making lifestyle changes as some quit their jobs in exchange for a "Greener existence." A "Greener existence" is a loose term that for some means not having to work forty-hour work weeks. For others, it means quitting their computer jobs and becoming full-time activists. This type of employment transition does not characterize the actions of the larger collection of Greens; however, it emphasizes the level of commitment certain individuals have to questioning and actualizing their values in their lives at large. Those that are actually changing and adjusting may encourage other people, both Green and non-Green, to consider opportunities that might otherwise be dismissed.

Education

Individuals, in response to Question 12, described their educational experiences in reference to the number of years completed at each educational level. The results were tabulated by accounting for the highest level of education completed.

In summary, the Greens can be characterized as a group that has been encouraged and motivated by the values of and need for college level education (Figure 6). Ninety-seven percent, or 149 of those surveyed, continued on to junior college or higher levels of education. By comparison, 75 percent of California's registered voters have had some college experience or have completed higher levels of education.¹ Eighteen percent of the respondents participated in junior college or trade school level education. Thirty-nine individuals, or 25 percent, have had some university level education. About one quarter of the respondents received bachelor's degrees. Close to six percent of the Greens surveyed are pursuing professional degrees. Fifteen individuals, or ten percent, have received advanced academic degrees.

Social, Environmental and Political Affiliations

We learned that the Greens are active in many different social, political, and environmental organizations. One hundred fifty-three respondents have participated or continue to participate in 469 different efforts and organizations. One interesting discovery was that not one reference was made to the Elks, Kiwanis and Rotary clubs, all being established and well-known fraternal and service clubs in California.

Most of the respondents participated in two or more efforts. Often, respondents said that there were too many to list. In addition, their involvement dated back to the 1960's and early 1970's. Some also intimated that their recent involvement with the Greens has been their first since the '60's. There are also those who have never been active until becoming members of the Greens. We can see that the Greens have a wide variety of experience with relation to social, political, and environmental mobilization. We discovered that the Greens are concerned with conservational and environmental organizations as well those concentrating on social, cultural, and political issues (See tables). The organizations ranged from being globally recognized to those being so local that they did not appear in an encyclopedia of names and acronyms.

General Areas of Association

Environmental Efforts and Organizations	30 (percent)
Cultural-Social Efforts and Organizations	22
War and Peace Efforts and Organizations	13
Political Efforts and Organizations	12
Women's Efforts and Organizations	4
Green Efforts and Organizations	4
Miscellaneous or Unrecognized Efforts and Organizations	4
No Efforts or Organizations	4
Energy-Conservation Efforts and Organizations	3
Animal Efforts and Organizations	3
Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual Efforts and Organizations	1
Many Efforts and Organizations	1

*Distribution of responses to Question 3 which addresses the political, social and environmental affiliations for the 153 surveyed.

<u>Efforts and Organizations</u>	
Sierra Club	39 (respondents)
Greenpeace	19
Peace Groups	13
Native American Groups	8
American Greens	7
Amnesty International	7
Alliance for Survival	6
National Organization for Women	6
Nuclear Free Zones	6
Rain Forest Action Network	6
Nature Conservancy	5
Audubon	5
Earth First!	5
Democratic Party	5
Anti-nuclear protest	5
Beyond War	5
Forest Forever	5
SANE/Freeze	4
Committee in Alliance with People in El Salvador	4
Earth Day	4
American Civil Liberties Union	4
Earth Island Institute	4
Public Interest Research Groups (PIRG's)	4
Environmental Action Group for a Livable Earth	3
Environmental Defense Fund	3
Common Cause	3
Democratic Socialists of America	3
Peace and Freedom Party	3

* List of the 28 most frequent responses to Question 3 which addresses the political, social and environmental affiliations of the 153 surveyed.

Previous Party Alignment

The Greens are in the process of forming a political party in California. They need 80,000 individuals to register Green by January 1992, so that they will no longer exist as a "write-in" or "other" political affiliation. Approximately 15,000-20,000 people had already registered Green as of February 1991.² Since this is a relatively new political entity in California, voters are still in the discovery and transition stages of becoming Green.

Twenty-seven percent of the registered Green Party members indicated that they were previously registered Democrats (Figure 7). The second largest grouping was represented by the five percent registered with the American Independent Party. Only one individual indicated that s/he was previously registered as a Republican.

These results help to define the territory of where current Greens have been represented in the two-party system. The Green Party, having the potential to be a third party, represents a new alternative or choice for people who have been disappointed with the previous options for political interaction and representation. Our respondents appear to be willing to struggle with the creation of something new that will grow within and challenge the existing "political system."

Party Alignment of Green Spouses or Partners

Greens are married to or partners with other Greens. The results show us that Green politics may have some role within the sphere of intimacy and marriage. Twenty-four percent of the those surveyed indicated that their spouses or partners are currently registered Green (Figure 8). Eight percent have spouses or partners who are currently registered Democrat. Fifty-nine percent responded to this question either by writing N/A (not applicable or available) or by leaving the space provided blank.

Ethnicity

Individuals, in response to Question 7, described their racial or ethnic identifications. In some instances, responses reflected the individual's psychological identification with rather than blood ties to a given race or ethnicity. The responses were difficult to categorize in an unbiased manner.

In total, 67 percent of the Greens surveyed included the words Anglo, White or Caucasian to describe their racial or ethnic background. Twenty-two percent of the Greens surveyed didn't use Anglo, White or Caucasian references and qualified their ethnicity in reference to regions, countries, races, and ethnicities of North, South or Central Europe. More than half of the individuals also identified as American. Nine percent identified as one or more of the following descriptions: Asian, African, Arabian, Jewish, Native American, American, Hippie, Hispanic and Filipino (Appendix, Item 2).

Three percent of the respondents identified themselves with global or cosmic descriptions. Their affiliations reflect a Green kinship with the earth and the people who live here. Implicit in

these identifications is the desire to create or revitalize an "Earth citizens" ethnicity, defined by the interconnectedness between humans and the multitudes of Earthly inhabitants.

Family Background

Question 13 invited individuals to describe their family background in relation to their parents' economic class, education, residential location, and marital status. Over half of the respondents come from middle income, two-parent, and suburban family backgrounds (Figures 9,10 and 11). Seventy-eight percent of those coming from two-parent families were from one-time marriages, meaning that the parents were married one time only. Thirty-eight percent indicated that their parents were college educated. High income was the second largest economic category, with low income representing nine percent.

Seventy-seven respondents, or twenty percent, were raised in suburban residences while 14 percent were raised in rural residences. Thirty-three of those surveyed, or 22 percent, come from urban residential backgrounds.

Spirituality

The respondents can be characterized as either not using spiritual terms to identify themselves or as using terms that are nuanced and highly individualized. The survey results do not fall within the well-known religious or spiritual brackets representing Protestants, Catholics, and Christians.

Instead, we discovered on the survey returns an amazing array of self-identifications: Earth Star Bound; Gaia; Humanist; Naturalist; ex-Bahai, Pantheist; Hindu; Quaker; Sufi; Taoist; Tantric; Yoga; and even Green! The respondents seem to place a great deal of importance on the inner life and how it is represented. Each one is unique and difficult to classify (Appendix, Item 3).

We do see certain loose clusters. Agnostics and avowed atheists and persons who claim no religious identification each constitute about six percent of the California Greens we surveyed. Buddhists are numerically significant, as are persons who identify with Earth spirituality, Native American spirituality, or Pagan spirituality. Each of these clusters amounts to five or six percent of Greens.

Where the more conventional groups do appear, they appear with qualifications. Catholics, for example, are not just Catholics. They are "Mathew Fox Catholics," or "eclectic

Catholics." Christians may actually see themselves as "post- Christian," or "vineyard/grassroots Christian," or they may join their loyalty to Christ with loyalty to a guru from another tradition. Unitarian-Universalists appear quite frequently, but even here there are subtleties. The ecumenial definition goes considerably and explicitly beyond what one might ordinarily expect.

One useful way to describe the spirituality of Greens is to say that it is a dynamic mix. Not only is a wide array of traditions and expressions present within the Green community, but within the vast majority of Greens, the struggle for religious meaning and identity is vital and evolving. Vitality and evolution appear, as a Buddhist may also be Episcopalian. A Catholic may emphasize the Goddess tradition. A Hindu may affirm existentialism, and a Jew may also see him or herself as a Pagan. Even among the unaffiliated or the strongly eccentric the search for identity is still alive. Even the atheists qualified themselves as atheists

Psychology

Our survey results represent a broad spectrum of activities that promote psychological growth. One outstanding characteristic is that the Greens are able to learn and grow while participating in physical movement, programmatic activities, social and sexual working groups, and visionary or meditative practices. Running, therapy, women's spirituality, dreams and miracles are integral in Green growth processes (Appendix, Item 4).

Thirty-four percent of the respondents did not identify their experiences with psychological growth. The "half empty" interpretation suggests that the Greens are deficient in terms of their involvement with psychological growth. The "half full" scenario, emphasizing the qualities of the remaining 66 percent of psychological growers, shows the rich and creative methods Greens use to learn about and experience psychological growth.

A future study might take a closer look at Greens' spirituality and psychology to determine their preference with regards to psychological and spiritual pursuits and interests.

Green World Visions and Practices

Individuals described the ways they create and actualize their visions of a Green World. By observing Green practices we are able to understand more about Green lifestyles, ethics and values.

Our results tell us that Green world visions are created and practiced with varying degrees of intensity and commitment. Some individuals did not know what a Green world

would be or look like. At the other end of the spectrum were those who weighted every decision against Green values (Appendix, Item 5).

Some realize their Green world by riding bicycles rather than driving a car. Others remember specific events or locations that triggered their Green visions: Findhorn, Ecotopia, East Germany, and the Greening of the West Conference.

One piece of significance that we can draw from their responses is that the Green world is already being created. The Greening process is taking place both on monumental and subtle levels. Some are making lifetime commitments while others make incremental changes in their daily lives. An emphasis is given to the quality of one's efforts rather than to the amount of time and space one uses to actualize their visions.

Stereotypes

The responses to Question 16 were accounted for by using qualitative methods. Words and descriptions were recorded in reference to their frequency and their apparent power and significance in relation to non-Green stereotypes and images of Greens, the Green Movement and the Green Party (Appendix, Item 6). These stereotypes are particularly valuable as they contribute to the discussion of Green self-criticism and perception presented in the discussion section.

In view of these stereotypes, we can suggest that the Green identity is fragile and vulnerable when compared with the identities of groups like the Sierra Club, Earth First!, Greenpeace, and other established organizations. The word "green" has been used in reference to many environmental efforts and ethics. The word is used as a metaphor to intimate the feeling of spring's new growth, or in several instances the growth and fertility of communism. "The green tree has red roots." Or, "Greens are like watermelons--Green on the outside, Red on the inside."

Many other images, positive and negative, have been associated with the California and international Green Movement. However, the images themselves become secondary to the process in which they are created and perpetuated. The Greens are still learning about their own individual and global identities. Their identity will be shaped as the observed (Greens) and the observer (non-Greens) struggle to perceive one another.

Demographic Discussion

The following commentary, synthesizing pieces and parts of the results, serves several purposes: Expectations and assumptions of Green identity are tested against the survey results to identify consistencies or nuances; comparisons between Green demography and the demographic characteristics of other Californian voters are highlighted; and the interpretations and implications of Green demography are developed into a series of critical observations.

Who are the Greens?

While talking to people about the UC Santa Cruz California Greens Research Project, I watched confusion come over the faces of those who did not make connections with the word green. Some took a chance and said, "Oh, Greenpeace." Others made associations with the German Greens. A few said they were willing to register Green, but they were not sure who to contact. One person even told me that he and his brother attended a Green event in Santa Cruz with the hope of registering Green and were surprised and disgruntled when they were not able to find a Green affiliate to facilitate this process.³

The Greens themselves are aware of their faint and sporadic presence in people's lives and collective consciousness. Their willingness to participate in this study demonstrates that their interest in exposing themselves to non-Green audiences. The discussion of Green self-perception and criticism arises from this exchange as they too have the opportunity to disclose themselves to other Greens. The demographic profile acts as a window through which Greens and non-Greens are able to perceive the "who" behind the California Greens.

Green Stereotypes and Perception

Several Greens communicated that "non-Greens probably do not know who or what the Greens are." At this level of awareness, non-Greens do not know enough about the Greens to imagine or stereotype them. We could safely say that for these people the Greens do not exist: The Greens are unreal in the context of a non-Green reality.

During extended conversations with Greens, I noticed their frustration as they characterized the "masses" as people who are "sleeping comfortably," meaning that they are not conscious of their responsibilities to environmental and social issues. I also had conversations with non-Greens who were waiting for the Greens to present and promote themselves to the citizens at large. Both individuals, entrenched in a variety of hardships and struggles, perpetuate the processes and behaviors that contribute to the existing dilemma.

The dualistic drama between Greens and non-Greens exaggerates subtle behaviors within their relationship to the point where subtleties become apparent overtones, barriers and impediments. By inflating certain dysfunctional qualities, the drama may clarify pathways leading to Green fulfillment.

I imagine a scene with two people standing with their backs facing each other and their arms out-streched as if they were trying to embrace something very large. One is Green, and the other does not know what Green is. The first one announces, in a voice aged by centuries of crying, "Nobody knows who the Greens are!" The second individual says with a freshly quizzical expression, "Who are the Greens?" The two individuals speak but do not actively listen to each other. They are standing so close and reaching so wide that they are almost touching hands. One has an answer; the other has a question.

What will allow the two to see, touch and listen to each other?

In instances of proclaimed knowledge, when stereotypes bubble and burst with subtle connections to verifiable truths, words and phrases distract and divert people from experiencing their feelings and thoughts. Stereotyping allows people to shorten the time needed to perceive and respond to something new, challenging or threatening, such as Green politics and philosophy. The Greens are "extremist, flakey, naive." Someone wanting to approach a group associated with these labels, would need a large amount of courage, curiosity and stamina. The durable, sharp and sensational images are the ones that circulate and impede our abilities to share and explore expressions of hope, fear, shame, resistance and denial.

Other stereotypes suggest that the Greens "have good intentions, but they lack power because of money" or that they are "too weak and too small to have an effect." Yes, money might give the Greens access to the mainstream media, political lobbyists and large and visible community events. Danny Moses, a veteran Green activist and member of the Rainbow Greens Network, addresses this "money and media" issue:

I think that (Greens) should be able to figure out how to do things that people will be willing to make a contribution to. It is real easy for people to think of projects that require a lot of funding . . . The mainstream media--forget about it. We should have our own media sources. The media want you to worry about them. My response to questions about how are we going to get the media on our side is to do what we think is the right thing to do and if the media want to cover it then they will.⁴

His attitude and style, representative of Green philosophy and practice, may touch on what non-Greens see as "unrealistic," "idealistic," or "naive." Moses alludes to two key issues: one being the "small is beautiful" approach to project design and funding, the other being the sequencing of events that facilitates the creation of a successful movement. His words may be interpreted as meaning that the Greens, first and foremost, need to do what is right according to their values. They should not evaluate their progress, power or effectiveness solely by the sensationalized attention they receive. A recent member of the Green Party relates to sequencing and media coverage and expresses that the Greens need to become a story worthy of telling in order to capture the media's attention.⁵ As demographers, we are looking for the characters who are shaping the story. "Are they really 'too small, weak and poor to have an affect?'"

Ethnicity in Thought and Practice

According to one respondent, the Greens are stereotyped as being "into white-dominated politics, not racial justice." The absence of ethnic diversity accentuates the inconsistency between Green thought and Green practice. Danny Moses, while responding to a question dealing with the expansion and diversification of the Green Movement, directly acknowledges the issue of multi-cultural representation and interaction:

. . . creating a political movement that reflects the ethnic and racial diversity of this state and country. We are making efforts. If we do not represent these people and views then we cannot claim to be what we ought to be. If the Greens are to be the legitimate bearers of the Green name, then they have to be multicultural and multiracial.⁶

The results of the survey's race and ethnicity question lend to the discussion as nine percent of the 153 California Greens surveyed identified with non-European and non-Anglo races and ethnicities. By comparison, 19 percent of those voting in California's 1988 General Election were recorded as being Hispanic, Black, Asian or other.⁷ California's Department of Finance (Population Research Unit) projects that by the year 2,000 Caucasians will represent 52 percent of California's population while Hispanics, Asians, Blacks and others will represent the remaining 48 percent.⁸ The intent here is not to become entangled by numerical projections and abstractions, but rather to recognize the groups of considerable size and diversity who will seek out community involvement, political representation and environmental protection. Gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, representing seven percent of those surveyed, are another collection within the non-Green population who are gaining momentum with their political, social and sexual activism.

Organizational Web-Working

In theory, the web-working strategy assumes that there are many different efforts moving in different directions that contribute to a larger and Greener whole. Greens hope to weave a thread between the many groups that are speaking and being Green without identifying as Green.⁹ Once these individuals become conscious of their "true colors" they will engage Green philosophies and lifestyles and spark exponential Green growth on local and global levels.

In reference to the Secretary of State's documentation of voter registration 1990, eleven percent were registered as "Other," meaning they were not registered Republicans or Democrats. The "Other" category has been growing at a steady rate since the 1940's and reached a high of twelve percent in 1980.¹⁰ One potential Green pathway for connecting with other politically active people is through web-working, also known as networking or alliance building, with other established efforts and organizations such as the National Organization for Women, Greenpeace and public interest research groups.¹¹ One Green, reflecting on the eventual outcome of effective coalition building, used the phrase "a Green front--a movement of movements" to explain his optimistic visions.

The Sierra Club, Greenpeace, Peace Groups, and Native American Groups, being the four most frequently mentioned efforts or organizations for the 153 surveyed, may be examples of those suited for partnership within this movement of movements. The survey question was limited in that it did not assess the quality of the relationship and the level of commitment between the effort or organization and the Green affiliate. We still can ask whether Greens are visible as Greens within other groups. We wonder if there are apparent qualities, trademarks or attributes, that allow Greens to stand-out as leaders and facilitators throughout web-working processes.

Potential Green Party roles of leadership emerge in the presence of the several successful political and environmental organizations that have been influential as a result of their fund-raising and grassroots organizing, but are underrepresented in the larger political picture. The Green Party and its politicians would serve as an intermediary that would assert previously marginalized issues and policies to the forefront of California's political agenda.

Interpersonal Web-Working

The Greens are students, teachers, artists, organizers, writers, physicians, mothers, film makers--the list goes on. They have the potential to extend and share Green philosophy and

lifestyles within various spheres of reality by encouraging and creating Green education, Green spirituality, Green art, Green management, Green films, Green medicine and law. One can question whether the Greens are aware of the depth and diversity of their collective skills and abilities.

At this transition, we are drawn to Green web-working on an interpersonal rather than an organizational level. In this scenario, we can also question whether the Greens, as spokespeople, are recognized or recognizable within their living and working communities. Are they actively enrolling friends, family, and work associates into the Green Movement? They are, to a detectable degree, as more than half of those surveyed have spouses or partners who are Green Party members.

One gentleman addresses the issue of family enrollment in his response to the stereotype question: The Greens are labeled as "Socialist or even Communist (but even so, seven out of nine voting members of my family have registered Green)." His description suggests that he and his family are willing to go beyond the initial stages of unconscious reactivity with regards to Green images and stereotypes. The willingness to be perceptive, rather than reactive, is the third level of embracing Green and non-Green identities. Their actions may also suggest that some people are willing to take a risk and register Green.

Transformation

Democrats and members of the Peace and Freedom party are most likely to investigate and become part of the Green groups (see Results). Interestingly, more than half of those surveyed did not indicate their previous party alignment. The minimal response level may be attributable to unclear survey instructions. Another possibility is that the Greens are people who have not actively participated in mainstream two-party political system for several years. Disillusionment may be one of the major influences that pushes people to become conscious or needy of an alternative, namely Green thought and action.

If disillusionment is a prevalent pre-Green condition, then the act of questioning previous thoughts and behaviors and searching for new methods may be the next step to perceiving and embracing the Greens. These steps come from strong ties with personal growth and empowerment.

We as researchers were interested in Green experiences with psychological and spiritual-religious growth. Thirty-four percent of those surveyed did not respond to the question

pertaining to psychological growth. Those that did respond have participated in a variety of experiential and physical exercises, including dream work and analysis. It is surprising that a larger percentage of Greens, being proponents of "root level" change and transformation, are not more involved with psychological growth processes. Perhaps this question, in addition to the ones inquiring about sexual orientations and relationship descriptions, suffered because of the limitations of a written survey.

Reflections on Spirituality

Spirituality is another key Green topic that ties in with issues of diversity, transformation, and growth. The article "Greens debate spirituality's role in politics" documents the Estes Park Colorado Green Party 1990 meeting where Greens agreed, via the consensus process, that spirituality has a place in their political platform. Several opinions and arguments were exchanged and eventually people from a variety of spiritual backgrounds constructed a platform plank that essentially acknowledged all forms of spiritual belief and practice.^{12, 13} One can question their reasoning for running this issue through the formal consensus decision making process. "Reintroducing spirituality into politics" was expressed as a primary concern within these planning and design stages of the Green platform. Garry Wills, in the book Under God: Religion and American Politics, testifies that spirituality and religion have always played a deciding role in politics. He elaborates on the evidence that identifies religious affiliation as "one of the most accurate and least appreciated, political indicators available."¹⁴ Interestingly, in a 1987 poll, a majority of Americans said that they would not vote for an atheist as president. The 1988 California Poll shows that 45 percent of those polled are Protestant, 24 percent are Roman Catholic, 18 percent have no preference, seven percent are of other faiths and five percent are Jewish.¹⁵ The progress and effectiveness of the Green Movement will be greatly influenced by these spiritual persuasions.

The Greens' efforts to reinstate spirituality into politics relate to spirituality in terms of practice and process rather than as political indicators. Their efforts and process are demonstrative of their willingness to collaborate in intellectual and administrative exercises to establish general guidelines of spiritual liberty. However, there was little evidence of spirituality, judging from the article's description, in their consensus process. We can read the words, "...put spirituality back into politics" and wonder, just how is it going to be installed. Perhaps, as Wills points out, it might be a good idea to see what roles spirituality has played in "mainstream" politics thus far.

The California story is of particular interest as 29 percent of the 153 California Greens identified as agnostic, atheist, or as having limited or unidentified spiritual interests. We wondered what would drive this collection of individuals to be particularly interested or emotionally invested in the issues pertaining to spirituality. Perhaps part of the answer lies within the other 60 plus percent that is deeply engaged with the creation and maintenance of spiritual values. Since the survey did not assess individual's concerns about spirituality and its place in politics, it is unwise to assume that agnostics and atheists are not concerned with spiritual freedom and expression.

Dreaming Green

Many of the Greens surveyed wrote about their dream-related experiences with psychological growth. In the stereotype section, the Greens were characterized as dreamers. Hodding Carter's article "The Redford Scenario" and the article "U.S. Political Mix" also uses dreams and imaginative visions in relation to Green emergence and growth. The three sources referring to dreams serve as tools to further expand our observations of Green identity and future visions. Janette Taylor, a Denver Green, was quoted as saying, in reference to state-wide Green Party growth, "I think it's going to happen on a state by state basis. . . then one day we will wake up and say, 'Gee, most of the states now have their own (Green) party, maybe it's time to declare this a national party.'"¹⁶ The underlying message is complex as Green evolution takes place over night when people are sleeping, when people are unconscious. Taylor's words have a "once upon a time" and a "happily ever after" ring to them. She implies that the Green Movement and Party are things that will grow until some spontaneous "wake-up call" when Greens and non-Greens become aware and conscious of large-scale Green emergence. Her expectations represent a sense of hopefulness as Green takes on a life and movement of its own. On the flip side of hope, there is the denial or resistance to being "awake," present and accountable during the critical developmental stages of the Green Movement. Perhaps, hope and denial are both influenced by deeply-rooted senses of shame and fear: shame of the past and fear of the present and future.

Adding "big screen punch" to the discussion of sleep and dreams, Hodding Carter constructs a future where Robert Redford is nominated by the Greens and is elected president of the United States. By the year 2020 there are next to no homeless people, 75 percent of eligible voters are voting, citizens have adequate health insurance and "green not greed" is the rule to live by.

Carter's fantasy reveals the Greens' needs and wants for answers, fixes, and solutions to current social and environmental problems. The urgency to reach the ends without considering the means or the process is expressed as this fantasy takes us from 1994 to 2020. The Green Party--the answer, the solution, the underdog, the hero--then leads the new world utopia as it replaces the Democrats while the Republican influence dwindles. The new utopian world is lead by one party, the Green Party.

Demographic Reflections

If we were to skim across the top levels of the graphs and tables, we would see that many of the popular expectations of Green identity are fulfilled. However, by doing so, we would be ignorant of the deeper-than-surface-level qualities and personalities, thereby marginalizing the individuals who add diversity and dimension to the Greens. By pursuing the subtle quantitative and qualitative details, we are able to broaden our exposure to the Greens in an effort to perceive rather than to unconsciously react to them.

At this point we can consider the utility of our demographic profile by asking two questions: Does the profile add texture to the research team's initial reactions to and perceptions of California Greens? Does the profile contribute to the Greens' understanding of their own identity as individuals and as a movement?

The answer to both of these questions is yes. Even more can be learned from our experiences and presentation if we introduce the concept and practice of dialoguing into the Green / non-Green drama. This communication process is one where people learn to notice their use of labels and stereotypes and proceed to examine the ways these words and phrases mask thoughts, feelings and experience. At the later stages of this process people begin to share their deeper feelings of fear and shame which may in turn stimulate visions of hope and action.

Our presentation not only brings us closer to Green identity, but it allows us to see the four-fold pathway to perceiving Greens and non-Greens that has been alluded to throughout this presentation:

- Ignorance: Greens and non-Greens are unreal.
- Reactionary: Greens are ideal. Non-Greens are real.
- Perception: Greens and non-Greens engaging on conscious levels where fear and shame become authentic and verifiable rather than being denied or resisted.

- Dialogue: Greens and non-Greens communicating and transforming fears and shame into visions of hope and action.

The fourfold pathway does not represent a tightly-knit conclusion defining Green identities. Instead, we arrive at another question: "What direction does this pathway give to the future of Green existence, influence, and effectiveness?"

There is no single answer to this large and provocative question. However, in the demographic presentation, we have taken a closer look at the characteristics that may contribute to the perceptions and stereotypes of Green identities. In addition, we have briefly touched on the vehicles that perpetuate these perceptions and stereotypes, ie.. media, dreams, national Green gatherings and platforms and web-working, resistance, and hope. My hope is that the Greens and the non-Greens learn to reach out beyond the paralyzing words, phrases and behaviors to embrace each other: learning, touching, listening, thinking, feeling, dreaming and acting.

I imagine a scene with two people standing with their backs facing each other and their arms outstretched as if they were trying to embrace something very large. One is Green and the other does not know what Green is. The first one announces, in a voice aged by centuries of crying, "Nobody knows who the Greens are!" The second individual says with a freshly quizzical look on his/her face, "Who are the Greens?" One day the two individuals, with their arms outstretched, are brought together as a third individual, with his nose buried in books, newspapers, interviews, and surveys, bumps into them. The third individual introduces himself and says, "By the way, who are you?"

Notes

1. James S. Fay, et al., California Almanac (Santa Barbara: Pacific Data Resources, 1991) 290.
2. Green Party Flyer 1991.
3. Matt Freeman, Casual Conversation, Santa Cruz, Ca. May 1991.
4. Danny Moses, Veteran member of the Rainbow Green Network, in person interview, San Francisco, 13 March 1991.
5. Jeromia Mock, Recent member to the San Francisco Green Party, in person interview, San Francisco, 13 March 1991.
6. Danny Moses, in person interview, 3 March 1991.
7. Fay, 290.
8. Fay, 3.
9. K. Shillinger, "U.S. Political Mix," Christian Science Monitor 10 Nov. 1990.
10. Fay, 286.
11. Schillinger.
12. Robert Boczkiewicz, "Greens debate spirituality's role in politics" National Catholic Reporter 28 Sept. 1990, 5.
13. SPAKA "Green Spirituality" Estes Park, Colorado, 2 Dec. 1990, 28.
14. Garry Wills, "Religion: A constant in American Politics" Under God: Religion and American Politics (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1990).
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16. Schillinger.

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INTERNAL DYNAMICS

I have learned about group process in two ways. First, I observed several Green meetings to gain an understanding of how the different groups function. Secondly, I used my experience with our research practicum, to more fully understand group dynamics. My observation is that there are many elements that contribute to the success of a Green group. Strong goals, motivation, and organization are critical. But good group process is absolutely central; no Green group can be fully effective without it. If individual members are dedicated to working together at their process, they are much more likely to fulfill their goals and get a sense of accomplishment than if there were unresolved problems within the group. To be successful, groups need to strive toward improving their internal dynamics and creating a group with which they are comfortable and of which they are proud.

Process

Groups usually have a meeting format that they stick to. For example the Santa Cruz Greens use consensus process and have very specific guidelines to follow. Roles are assigned at the beginning of the meeting and change with every meeting. These roles include facilitator, co-facilitator, time-keeper, note-taker and vibes-watcher. The agenda is set at the beginning of the meeting and people who want to discuss issues ask to be put on the agenda. Times are assigned to the items by the people who brought them up and then is their responsibility to stay within these time limits when their issue comes up.

Many groups have ground rules or by-laws that have been agreed upon previously and are typed up so that new members can get a copy. Ground rules tend to address such issues as

description of roles and consensus process and an outline of how to make internal dynamics flow for the group.

In order to make these ground rules work, people have to take them seriously. In our thesis group we discussed "guidelines for our community," and then agreed upon them. We decided that if people would raise their hands when they wanted to speak this would keep us from interrupting each other. Other decisions were made about process and at the following meeting everyone was given a copy of these guidelines. I later found that people felt that we didn't keep to these guidelines. One member thought that we should have had a ritual where we each verbally committed to these rules in front of the group. This would work to make our decisions about process real for us, forcing us not to ignore them.

Establishing guidelines is obviously not enough. Group members must commit and re-commit to them in order for guidelines to be strong and effective.

Consensus

Green groups tend to use what is called consensus process. Consensus involves making decisions without voting. It has been described by some members of the San Francisco Greens as a coming together, a common understanding, a non-hierarchical dedication to understanding.

Greens use consensus in order to make decisions in a non-hierarchical way. Everyone's voice is supposed to be heard through this process. This way all ideas are brought out before making a decision. If a group is to flow down the river toward their goal, they have to let go of a few things. First, there is the question of leadership. Since Greens have decided to be a non-hierarchical group, they have no one at the helm of the boat to give orders or supervise the crew. With the absence of a "captain," the group must work together with a common understanding of where they're going and how they are going to get there.

It has been debated whether our practicum group used consensus. Nobody ever asked, "So, do we have consensus on this?" but no major decisions were made without the consent of the group, so we essentially had the same non-hierarchical structure that the Greens use.

Some people feel that consensus doesn't really work to include everyone's ideas, thoughts, and feelings. Frequently people are left out of the process due to their fear of conflict or by being excluded from discussion for various reasons. These problems can be exacerbated by a facilitator that is either domineering or too weak. Other complaints with consensus I have

gathered from Greens and practicum members have been that it takes too much time for everyone to say something, and that there is too much structure or not enough time for true consensus process.

Most of these problems can be remedied in some way. Key solutions lie in the strength of the community and the skill of the facilitator.

Facilitation

For most groups the role of the facilitator is essential. A strong facilitator can assure a good meeting for the group. This Job mainly involves calling on people to speak and watching how the meeting is going. The facilitator needs to make sure that everyone's voice is heard and to help the group through trouble spots.

The facilitator has a primary role in orchestrating a consensus-run meeting. It is the facilitator's responsibility to keep the meeting flowing and to make sure that the group moves forward for its common good. This is the perfect position to see that everyone's voice is heard by calling upon quiet people in the group and discouraging "group think" by inviting differences.

Group think is a common problem with groups that use consensus. This is where one proposal is made and discussed and ready to be set into stone before anything else is even suggested. This can result from people's fear of conflict or of disapproval by other members of the group. Many times there are certain members of the group who speak up and don't really let the others get a word in edgewise; their enthusiasm and desire to get things rolling takes over and bulldozes any other options. One practicum member expressed this sentiment in this way: "How come some people's ideas are thrown out before even leaving their mouth and others' ideas become the Gospel without anyone else's consent? URG!"

The facilitator could have avoided this problem had s/he said something like, "Does anyone else have a different idea?" Many times group members will agree with what is being said already, voice this and thereby make it look like the whole group feels that way. This makes it difficult for anyone who has different ideas; they think that they are the only one who feels this way and would rather not be the only "objector." They keep their ideas to themselves and resent that no one realizes that other ideas and solutions exist. The facilitator is key in making sure that every possible suggestion is voiced. S/he should be looking around the room, watching body language to determine if anyone has objections to the proposal being made. Differences of opinion can be brought out if the facilitator simply says something like "Joe, I noticed that you sat

back when Sally said that. Do you have a different take on this?" This way everyone's feelings are brought out and "group think" is avoided.

Our group didn't have a facilitator per se. One individual volunteered to coordinate at meetings and guidelines were developed. Many members felt that the guidelines weren't kept to--it was agreed that people should raise their hands when they wanted to speak, but this was done very inconsistently. Some group members would always raise their hands and then be bypassed by someone who didn't. Also since there was no "facilitator" to call on people, people were confused about when it was their turn to speak.

Community

Establishing community is pivotal for any group that meets on a regular basis. Whether people get to know and trust one another and acquire a feeling of responsibility to the group determines how smoothly things run. Community can be established in many different ways.

Customs for developing community can be used before, during and after the meeting to establish a sense of comfort within the group. A "check in," where everyone voices where they are coming from and what they want out of the meeting can be used in order to establish a sense of group and warm everyone up to the idea of spending the next few hours or so together.

When breaks are given in the middle of the meeting there should be some sort of re-grouping exercise in order to re-establish trust and a sense of community. For instance, a group can rejoin after a break with a song, dance or game to create a team or community spirit. It is really hard to start or re-start a meeting when people come straggling in talking to each other. If people were to greet each other upon coming back there is a sense of harmony and common purpose uniting the group and moving them forward in their goals.

Many Green groups use an evaluation period at the end of a meeting to express people's feelings about the meeting. This is a perfect time to let the group know if there were any problems with process and determine if the meeting accomplished what everyone wanted it to. At the Santa Barbara meeting, Minda Lorenz asked only the new members to evaluate the meeting. This gave the regular members a chance to see what their meeting was like to an outsider who wouldn't have the same biases and assumptions that they would. This can be useful for a group that is having trouble and doesn't realize it.

These are just a few of the activities that can be used to foster community in the group. Another important one is the closing of the meeting. This can be done with evaluation or a more

"fun" activity. Individuals in our research group participated in a folk dance after a couple of our meetings. This enabled people to leave our notoriously long and sometimes boring meetings with some energy pumped back into them. The Santa Cruz Greens always close their meetings with a group hug and song. Including a fun activity at the end of a meeting helps to keep people motivated and gives them a feeling that they are not alone.

Time Management

In order for Greens to feel like they're getting something accomplished they must use time effectively enough to cover each agenda item thoroughly. Sometimes too much time is spent on logistical topics such as "who is going to be on this committee" or "at whose house shall we have the party?" Things like this are better covered by smaller groups. Rather than spend valuable group time on logistical questions, groups should form committees. This allows the group to cover more territory without filling the general meetings with discussions about who is going to water the oak trees on Wednesday. Concerns like this can be discussed within the smaller committees or affinity groups which would later report their activities to the larger group.

This was certainly the case for our group. One member pointed out that it took four people two hours to carry out the logistical task of organizing our week in the field, whereas it took five hours for the entire group of 18 people to even think of forming this committee. The formation of committees allowed us to spend more time on substance in the large group. Delegating the menial and technical (though important) tasks to committees saved the large group hours of frustration.

Good time management is crucial if a group is to get a feeling of accomplishment. If people feel that the meetings are a waste of time, they get frustrated. Frustration with the group often leads to burnout. Wise time management can keep group members feeling good about themselves and the group.

Surroundings

Green groups meet wherever they can. Some groups meet in spaces they share with other groups. For instance, the Santa Cruz group shares a building with other environmental groups such as Save Our Shores and the Sierra Club. Practicum members have observed that the physical characteristics of where a group meets can have a real bearing on how the meeting goes. We met in a beautiful spot up in the mountains--a room with large windows. We were far away

distance-wise from all other concerns. If we had always met at the university, it would have felt more like a class--a place where we came to get "taught at." Our setting helped us to feel that we were in charge of this learning experience.

In contrast, the Marin Greens meet at a building that is shared with other "community groups" (Peace, Social issues, environmental issues). They shared the room they used with at least two other groups. It had couches, chalkboards, and a constantly ringing telephone. Even though they let the answering machine pick up the phone, they were never allowed to forget that it and the rest of the world had demands upon them.

Another group comes to mind that has a meeting place that has little to be desired. The Santa Barbara Greens met in a community center where a lively Mexican dance rehearsal was going on in the room next door. People found themselves shouting to each other over the sound of mariachi music and stomping feet.

Having a space of our own was crucial--it let us forget about all other concerns and focus on the task at hand. It helped us establish community. We were a family, and this was our home. This space let us be at peace with ourselves and with the other members of the group.

Dealing with Conflict

I have found that most groups have an acute fear of conflict. People go to such great lengths to avoid conflict that they sometimes don't say what they need to say.

Many groups have some idea of what to do to resolve conflict once it happens; others take more of a preventative stand. When people avoid conflict by failing to speak up and voice differences of opinion it compromises their participation in the group. If there is a set way to deal with conflict, people may feel more comfortable dealing with these sorts of situations and wouldn't try to avoid them so much.

In their guidelines groups should have a process outlined of how to deal with conflict. This way people feel that they have some control in a heavy situation. If conflict is suppressed because there is a fear of what will happen if it were voiced, interactions between members of the group become tense and the group in itself becomes unhealthy.

Goals

For members of a group to feel good about the group's accomplishment, it is necessary for the group to have goals that are reachable. If everyone spends all their time looking into the

distant future, they tend to pay less attention to the obstacles directly in front of them. If a group sets goals at all levels--immediate, intermediate and distant--they are more likely to have a clear path ahead of them.

To insure healthy process, groups should strive for goals at all levels. In the immediate realm is interaction within the group: Does everyone feel comfortable with what is going on? Do people feel like they are being heard? The long-term goal is the image of the group functioning like a healthy community or family. This aim can be reached if everyone has their eyes on it while paying close attention to internal dynamics in the immediate realm.

PICNIC AMONG THE GREENERY

I felt nervous as my partner, Roxanne, and I got out of her car. The two of us have had little experience at this sort of thing. We hoped any blunders we made would get lost in the number of people there. We were just two people from a sixteen person "group" thesis at UC Santa Cruz, interviewing people involved with the California Greens. Our emphasis was on the people: who they are, what they're like. When Roxanne had found a phone number for Professor Milton at the regional university, on a list of Green references, we had called him to set up an interview. During the course of the call, we had filled him in on who we were, what we were trying to do, and why. He had suggested that we come to this picnic as a way of meeting people in an informal setting. It also might give us a chance to see what people were like away from work, he said, and to find out what they liked doing when they relax. We had jumped at the opportunity.

Now, however, it was starting to hit me. The two of us, just college students, going to a picnic with an unknown number of Green people. Looking at me, Roxanne smiled, "Relax, you worry too much. It'll be fun." Grabbing my hand, she pulled me toward the picnic tables. Yes, I was nervous, and anxious. I felt as if I would drown in all these people if I opened myself up to them. I set our lasagna dish down next to some sort of pasta salad. Trying to re-focus, I remembered making the call to the professor. He seemed very comfortable on the phone, with a light, almost musical voice. It seemed as if everything he said was some sort of poetry. He said we would recognize him by his white fishing hat. "Hey, Rox, do you see the hat?"

"Nah, not yet. Maybe he's late. Let's wander around for a bit."

Seeing what looked like a comfortable oak tree limb close to the ground, I perched myself there where I could feel safe and yet see both the pond and the picnic area. Roxanne moved off to socialize. Her knack for blending with people constantly amazed me. I tend to be more an observer than a participator. The group dynamics here were particularly interesting. For the most part, people seemed fairly close, even giving each other hugs occasionally. Others didn't seem as physical or as close, yet appeared just as comfortable.

A man who might have been in his late fifties arrived just then wearing a beat-up old fishing hat. He spotted me before seeing Roxanne near everyone else, and came walking over. "Are you Daniel, from UC Santa Cruz?"

"Yes sir. My partner, Roxanne, is over there talking to the couple in the 'Don't take corporate slop, Buy at the Green Shop' t-shirts."

He chuckled. "I see. That's Mark and Julie Kennedy. Sort of our version of commercial activists. They own and operate the Green Shop."

"What's the Green Shop?"

"It's a store that sells products that are environmentally safe, and don't use Third World labor, that sort of thing. They got into it as a way to give people an alternative to corporate insensitivity. Also, they get easily frustrated with all the talk that goes on at meetings, so I think that the Shop is sort of their energy outlet, you know?"

"I think so. Do you know if the store's successful?"

"Yeah, it is, though they don't make much of a profit since most of the items they carry cost them more, and they want to keep prices competitive." Looking back at me with a smile, he added, "Just remembered something that one of them said around the time they opened the store. Something like, 'Greens don't have egos, we just want to save the world.'"

Another couple, Bradley and his boyfriend James, began setting up the dinner tables with another man, one of only three people of color at the picnic. One of our

thesis partners had talked with Bradley extensively a few days before, though James wasn't present then, since he hadn't gotten involved with Greens, other than Bradley, of course.

"Do you prefer Dan or Daniel?", the Professor said, bringing me back to the present.

"Whichever; people call me both. I usually go by whatever someone else doesn't, to help minimize the confusion of so many Daniels in the world."

"OK, then, Daniel. What do you say we walk over and give those guys a hand with the food?"

"Sounds good." I felt a little easier now, with someone to help ease me into the crowd.

"Besides, we just might be able to help, uh, tidy up those, uh, messier areas, eh?"

"Of course, wouldn't want any lonely little tidbits just lying around, now would we?"

The professor made introductions as we approached, naming the last man as Alex, short for Alejandro. The professor stayed just long enough to help prepare the tables. Then he grabbed some snacks and walked off. I decided to get to know the three men a bit, if I could.

"How often do you all get together for something like this?"

Alex responded with a smile to the others, "Not as much as 'some people' would like. In fact, this is the first picnic to bring together Greens from more than one group."

Bradley dryly retorted, "Some people', my ass! He means Taurie, who organized most of this. She's always trying to get us together for something social, whether it's a picnic or a full moon walk in the woods. Anything to create some sort of community, where we can relax, and work with each other."

"Hey, she's obviously not the only one who wanted this. As I recall, you helped her get in touch with people, letting everyone know about today."

"Yeah, well . . . [mumble]. Hey, James, let's grab some food and go for a walk on the beach." Smiling at Alex, he jibed, "these straights are givin' me a rash."

Alex looked mock-wounded.

Seeing my grin, he gave a quiet laugh. "Yes, we joke like that all the time. Besides, he's been looking for an excuse to go off with James, if I know him as well as I think I do."

"Are you the only two who play like that, or is everyone that relaxed?"

"Well, most of us play around a little, but I'm one of the only ones who jokes with him about being homosexual. He usually razzes me about being a 'Latin Crusader' or something."

"So you two tease each other about things that're important to you?"

"Right. Sort of keeps us real, you know."

"Yeah. So what kind of things do you think are important in relation to Greens and minorities?"

"Getting down to business, huh? Well, first off, that's a huge question, but I think I get what you mean.

"To start with, I don't think there's enough outreach to the Hispanic/Latino community, even from the Greens. Minorities have too many problems just trying to make ends meet to come to the Greens, or any other group with an environmental focus. The Greens have to go to them. That means taking up Latino issues along with their own communities. Do you see the importance of that?"

"Think so. It's so that energy or money goes into things that the people involved see as problems, rather than what outsiders say are their problems."

"Right."

"Is there anything else that you'd really like to see the Greens get more involved in?"

"Well, Latino and minority issues are the big ones, but, yeah, there is another: farming. I'd like to see the Greens get more into farming, especially farmers and farm-workers. The whole nature, or spirit of farming has changed. Now it's corporate invasion and lousy agricultural practices. It's sick!"

Roxanne yelled from the volleyball court set up near the pond, "Hey! Guys! You wanna play ball? Or are you gonna keep guarding the dinner tables?"

Alex quickly whispered, "You any good?"

"Back in the dark ages, I was ok."

"Good, then I won't be too embarrassed." Then louder, "Yeah, we're coming."

As we were walking over, I saw how fit the two women were, compared to Alex and me. "Uh, Alex? Do you know if the lady with Roxanne is very good? 'Cause I know Roxanne spends an awful lot of time on the beach."

"I'm not sure. I think she spends most of her free time outdoors, but I don't know how much volleyball she's played."

"I think we're in trouble." As we stepped onto the court, I began introductions. "Rox, like you to meet Alex. Alex, this is my partner Roxanne."

"Hello."

"Good to meet you."

"Dan, this is Trina. Trina, Dan."

"Uh, ladies, under the pretense of gender balance I propose that we have co-ed teams," ventured Alex with a half-grin to me.

Trina, also grinning, countered, "Could it be that you big, strong men think that you might get clobbered by us two women?"

I confessed, "Trina, there's not a doubt in our minds. Anyway, men or women, if one side dominates, the game's not as much fun."

"Point taken. Following your sham of equity, let's further it. We'll split up our ages as well as sexes, ok?"

"Sure, ok."

As I walked past Roxanne, she whispered with a hint of mischief, "Did she say we're splitting up for sex?" Then laughing, she pushed me over to the other side and pulled Alex onto their side of the court. "Let's warm-up, then play."

It was patently obvious that the women would have easily beaten us had the game been between sexes. Fortunately as Alex and I warmed up, we became less of an eyesore, and took a more active part in the game. A few other people had come over to watch. I recognized Bradley with James, and Professor Milton with a woman I hadn't met yet. There were others, including Mark and Julie, whom I hadn't met either.

After the first game, most of the group began cheering for one of the teams. Our two games went to Alex and Roxanne with scores of 15-9 and 16-14. Trina and I almost pulled the second game out from under them. Though not as good as Roxanne, Trina was still in

significantly better shape than either Alex or me. She claimed it came from running every evening with her dog.

After the games, only about an hour of sunlight remained. Everyone decided that anybody who was going to show, had already done so.

"Trina had to find her pack, since the food she'd brought was still inside. She came back with marshmallows, chocolate bars, and graham crackers. When someone commented on her selection, she replied, "Hey, what's a picnic without s'mores? Besides, all of you eat all this nutritious stuff, so someone had to bring things to satisfy the fifth food group."

Roxanne and I felt immensely relieved. We'd had a devil of a time trying to figure out what to bring that many people would enjoy eating, wouldn't take too much to prepare, and wouldn't rob us to make. That's when we came up with lasagna. It's vegetarian, easy to make, and doesn't cost too much to feed a dozen people.

As people lined up to get food, Roxanne filled me in on some of the people she'd met. To what I already knew about Mark and Julie, the ones who owned the Green Shop, she added that they perceived the Greens as making or encouraging a change in awareness and consciousness. Also, she mentioned that the couple, especially Mark, seem to believe that Armageddon is happening now, and that the change the Greens want to make might help reverse it. She didn't really get a good grasp of what he was saying, so couldn't relate it to me all that clearly. But I felt shocked, just thinking of things in that way.

"Trina seemed very grounded, yet said that she was going through a personal change right now and was hoping it resulted in growth. Though she didn't mention it much, others had commented on "Trina's work with local planners and developers. She seemed extremely effective in helping minimize environmental damage and reduce economic and social segregation in newly developed areas.

Yet despite the fact that this extra work left her no real free time, she helped Taurie and Bradley get today's picnic organized. In a laughing sort of way, she referred to the picnic as being the mental 'child' of the three of them, hinting both that she feels ideas can be a form of creation for everyone, much like birth, and that getting them realized can feel similar to giving birth.

"Trina and another woman whom Roxanne identified for me as Ann, announced they were going to be having a small circle after dark for any women who wished to participate. I

spoke up and asked the group what the men would be doing at that time. Ann answered somewhat coldly, "Whatever the men feel like doing." The implication was that as long as no men were present at their ceremony, she didn't much care.

Roxanne nudged my leg under the table, indicating she'd fill me in later. During dinner she said, "In the short talk I had with her, she didn't seem to like men much. She's got a lot to say, but I think it's a situation where I'd better be the one to hear it. Sorry I didn't mention it earlier."

"How does she work within the group if she's so hostile to men?"

"It's not that she's hostile, though even I can see where that comes from. It's more like she's not comfortable with them around. If you noticed, she didn't really socialize with any other men, except a tiny bit with the Professor, who everyone seems to see as some sort of grandpa."

"Okay, that's cool then. Just thought I might have accidentally done something to piss her off."

Roxanne went on to tell me about Jenny, the woman with the Professor. Jenny and William (the Professor's unused first name), had apparently only recently become romantically involved. She was all warmed-up inside about a sonnet the Professor had written and read to her when she arrived today. Roxanne and I tried to piece it together later from what she told me. I think it went something like this:

From lonely night, my soul did hear from you.
We travel now a new path, keeping love
Alive lest evil kill this weakest dove
Which fights, not knowing what the final view
Reveals. Yet fighting on, our stronger hearts
Removing doubt from Nature's webs above
To thrive on spirit's ale and Cupid's darts.

Beyond her happiness at her relationship with the Professor, we weren't able to learn that much about her. She did mention at dinner that she believed people should learn to step back a bit once in a while and look at the small changes going on all around us. She feels small changes can lead to larger problems that we can do little about by the time we recognize them.

Down the table from Jenny and the Professor sat Arthur, whom Roxanne and I had met during dinner. Arthur, the only black person in attendance, had the most remarkable voice. When he spoke, it was soft and quiet, yet conveyed such an interest and intensity that you knew his entire self, soul and spirit, was behind each word. His inner strength had caught me off guard at first. I realized that the source of this man's strength came from love. Sounds strange to say, but I got the feeling that if we spent some time together, we could become the best of friends. He seemed to give everyone this same feeling.

Next to Arthur a couple in their late forties was departing. Brooke, though not active in the Green Movement lived a Green life. She was going off to help the people of the county resist off-shore oil development. Since ocean issues were her specialty, not his, Sylvester was going in a different direction. He was on his way to the capital to assist and encourage legislation that would make pesticide spraying of forests illegal. Though warm and friendly, these two seemed to be both here and elsewhere, preoccupied with their respective projects. During dinner I'd heard that Sylvester had recently begun working with their local community to strengthen it against corporate oppression of the local economy and environment.

Three college-aged people were debating some issue at the far end of the table. Since they came late, we hadn't gotten to know them yet, but the man's name is Ethan, and the women's names are April and Heather. April seemed to be of Native American descent. Whatever the debate was about, Ethan seemed to be losing. Judging from the way the two women worked together, they knew each other fairly well and didn't think too highly of either the issue or their opponent.

Coming back toward our end of the table, Mark and Julie were discussing the possibility of selling bicycle parts at their shop with a man in biking clothes. Greg, the bicyclist, seemed encouraged about the idea, and wanted to know if they could find out about the feasibility of recycling worn out tires, or irreparable rims and frames. When the couple began talking about progress being made in recycling auto parts, he snorted and said, ". . . cars should be illegal for any use other than emergencies." At that point I stopped listening. While I also dislike fossil-fuel vehicles, I have a greater dislike for extremists of almost any orientation.

Next to me, Roxanne was deep in conversation with a man by the name of Kenny. Kenny articulated everything carefully, as though everything he said had been thought out beforehand. When other people sound like that, it often comes across as an arrogance. Not so with Kenny. He seemed to want to listen, more than he wanted to talk. He seemed to know

where he was headed in life, and didn't have to be in a rush getting there. There lies another contradiction. People kept referring to things he'd done, or helped with, or that could never have come about without him. But he seemed very relaxed, humble even, and articulate without being pretentious. He must also be a dynamic conversationalist since he'd managed to keep Roxanne's mercurial mind attentive during most of the meal.

On the other side of me from Roxanne sat an interesting man in his early forties by the name of Benjamin. Ben's hobbies include three-quarters of everything involving either global communication by individuals, or cutting-edge audio and visual entertainment. Although he had arrived long before Roxanne and I did, I hadn't noticed that he was really a part of the group. He'd actually been reading a magazine when we'd arrived. As it happened, the magazine article he focused on covered some of the ways in which international citizens groups were keeping in contact, primarily in Europe. Despite his fascination with things not human, Ben didn't come across as either a computer nerd or a loner. Looking back, I see Ben as a sort of technophilic version of either Brooke or Sylvester, in the way that part of his character has been so strongly represented by his activities. He and I talked a little about music, especially the blues, of which he had been a long-time fan.

The sun was going down, and we cleared the table. Most of the women went into the forest for their ceremony. Heather stayed with us. We started in on the s'mores. For about an hour, we sat together, trying to keep each other from eating the women's share of the s'mores before they returned. Mostly we told old stories or told jokes. At one point the Professor brought out his saxophone. Heather accompanied him on guitar, and I tried to keep up with them on my harmonica.

The women returned, looking happy and content. The whole group sat for a little longer to socialize before it got too cold. Then we all took hands, thanked each other for a wonderful time, and departed.

On the way home, Roxanne told me that the ceremony had involved affirmation of a woman's ties to Nature, especially the Earth and Moon, and a little supportive reaching out to each other. She must have felt good. She is usually nervous when someone else is driving, but moments after telling me about the women's circle, she fell asleep.

Her sleeping left me to my thoughts. The Greens we'd met that day were a very powerful collection of people. Out of context of the picnic, most of them would stand out in a

crowd, yet there was also a definite human-ness about them. For example, when the vocally rapturous Arthur unexpectedly belched during dinner, or Kenny's apparently opposing inconsistencies. Mostly, I'm just glad I had the opportunity to meet them all. I think I've changed a little, maybe I'm a little more hopeful, I don't know, but it feels good.

HISTORY OF GREEN THOUGHT

This portion of the two part study on the history of green thought takes a look at certain historical cultures and religions in relation to Green Movement values. Although Green as we know it represents a relatively new movement, the concept and embodiment of varied green values have been expressed throughout history.

Attitudes toward the environment have taken many forms, varying from the deification and respect of nature to the domination, misuse, and waste of uninhabited wilderness. These views seem to fluctuate in correspondence with the varying demands and dependencies of different cultures on the natural world and its resources through time.

Through tracing the evolution of the environmental aspects of Green values through history, I will present aspects of ancient Greek and Roman cultures, Christianity, Native American culture, and contemporary thought, through various forms of opinion and expression. These represent the principal religious strains that are the setting for the Green Movement today.

The Greeks

A dominant practice before the Middle Ages which persisted virtually everywhere in the Mediterranean world was that of animism. The attitude portrayed by animism upheld the natural world as sharing human qualities and treated things in nature as sacred objects of respect or worship. This attitude gradually gave way to more anthropocentric modes of thinking. The extreme alternative eventually became the dominant attitude which saw nature as something to be freely conquered and dominated without consideration of the consequences. The ancient peoples of this persuasion are thought to have most influenced our attitudes today.¹

The ancient Greeks serve as perhaps the most appropriate example of this case; they significantly expressed what we are calling green values. Initially the Greeks were loyal to their religion, which revolved around the worship and respect of nature, and cosmology (where the sky and earth were represented as male and female parents of the first generation of gods and either directly or indirectly of all natural beings). They maintained that gods were deities who governed nature, appeared in it, and acted through it. Human activities which affected the environment were often seen as involving response from the gods. The people did not harm the land, but respected it and believed that harm would come to them if they failed to uphold their commitment through animism. Not only were the Greeks considerate of their environment, but their concept of justice also seems to represent green values. Justice meant not only fairness among the people, but keeping the proper relationships among people, the natural environment, and the gods, therefore helping to keep the whole cosmos in balance.

With the Greek philosophers (4th century B.C.) a certain curiosity emerged, and they began to ask questions regarding the relationships of various living things, humankind to humankind and humankind to nature. Through these scientific and philosophical questions, the Greeks began to identify some ecological principles. They decided that nature, plants, and animals were no longer deserving of deification. Greek philosophers were led by a desire to discover the truth about nature and tried to understand it rationally, not mythically, and in the process traditional mythology and religion relating to the natural world was rejected.² The worship of nature was replaced with a philosophical and rational understanding. Hughes claims that this was done in a sustained and purposeful way; however, I feel that they have failed to maintain sustainability in this process.

The progression of scientific knowledge and objectification of nature advanced into new technology and seemed to foster a selfish manipulation of nature, solely benefiting human desires resulting from escalating anthropocentric values. The respectful, cooperative relationship between people and nature was severed as humans began to feel a new power and control over their environment, no longer feeling connected to all other beings, but superior to them. This change of attitude ironically made them feel independent from nature when actually their use and demand of its qualities increased. Humans began to live from the land, abusing it and manipulating it, rather than living with the land. Being what has been the most significant change of attitude toward nature, this process has led to what J. Baird Callicott refers to as a more contemporary "atomism," which takes an unified functional system and separates it into functionally unrelated sets of particulars.³

As a result of this ill-fated knowledge and despite the preliminary environmental "green" values, the Greeks managed to alter their local ecosystem significantly by exhausting essential resources and contributing toward their own decline. Such evidence can be noted from the ruins left behind. Whereas peoples that never questioned the rights of nature as portrayed through their religion, such as the Native Americans, left little physical evidence of their existence, the Greeks left monuments to human prowess and accomplishment.

Perhaps the former awe of the unknown is what keeps a respectful attitude within people. It seems that once the Greeks began learning about their environment, the respect began to fade or change form. Now that today's society, in general, has a higher understanding of the physics of the world, people seem to be less considerate of our natural environment and take it for granted more than ever before. It appears that the first Earth scientists stirred human curiosities and furthered humankind's contributions toward Earth's exploitation as they began to explore. Now, all eyes focus back on the scientists who are expected to make new discoveries to help fix the balance that humankind has destroyed. I now understand the meaning of the phrase "Curiosity killed the cat." As with the Greeks, the trouble seems to begin when the questioning starts.

One of the most significant effects that the Greeks left upon their land was the deforestation which occurred primarily between 600 and 200 B.C., in the classical and Hellenistic periods.⁴ What I find most astonishing is the fact that the direct consequences of the Greeks' actions were known. Ancient Greek writers knew that deforestation was a direct result of their actions, yet they continued to exploit the land in a business-as-usual manner without their previously-held ethics and concern for balance and harmony.

Considering the fact that our current ecological crisis is not the first sign in history of the deleterious effects that humankind may have on the earth, it is even more shameful that drastic steps have not been taken in the past to ensure against reoccurrence of similar consequences, to protect and cherish the Earth and thus, our well-being. It is as though these ecological aspects of history have been ignored by history books and educators, leaving other civilizations to make the same mistakes. Now, it seems that this environmental context of history could be repeating itself on a more intense and vast level.

The Romans

Similarly to the Greeks, the early Romans initially maintained a way of life and an attitude toward nature which reflected the dominant tonality of animism within their religion. The early Romans were agrarian people with strong ties to nature.⁵ They practiced divination, which was based on the belief that the natural environment displayed the will of the supernatural powers to people.⁶ They too did not persist with this conviction.

In contrast to the early Romans who worshipped nature and were forbidden to make major changes in the environment by religious taboos, the Romans of the middle and late Republic and the Empire were increasingly utilitarian and inclined to exploit their natural resources.⁷ The imposing attitude was that everything in nature had a rational purpose for human use and had no intrinsic value. A relationship with nature was never seen as crucial to the survival of society and humanity itself.⁸ Plants served the animals; animals served humankind, and humankind was thought to exist to "contemplate and imitate the perfection of the world."⁹ However, not all Roman philosophers upheld this view. One quite humorously believed

Animals and plants could not have been created for human use, because so many people are fools, and there is not enough human intelligence in the world to make creation worthwhile.¹⁰

The influence of the Greeks and the practicality of the Romans themselves helped form Roman attitudes toward nature, which Hughes indicates, are remarkably similar to those expressed today.¹¹ Romans drew from Greek sources to support the rationalization of their domination and tendency to use nature for human desires and profit. They advanced from Greek reasoning and technology increasing their ability to further manipulate the natural environment. It was this Roman technology that has been one of the wonders of the ancient world.

It is not surprising that the Romans, expressing a distinct utilitarian belief, had a noticeable and widespread impression on the natural environment. This impact can be most significantly expressed as deforestation, as occurred in Greece. Having exerted too great a demand upon the available natural resources, the Romans also experienced irrigation, salinity, overgrazing, and pollution problems as well as erosion due to the deforestation. The Romans' ecological failures interacted with social, political, and economic forces ensuring the change of their empire beyond recognition.¹²

The Romans' use of wild animals indicates gross exploitation and exemplifies the complete shift from animism that took place. The Romans' entertainment, which consisted of displaying and killing animals for amusement, was responsible for the most destructive and wasteful quality of Roman culture.¹³ As Hughes suggests, this use of animals, along with the fact that hunting became a private sport in Rome, may serve as evidence for their general treatment of the natural environment. Use of animals in this context was a new activity adopted by the Romans and extends their religion beyond the similarities of attitudes, actions, and environmental impacts that they shared with the Greeks.

Christianity

Christianity is, indeed, a popular religion with wide and very distinctive influence. The claims and effects of this religion in ancient times have received a great deal of controversy from philosophers and others in the literary field, some of which I will express in the following overview.

The situation between humankind and the environment seemed to worsen with the onset of Christianity. Within the early Roman Empire, Christianity emerged and then spread throughout the Mediterranean area and beyond, becoming the dominant religion in the Near East, North Africa, and Europe within four centuries.¹⁴ The Judeo-Christian heritage, with its notable ideas about the natural environment stemming from Judaism¹⁵ and a dichotomy separating nature from humanity, was deeply ambiguous.¹⁶ Accompanying the emphasis of Christianity on "man's" right to exploit the inferior species was a differentiating doctrine of human stewardship and obligation to God's creatures. These two expressions were not equally practiced, however. Rather than drawing differing conclusions from the Bible's many equivocal portions, the majority of Christian followers seemed to uphold what was the popular attitude derived from the Bible--the right to exploit. This most predominant interpretation has been generally referred to as a catalyst for the negligence toward the natural surroundings that much of humanity has portrayed through history. The following passage from Genesis has been widely considered a problematic statement:

And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let man have dominion over the fish and the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the Earth.¹⁷

Johnathon Porritt, author of Seeing Green, has been one of many to discuss the influences of this verse. Porritt claims that a problem was created when 'dominion' within this passage took

a wide interpretation to mean domination of humankind, which seemed to then provide consent for the exploitation of the Earth.¹⁸

Modern Christians maintain that the divine creation alone of non-human beings and inanimate objects should be sufficient reason for giving respect and reverence. In contrast, to exemplify the ambiguity, the ancient and medieval precursors missed the divine creation aspect. They focused on the absence of animism which was assumed as permission to exploit non-humans and lifeless objects.¹⁹ In this context, Christianity has been thought by many as having participated in suppressing a sense of reverence for the Earth, despite what lingering 'pagan' influences may have remained. In 1967, the American historian Lynn White, Jr., described Christianity as 'the most anthropocentric religion the world has seen.' White's article, which blames the medieval Church for the problems of modern pollution, became almost a consecrated text for modern ecologists.²⁰

On the other hand, Thomas presents another view stating that the coming of private property and a money economy, not their religion or the Judaic heritage, led Christians to exploit the natural world. It is what Karl Marx called the 'great civilizing influence of capital,' which ended the 'deification of nature.'²¹ In discussing the Judaic heritage of Christianity, Thomas clarifies that while Christianity leaned more toward the dominion strain within the Bible, the ancient Judaic religion upheld the other detectable view of being subservient, although both were in agreement on the belief that God and nature were separate. He argues that Greek and Stoic influence distorted the Jewish legacy making the religion of the New Testament much more anthropocentric than that of the Old Testament. According to the Judaic view before Greek and Stoic influences, human's place on Earth is subordinate to God's ultimate dominion. The statement used above giving human being's dominion was interpreted only as that humans were to be God's deputies. The ancient Jews saw this not as a license to kill, exploit heedlessly, and pollute, but to protect the Earth's creatures and use them wisely.

Furthermore, Thomas points out that ecological problems and anthropocentrism aren't characteristic solely of the West. Other parts of the world have had soil erosion, deforestation, and extinction of species where the Judeo-Christian tradition has had no influence. The Mayan, the Chinese, and the people of the Near East were all capable of destroying their environment without the assistance of Christianity.²²

In conclusion, leaving the manner in which the Bible 'should' have been interpreted behind, it is evident that the dualism presented in the Judeo-Christian religion did not first

represent a dichotomy or problem within society; there was a predominant interpretation that many were quick to live by. This generally accepted synthesis carried on until modern philosophers demanded a revamping of ancient Christianity to something more substantial, yielding fewer conflicting accounts than the narrative of Genesis synthesis.

Contemporary Thought

More recently, within the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Americans have seen an array of unpopular struggles with individuals who have attempted to educate the society and bring the many faults of societal and environmental values to the public awareness. The emergence of these ideas was a new concept for the majority of white Americans, whom after all settled the land on a quest to conquer through manifest destiny. The realization of the needed changes has yet to take firm hold with the majority today.

With more selfish motives than those of ancient Christianity on a religious crusade following, the Western attitude is closely related to the secular, business-like Romans, seeking economic benefit through domination of the Earth.²³ Because this conquest has not been for religious reasons, it would seem easy to convince an individual that he/she has been misled using historical and current physical evidence. Convincing individuals, however, without the use of any substantial evidence in support, that the roots of his or her religion were misleading would seem to be a more difficult task, (ie., the situation with the Greeks). However, it seems that this realization has been a more difficult process than something so simple as I have just explained. Since the rejection of the original Christianity, it seems that American society has had no substantial roots to its culture, nor a strong commitment to one religion. As a result, people are left with no one to please or satisfy except for themselves, resulting in selfish motivation for individual benefit. This selfish motivation may be an even larger impediment for the awakening of American culture than an impediment imposed by one's belief in an opposing religion. Now this realization has greed, capital, profit, and the labor ethic, to struggle through. I feel the lack of tradition and roots is the main catalyst for problems within the American society. It rendering us vulnerable to whimsical conduct and guidance.

The justification of Western thought has been attempted by many. It seems to me that we have travelled so far down our own path, not consciously identifying with any traditional way of life in particular, that the cultures and religion that many authors identify us with can only justify the path we have found ourselves on and not identify the reason for failing to turn around once we've found it full of thorns.

Realizing the faults in the Western values and where they originated, Edward Payson Evans (1831-1917) adopted the task to 'attack the religious basis of anthropocentrism,' namely, Christianity. Evans criticized the mandate to conquer the Earth given in Genesis, and stated that the Christian faith made humans "a little more than angels" when in reality they are "a little higher than the ape." According to Nash, this discussion of the weaknesses of the Western religious background in respect to nature was new in the 1890's.²⁴

It has been realized by philosophers that the major past forms of Christianity were inadequate for our needs and that they must be changed, and because it was thought that the vision of the quest would not be found as a whole in Oriental or primitive religions, there was a proposal for a "New Christianity" based on the extension of morals to include the recognition of nature's rights.²⁵ It was thought that America needed a religion for "our" times.²⁶

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, European Romantics responded to the New World wilderness with the flowering of Romanticism.²⁷ The appreciation of nature directed the tone within the literary field and by the 1840's those in the cities tripped off into the wilderness so as to obtain their next piece of Romantic literature. Furthermore, it became necessary for a man to possess the quality of appreciation for nature to be considered a gentleman.²⁸

Human accountability to God for their treatment of creation was first interjected in human-nature relations in America by Henry David Thoreau and John Muir in the 19th century, and by Edward Evans and Liberty Hyde Bailey in the early 20th century.²⁹ This was not a well accepted view at this time and still has not been well established. Our American culture, perhaps better called "way of life," has been so self-righteous and willful that the few Americans who talked about nature in regard to ethics at this time did not receive much recognition.³⁰

The leaders of modern American religion essentially had three options to turn to, given the reservations correlated with the environmental implications of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Nash presents the first alternative as a turn to Eastern religions. The appeal there is the fact that Asian faiths and philosophy never abandoned a sense of connection with nature. Secondly, the animist traditions of the American Indians may have proven to benefit society, extending ethical consideration beyond the relationship of "man" to "man." The other option would be the reinterpretation the basic Jewish and Christian beliefs so as to reconcile needs for a new ethical focus.³¹ The more common approach, according to Nash, was to reinterpret the Old Testament in considering stewardship, where they did not derive permission to conquer, but a protective

mandate. However, Nash goes on to explain that most of the "greening" of recent American religion into ecotheology involves the interpretation of each option.³² In this context, Nash feels that the most significant steps for the United States in conservation or environmentalism occurred after 1960.³⁴

The sixties were a notable period of religious and social awareness, and activism, in a popular sense, in America. Individuals began looking at their personal religious beliefs as they began to realize, as pointed out in Lynn White, Jr.'s 1967 essay, because ". . .the root of our troubles are so largely religious, the remedy must also be essentially religious," and that "religious values are fundamental in the dynamics of cultural and social change."³⁴ White upheld that a meaningful change in human-nature relations would not occur until we reject the Christian axiom that nature has "no reason for existence save to serve man."³⁵

Groups began to form like the "Faith-Man-Nature Group" in 1963 and 1964, which consisted of many theologians with the goal "to understand 'man's' relationship with nature in the light of religious faith, and to spell out ethical imperatives for the conservation of natural resources."³⁶ Wilderness and some parks were beginning to be thought of as sacred places by growing numbers, and therefore, these people wanted to extend ethics to regulate action toward nature. Utilizing the freedom of religion and the right to worship where one chooses, some people felt these places could be defended in ethical grounds.³⁷

The option to turn to Asian religions was quite popular for many people in the sixties. Some used the non-Christian attitudes to re-evaluate their own ethics, others adopted religions such as Taoism, Jainism, Shinto, Buddhism, and Hinduism. The presence of these Eastern religions helped create an intellectual path for the emergence of environmental ethics in America.³⁸ In fact, American religion itself, according to Nash, adopted an environmental awareness in the sixties and seventies, and in turn, environmentalism acquired some characteristics of a religion.³⁹ In the context that religion may serve as a guide to ways of inhabiting the world, this claim is understandable: the Greens themselves seem to embody such qualities, offering form for our actions. This expansion of environmental ethics, spawned by the "awakening" of society in the sixties and seventies seemed to be the beginning of the twenty-year process of the formation of the "green triangle," which consists of public union, pressure groups, and politicians;⁴⁰ perhaps a materialization that has been necessary for many individuals to seriously consider the Green Movement.

Native Americans

Within the context of "green" ecological wisdom, Native American culture is in a class of its own, standing apart from the others. The Native American way of life is incomparable in the consideration for all beings, be they biotic or abiotic. For most Native American tribes, the human role in nature was perceived as almost the opposite of the Western European understanding of "dominion."⁴¹ The Native American perception of the world and its relations occur through a panoramic vision in which they understand themselves as part of a complex whole in a delicate balance. While other cultures, namely Greeks and Romans, have inconsistently represented some similar ideals through animism and central cosmology concepts, the Native Americans seem to differ in that they have managed to adhere to and respect their inherent ethical values without questioning. Native Americans remained true to their traditional thought and culture, of which the only skepticism imposed was by others who wanted to manipulate, demoralize, and crumble their traditional culture into conforming with their own way of life.

The following poem perhaps represents the Native American understanding of their relationship as "one" with nature:

The Delight Song of Tsoai-talee
I am a feather on the bright sky
I am the blue horse that runs in the plain
I am the fish that rolls, shining, in the water
I am the shade that follows a child
I am the evening light, the lustre of meadows
I am an eagle playing with the wind
I am a cluster of bright beads
I am the farthest star
I am the cold of the dawn
I am the roaring of the rain
I am the glitter on the crust of the snow
I am the long track of the moon in a lake
I am a flame of four colors
I am a deer standing away in the dusk
I am a field of sumac and the pomme blanche
I am an angle of geese in the winter sky
I am the hunger of a young wolf
I am the whole dream of these things
You see, I am alive, I am alive
I stand in good relation to the earth
I stand in good relation to the gods

I stand in good relation to all that is beautiful
I stand in good relation to the daughter of Tsen-tainte
You see, I am alive, I am alive ⁴²

Furthermore, the majority of Native American tribes are extraordinary in the context of their "green" social relations. The level of cooperation and ability to work and live as a group, seems to be inherent to their nature, whereas in today's society the sense of group or community collaboration is scarce and not easily attained.

We tend to consider the Native American attitude toward the natural environment religious, and they would explain their attitude in what we call religious terms, although their languages had no word for "religion." From our point of view however, their religion was a religion of nature, viewing the world as a sacred place, and was not separate from the rest of life.⁴³

The Native American way of looking at the world resides deep within the human psyche, beyond rational thought or intellectual curiosity. They considered all things in nature as spiritual beings because human beings experience a spiritual resonance with nature, not because they needed explanation for natural phenomena.⁴⁴ Natural forces and spiritual beings had greater power and endurance than humankind, and therefore humans were thought of as unable to dominate the natural world.⁴⁵

The Native Americans took pride in leaving as few marks as possible upon the land and to its inhabitants. They concentrated on living lightly through such practices as hunting only what was needed for survival, walking through the forest without disrupting that which lies beneath the feet, and in building fires with as little smoke as possible. A general belief among the Indians was that every human action affects nature and calls forth a reciprocal action, which is not impersonal. Therefore, they had restraints on every aspect of the human-nature relationship and many of their ceremonies revolved around things given in exchange for other things taken or killed, in reverence and gratitude through rituals themselves, to maintain the balance.⁴⁶

In the eyes of the Native American, ownership of nature was immoral and was a form of slavery. Luther Standing Bear of the Sioux in 1933, talks of domesticating and keeping animal:

It was better to hunt wild creatures because herding enslaved the animal and deprived it of its basic rights: the right to live, the right to multiply, the right to freedom. ⁴⁷

After the Native Americans had been living from the land hunting, fishing, and gathering, not for centuries but for millennia, the first European explorers coasted the American shores and thought that they were finding a "wilderness" because of the abundance of buffalo in the meadows and fish in the waters. The Native Americans managed to live with nature without minimizing living resources, and without destroying or polluting the natural world. They had learned the secret of how to live in harmony with Mother Earth, to use her offerings without damaging her; receiving gratefully the gifts of the Great Spirit.⁴⁸ This secret was already lost by the Europeans and seems to be not yet discovered by Americans.

For the Native American, life was all one piece, but for most modern urban people, philosophy and the perception of the world is separate from our actions in daily life.⁴⁹ The difference is that Americans today don't seem to realize the necessity of living in a balanced relationship with the natural environment for survival. Like the Native Americans, many aspects of our lives are involved in the relationship with nature, but it is a relationship such that humans have more of an effect on nature than vice-versa. On the other hand, perhaps the required relationship is realized, but is denied, as we want to be self-sufficient and think of ourselves as "independent." Through the ways of a capitalist society, by taking and using nature as a commodity, we have missed the intrinsic value of nature that the Native Americans have honored. As Hughes points out, industrial society has gone as far as to treat human beings as objects, having merely instrumental value, as has been done with other life forms.⁵⁰ It is difficult to be conscious of exactly what is taking place today, because artificial barriers have separated humankind from the natural consequences of their actions.⁵¹

A chant from the Navajo brings us back to the value and desire of simple pleasures of life, which we must hold fast while they are still satiable:

May I walk in beauty of abundant rainshowers,
May I walk in beauty of abundant vegetation,
May I walk in beauty;
With beauty before me, I walk,
With beauty behind me, I walk,
With beauty below me, I walk,
With beauty above me, I walk.
It is finished in beauty.

"...do we know a path where we, too, can walk in beauty?"⁵²

According to the cultures reviewed in this essay, "green" environmental thought has been represented within the attitudes of individuals through time. However, green thought has not

necessarily been an old concept in an active, popular, contiguous sense. The cultures upholding green-like values and identify with nature, feel the "connectedness" and recognize the need to uphold a balance with the environment and act accordingly, seem to yield more favorable results for persistence. It also seems that there were other impediments to humankind's awareness of green values. The establishment of government, and that which follow with government, seems to have hindered human concerns with the condition of the natural world. Government and capitalism have helped cause class separations and have raised other social equality issues that have forced people to stand up for their own rights and become involved in the social issues created by these institutions. Once a person or a society in general becomes initially involved in politics or capitalism, all environmental concerns seem to vanish and concerns seem to switch their focus to economic and societal "immediate gratification" issues.

The most active phase of "greening" that has taken place, most pertinent to us today, within the sixties and seventies is an area which I wish to comment further on. In researching contemporary thought, I found myself disappointed in the tone of the writings. The general claim was that the greening of American society had already taken place, and that it was successful. There is a lot left to be desired here for the Greens. The goals and ideas for what is required to 'green' a society starts over again with what was accomplished in the sixties, and surely extend beyond this attitude change to a requirement for action. I realize that the type of greening which took place in the sixties is a necessary step before greening can take place in an actualized sense; however, it seems inappropriate to me to consider this a 'greening' since one's attitudes, unfortunately, don't reflect one's actions. I acknowledge that perhaps a great deal more patience may be needed on my part, and indeed, the fact that green thought has been represented should be appreciated. The thought was there, however, in this context; unfortunately, the thought is not enough. A real 'greening' requires a change of actions that stem from 'greened' philosophies. Through these actions, we can then create and sustain a harmonious balance with the environment and break this trend of commonalties with failure that most of these civilizations have. Then we can write of a green awakening with contentment and a sense of finality.

To bring green thought to date, I want to conclude with some of the most prominent thoughts that were on my mind when first conducting research for the topic of the California Greens. The initiation of this project could not have come at a more stirring, yet awkward time than it had. The crisis in the Persian Gulf had broken out just after our group formed and began our research. The situation seemed rather ironic to me; we were conducting a study on the

Greens and the Ten Key Values for which they stand and try to spread. At the same time, the Greens were being completely counteracted by thought and action of the U.S. government and those of the general public who supported the actions.

In late January, I wrote:

I think how completely opposite our world is functioning in relation to what the Greens are calling for, the way we need to live. Peoples' range of thought and course of actions are so far out of context in my mind from the ways of nature, or even from successful existence. Just the whole mode of thinking and the way that these actions are justified frightens and saddens me. How can so many eyes be so blind? In one way this makes me think the Greens can only give a futile attempt, but on the other hand, it may be a perfect time for such a movement to succeed with the sight of what is happening to our world. Will we ever break away from manifest destiny? Will we ever break from this amoral relationship with nature and other human beings?

It appears that the Green Movement is still struggling to actualize its values. Societal actions (namely the situation in Iraq) have been working against the twenty years it has taken to solidify the substantiation of the Green Movement thus far through the "Green triangle." However, there still may be enough "Green" within the people to help enhance the possibilities for the world's future. It may be possible for humankind to regain a similar attitude and ethic of respect for the Earth and nature as was once upheld by many in ancient societies.

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28. Ibid., 60.
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32. Ibid., 95.
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DEEP SPIRITUAL ROOTS

The first Green I ever met told me promptly before saying anything that he was a pagan witch in the Celtic tradition, and that he was born a Jew. He went on to further explain that the main reason he and many others have become part of the Greens is because the Greens offer a place where both the political and spiritual are equally important. Though this notion is not specifically stated in the Ten Key Values of the Greens, it has become clear to me after talking with and reading works by many Greens that spirituality/religion plays an important role in keeping the Green movement alive. Charlene Spretnak in her book entitled The Spiritual Dimension of Green Politics has this to say about Greens and spirituality:

One reaction has been a call for strict separation of religious values from all political activity. Such a course is barren and unsatisfying to most of the American Greens I have met. I have witnessed, again and again, their courage and their dedication to shaping a new politics reflective of the spiritual wisdom in America's religious teachings and respectful of the pluralism in our unique society.¹

I agree with her, and have noticed that the members who do have rituals and traditions based on (in most cases) ancient religions seem to feel that this keeps them connected to the Earth, themselves, and one another which makes any movement stronger. It also reaffirms that this movement has very old spiritual roots and that it does have a history. In fact, it has many histories because Greens themselves choose many different spiritual paths ranging from conservative Jewish to Earth-centered to non-identified. To trace all these paths would be an impossible task because even within these broad classifications is an incredible diversity of individual experiences which informs the Greens' collective history. In our survey of California

Greens, Greens themselves listed dozens of different spiritual affiliations. What I would like to do in a relatively limited way is take a look at just a few of the spiritual traditions the Greens affiliate themselves with and how these groups have historically seen their relationship with their environment and nature. I do this with an understanding that the Greens profess to be much more than just a typical environmental group, and while I find this to be true in some regards, the Greens remain primarily an environmental group at least in action. I also found it necessary to limit the information in this way because the religions/spiritual traditions I've chosen to look at are rich and deep and have codes and ways of dealing with most aspects of human behavior and to look at the Ten Key Values in relation to all these traditions would be an overwhelming task. Thus my question for the rest of this journey is: What were each of these groups' connection to their environment, and how did that manifest itself in their literature, rituals, and traditions? Of course as in any religion there are contradictions and sects which are different. This work is in no way comprehensive, but instead is meant to provide the reader with a bit of insight about a few ancient traditions and why Greens would choose to practice them.

I have chosen three religions/spiritualities which I believe reflect some of the spiritual diversity within the Green movement. They are also culturally diverse, and originate from three different continents. First I will give my attention to ancient Judaism. In the U.S., we often lump all Jewish and Christian traditions in one pot called Judeo-Christian and call this the root of all our evils especially the environmental ones. I believe this is dangerous and unfair to both traditions. I will try to examine more closely the specific environmental codes of the Jewish faith and look at the basic attitudes of Jews towards the environment. Secondly I will look at Earth-centered spirituality or paganism originating from pre-Christian Europe especially at the Celtic religion. These religions have long been thought of as dead, but many around the world including a large number of Greens are reclaiming them because of the deep ecological connection these spiritual traditions had to the Earth and each other. Finally, I will look at Taoism, and how Taoist tradition relates to nature in China. This is another religion that is being studied and practiced by many Greens who were not actually brought up in this tradition, but find that it more closely relates to their ideologies and feelings especially about the Earth. Each group that I have chosen to look at approaches nature and the environment in fundamentally different ways and, yet different Greens find something for themselves in each of these spiritual traditions. I think this is something Greens should keep in mind as they approach and work with people from diverse cultures, and of different races. The approach might be different, but it is a big step to assume that the level of respect and commitment is any more or less by only looking

at the approach. Every person is as complex and contradictory as a religion, and there is good and bad to be found in all of it.

Judaism and the Hebrew Tradition

If one enjoys the fruits of this world without blessing them...it is as though he/she steals the sparks of the soul of his/her mother and father and he/she is a friend of one who destroys...

The Kabbalah

Over twenty Greens we surveyed identified on some level with Judaism. Lynn White Jr., Roderick Nash, and many other environmental scholars searching for the roots of our current environmental ethics often turn to what they term "the Judeo-Christian" tradition which they claim dichotomizes people and the environment so sharply that it is no wonder we are in an environmental crisis. They claim that the texts and traditions of these religions (they never make the distinction between Judaism and Christianity) gave Westerners free rein to exploit the environment. Some of these people eventually did concede that it was not exactly what was said in sacred texts, but instead how these words have been interpreted for 2000 years that is really the problem. Even this argument though does not sit well with me. In all the readings I have looked at that criticize what the texts say or the interpretation of these texts, I find two distinct problems. Firstly, everyone seems to stop at Genesis 1:28. There is much more to the Torah than this one verse, and even this one verse can be interpreted so many different ways. It is important to look at many verses and laws laid out in the Torah, Talmud, and other Jewish writings to get a more complete picture of Jewish environmental ethics. Secondly, many of these authors start with the term Judeo-Christian, and then never mention Judaism again. In Nash's book, The Rights of Nature, this happens repeatedly.² In fact, he even explains animism on this same page, and how Christian values are in opposition with animist values where everything has a spirit and life. The example he uses to bring home this point is from Martin Buber's writing on I-Thou relationships. (Basically, Buber contends that all our relationships with each other and the natural world are either I-it relationships where we see the other object only in terms of what it can do for us, or they are I-Thou relationships where we see a tree or rock as having its own inherent value separate from us.) He neglects to mention that Buber was a Jewish scholar and wrote from a Jewish perspective. This is not to say that there is not room to be critical of Jewish traditions or how Jews have treated the land in their 3000 year history, but it is often done without really examining Judaism on its own because, while Christianity is related to Judaism, there are also

many important differences. Judaism has one of "the most detailed and ecologically sensitive environmental codes of any religion."³ I would like to look at pieces of this environmental code in the Torah, Talmud, and Midrash to show what rich environmental traditions and rituals Green Jews and all Jews have to draw on.

Judaism says so much about our relationship to our planet that it is hard to know where to start, but Genesis and the creation story seem a good place since they are so often misinterpreted. There are actually two creation stories in the Jewish Bible; a little known fact. The first is the one we usually hear about: man was created to subdue the Earth and other creatures, he is domineering and active, and God is very distant. In the second, as taught by Rabbi Joseph Soloveichik, "God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." In this model Adam is the tender of the Garden of Eden and not the controller. The rabbi goes on to teach that "God has assigned human beings this dialectic nature and dialectic role in the world. A rejection of either is a rejection of the divine scheme. The root of contemporary problems is that we humans don't want to accept the dialectic burden of humanity." This brings up the despot vs. stewardship debate which comes up time and time again when interpreting Genesis. Are we here to take care of the land or subdue it for our own needs? Many writers like John Passmore and Jeanne Kay argue that there is much more to this debate. They suggest that many of the basic assumptions about it are wrong. Passmore claims that there is little or no evidence that the Hebrew Bible was anti-environment and if we go beyond Genesis, we see that there are many examples of laws that constrained human use of nature which suggest that it was understood that humans fit in and played an important role in the grand scheme, but they were never intended at least according to the Bible to be the rulers.⁴ Many also claim that examining a document written 3000 years ago in the context of our current ecological problems is absurd. So the question still remains: What else does the Torah say or not say about humans and the land?

Any analysis of Jewish environmental thought must include the land of Israel. How did the Jews see their land and how was this manifest? A brief look at the Jewish holydays gives us many answers as well as a look at a Jewish midrash. The midrash (fairytale) goes like this: "Two men were fighting over a piece of land. Each claimed ownership. To resolve their differences, they agreed to put the case before the rabbi. The rabbi listened but could not come to a decision. Finally he said, "Since I cannot decide to whom this land belongs, let us ask the land." He put his ear to the ground, and then straightened up. "Gentleman, the land says that it belongs to neither

of you- but that you belong to it."⁵ This theme does not just come up in the spoken or written word, but in the practices and traditions of Jews as seen in the holyday cycle.

As I began to look deeply at the Jewish year, I saw that it was an entire cycle built around the history, people, and seasons of Israel. Every holyday has an important place in the year where we stop and remember or celebrate. Ellen Bernstein called the Jewish year "an organic round, woven from the interplay of the people, the land, and time. In Judaism time is very important and revered even today. Jeremy Rifkin wrote in a piece for the Whole Earth Review something that explains how time is seen in our culture and how a change might offer some answers to our current problems. He says,

If bigger is better is the primary spatial value of our industrial society, then faster is better is the primary time values in our worldview, and I suggest our time values are the last unchallenged part of this worldview. We need to develop what I call slow is beautiful. A sustainable time orientation would be one in which we learned to produce and consume at a rate nature can recycle and replenish. We need to develop a time orientation that's compatible with biological frequencies on this planet. While our computer nanosecond culture creates a context for more hyper-efficiency, the trade-off and tragedy is that we're becoming a society that feels we have less and less time than any culture on the planet.⁶

I suggest that Judaism has the answers to this time problem already built in. Every week Jews take a day of rest called Shabbat where we stop to reflect on the week, and how we have interacted with our natural world. To honor this day, many Jews do not use any natural resources. Lights are kept off, cooking is not done, and cars are not driven. It is a day of renewal and rest. It is a day every week to stop. The idea of seven day cycles with one day of rest does not only include humans, it also applies to the land. Every seven years the land is to be left fallow for one year, so it also has a Shabbat and a chance to replenish itself. Every city is also to have a garden, and every cannery is to be downwind of the place where people live. These are all city laws from 2000-3000 years ago. They do not always apply directly, but I think they have a message that is relevant for even our culture.

Beyond the weekly cycle of Shabbat and city laws, Judaism also offers us a yearly holyday cycle which is likewise built on sacred time. There is a time to plant, a time to count Omer at Pesach, a time to reap at Shavuot and Succot, a time to be joyful at Purim, a time for

inner reflection and realignment at Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, and a time to celebrate the trees at Tu B'Sh'vat. Let us look at just this one minor holiday of Tu B'Sh'vat to get just a taste of how love of nature is built into the holydays.

Tu B'Sh'vat was a relatively unknown and minor holiday until the mystic Kabbalists reclaimed it in the 1600's. They felt that this holyday more than any other reflected their love of God and "God's presence in nature."⁷ They established a seder using three passages from the Torah, and they drank four cups of wine which stood for the seasons in Israel. An abundance of fruit was at the seder, and every fruit had its own blessing. They called what they had created a Tikkun or a repairing of the world. Everyday they thought about how they could do things to repair the world. This idea remains in Judaism today as Tikkun Olam. I think the spirit of this holyday and their feelings about nature and God is well reflected in this prayer by Rabbi Nahman written in the 1700's:

Adonai, grant me the ability to be alone; may it be my custom to go outdoors each day among the trees and the grass, among all the growing things; and there may I be alone to enter into prayer talking to the one to whom I belong. May I express there everything in my heart, and may all the foliage of the field awake at my coming, to send the powers of their life into the words of my prayer so that my speech is made whole through the life and spirit of all growing things which are made as One by their transcendent Source.

The Kabbalists aren't the only Jews who felt a deep connection to nature, and the environment; in fact, many of the principles of Judaism are also ecological principles. I mean ecological in the broadest sense of the word. Judaism teaches that every act has a consequence, and that the universe is one interconnected place. We see this in the Sh'ma, one of the oldest Hebrew prayers:

And it shall come to pass, if you shall harken diligently unto my commandments which I command you this day, to love Adonai and to serve Adonai with all your heart and soul, then I give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain and the latter rain, that you may gather in your corn, and your wine and your oil, and I will give grass in your field, and you shall eat and be satisfied. Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be deceived, and you turn aside. (Deuteronomy XI:13-16)

We must be responsible today so our children will have a future. Part of that is rooted in loving God, which is what is often criticized by those who claim that monotheism takes the focus away from nature and the world and puts it on some distant being. I think this has validity and

Judaism can be interpreted that way. This is not the only way to interpret it, however. Just because there is only one God does not mean that God is not everywhere. When we worship God in the Sh'ma and forsake God, we are not only talking about some distant God because God is in everything including the trees and the animals. If we forsake them, we also forsake God.

Making the links between Judaism and ecology is not just something our ancestors did. Many Jews continue making the connections today. I work at a Jewish camp every summer where we attempt to raise Jewish children who are conscious of the world around them and their connection to it. We do this by looking at Jewish teachings for their ecological messages, and taking them into wilderness areas so they can appreciate more fully different ecosystems without alienating them from their own which is often the city. We also keep kosher, and say blessings over all our food so that we honor its source. By observing the laws of Kashrut, we know that any animal we eat has been honored, blessed, and killed in a humane way.

In Pennsylvania, Shomrei Adamah (Guardians of the Earth) has been created "To promote the re-integration of our Jewish ecological heritage with contemporary thought, education, celebration, and practice."⁸ The message of these places that have been created for ecologically-minded Jews by Jews is that our tradition is valuable, and we can reclaim it, and make changes as necessary. It is a moving, growing, dynamic tradition. This does not erase the contradictions of the religion. Texts have certainly been interpreted in ways that have been destructive, but if Green Jews or any Jew wants to find messages that reflect their love of this Earth in their own religion and traditions, there are definitely there.

The Pagans of Pre-Christian Europe

Almost 15 Greens identified as pagans in our survey, and many others identified as part of Earth-related or Goddess-related traditions which often share the same roots.

In popular pre-Christian religion, divinity was inherent in all natural phenomena, including those that man had tamed and domesticated. Divinity was present in springs and rivers and the sea; in trees both the wild oak and the cultivated olive-tree; in corn and vines; in mountains; in earthquakes and lightning and thunder. The godhead was diffused throughout the phenomena. It was plural, not singular; a pantheon, not a unique almighty super-human person.⁹

As children, some of us were read tall tales about evil witches and druids who ate their children. We were often taught that these were barbaric heathens who had existed sometime in

the past, and since then we had evolved into a more "civilized" and advanced culture. In fact, while some of these stereotypes have an element of truth to them, for example, the druids did believe in human sacrifice and practiced it, for the most part, these traditions contain much wisdom about how we should relate to each other and our Earth. Many in the United States, including several Greens, have started to recognize this in the last few decades, and have learned to apply these ideas and rituals to their daily lives. Therefore, I will examine what has been said about the ancient Celts and their views towards their environment and then how these ideas have been adapted by neo-Pagans today in the United States.

"The earliest Celtic worship, like that of most other peoples of that time period, was given to the spirits of nature, of the sea, rivers, trees, mountains, sky, and heavenly bodies, some of which, as time went on, became more personal deities."¹⁰ This quote taken from a book written about Celtic religion expresses well the animistic spirit of many pagan religions. Every part of the Earth had a separate spirit. The Earth was also most probably regarded as female, and the Earth was connected to the under-Earth, and both were very much alive: "Earth was the source of fertility and important to all who depended much on agriculture."¹¹ Mountains, hills, forests, woods, and trees were venerated for themselves. The Druids, who were the priests in the Celtic tradition, held nothing more sacred, though, than the mistletoe and the oak trees on which this plant grew. No ritual or ceremony was complete without the presence of the branches from the oak, and oak groves were regarded as highly sacred places. Carvings, sculpture, and other artifacts can still be found in these groves.

In fact, in many of these traditions, groves were places where ceremonies were held and trees were worshipped. Deena Metzger talks about reclaiming this respect for places where the trees grow in a poem written in our techno-culture where we often forget our connection to the trees:

Eve, Asherah, Demeter, Diana, dryads, fairy folk, the Wee People and many other goddesses, were worshipped in the Grove. The Greeks, Hebrews, Celts, Druids, others established Sacred Groves. Asherah-the Great Mother of the Grove--is the Hebrew Goddess who was worshipped alongside El during the time of the Patriarchs and after. In Judaism she remains as the Shechinah and in Christianity she remains as Mary. She was depicted as a trunk of a tree, her arms raised to heaven. There were small Asherahs made of stone or clay, but great wooden ones, several stories high were set in front of each temple...

The tree teaches us that the spiritual world and the material world are the same. The tree is always potentially burning. The yule log, the burning bush, the candelabra are symbolic of the transformation of the living tree into the fire of spirit. So the tree speaks to us about reconciliation, about bringing the opposites together. The tree and the grove are not only important in themselves but in what they point toward, what they stretch up toward, what they descend toward, what they symbolize. When we cut down the literal tree, when we cut down the literal grove, when we cut down the forests which provide most of the essential oxygen in order to feed cattle for McDonald's hamburgers, we cut down everything, all of culture and all of spirit.

When the sacred groves of Demeter were cut down She cursed us: "The more you eat, the more you'll want."... This is the curse of greed. This is the curse of our time.¹²

While Metzger's talk of McDonald's and greed might seem far removed from paganism in pre-Christian Europe, the people of that time obviously had insight that applies even to our current situation. With the fall of many of the great pagan cultures during the Roman/Christian conquest, we lost the rich traditions these cultures offered. We also at times have forgotten our connection to this planet. For many today, reclaiming these semi-lost religions provides a way to reconnect.

Paganism and ecology or ecological thinking are, according to most pagans of today, undeniably linked. Many people came to paganism because they were ecologists and wanted a spiritual tradition that reflected their values. Leo Martello, a neo-Pagan, writes this about paganism and ecology:

Neo-Paganism is a pre-Christian religion of nature worshippers: spiritual ecologists. A Pagan world view is one that says the Earth is the Great Mother and has been raped, pillaged, and plundered and must once again be celebrated if we are to survive. Paganism means a return to those values which see an ecologically balanced situation so that life continues and the Great Mother is venerated again. If nature disappears, all my spiritual efforts go up in smoke. Both ecology and Paganism seek a restoration of the balance of nature. If you're not into ecology, you really can't be into Paganism... We should be the chaplains of the ecology movement, at the least, if not in the front ranks of the fight.¹³

As is apparent by the preceding quotes and thoughts, paganism is a word used to encompass many traditions. There are common threads however. All the traditions relied

heavily on ritual that seemed to reinforce the strong connection people had to the other living things around them. Many pagans today claim that their rituals allow them to make the connections with each other and the Earth. One woman said that ritual is when the conscious mind talks to the unconscious mind. I would go further with this and say that while talking and analyzing can help end our sense of alienation from ourselves and each other, magic and ritual seeks to end this on an unconscious level deep in the mind.¹⁴ I would like to leave this section with an example of what a pagan ritual might be like.

Firstly, every pagan ritual I have heard about takes place in a sacred place which is almost always outdoors. Branches of oaks or willows, water, and light are present representing the key elements of the Earth. A priestess and priest lead the ritual so that both men and women and their spirits are represented. (This is not always the case especially at women's rituals.) These two invoke the Earth-Mother by saying:

O Earth-Mother, Thou of uncounted names and faces, Thou of many-faceted Nature in and above All, Nature Incarnate, Love and Life fulfilled; look favorably upon this place, grace us with Your Presence, inspire and infuse us with Your powers; by all the names by which You have been known, O Earth-Mother.¹⁵

In each pagan tradition she is known by many different names, but in every one, she is the Earth and the central being. She is strange and mystical and present in everything.

During this time, everyone is situated a circle which reflects the interconnectedness of the group and their reliance on the Earth is constantly being acknowledged. There are quiet times and times for chanting and sharing. I see the ritual I briefly described as containing the elements needed to create a community of people who acknowledge their past and connections to the world.

The ideas for this specific sort of ritual came from the modern Hasidic Druids of North America though they have come from ancient traditions as they have been interpreted. The pagans, (who call themselves a word which meant an unsophisticated, boorish peasant who clings to the "old ways" of his ancestors) whose values could encompass almost every religion in existence at some point in its history, more than any other spiritual group seem willing to really incorporate many different histories and seemingly conflicting ideas to create a spiritual identity that is reflective of their values and lifestyles. A woman explaining her spirituality in a book about paganism, describes herself as a "Judeo-Pagan Taoist"¹⁶ This willingness to take risks

with personal identity typifies many pagans and thus, several Greens. It is a spiritual tradition where people can bring their history and whole selves, and consequently create something more holistic. We can see why many Greens feel attached to these rituals and traditions which are starting to be not only practiced, but written about.

Taoism and Nature in China

Over five Greens identified specifically with Taoism and several others with whom I spoke agreed with or strongly identified with Chinese religious philosophy.

In the Chinese view of the world, all those individual things (which in Western thought are named and thought of as separate) are in no way so. From the Taoist point of view it is seen and recognized that each is a different manifestation of the whole and changing all the time as well. Just as a nearby mountain changed shape as you climb higher up your own mountain. Wei-hsun Fu explains that the ordinary man, "shackled by his self-created human bondage" sees a "car, a blonde, a paycheck, etc.." He sees only that and cannot see the "the as-it-isness or the totality of all things," underlying each manifestation. I would add that, the ordinary man sees only each individual mountain peak from the main valley and never climbs high enough to see that each of these separate peaks is only part of the long ridge of the main massive summit.¹⁷

Any discussion of Taoism and ecology must start with the Tao and where Taoism originated. According to Dolores LaChapelle, there are two roots of Taoism. One goes back to the ancient shamanic practices of primitive societies in China, and the second is associated with sophisticated intellectuals of what is called the Warring Period (480B.C.to 221B.C.) who left their feudal courts to learn directly from nature. They decided that without a deep understanding of nature, human society could not be brought to order. The influence of Taoism in China and more recently all over the world has been great. Joseph Needham, one of the scholars who brought Taoism to the Western world, has this to say about its influence, "Taoism was in China religious and poetic, yes: but it was also at least as strongly magical, scientific, democratic, and politically revolutionary."¹⁸ Lao Tzu, who is considered the founder of Taoism and has been associated with many different historical personages, in his book , Tao Te Ching, calls Tao eternal and with no name. He goes on to say:

There was something undifferentiated and yet complete, which existed before Heaven and Earth. Soundless and formless, it depends on nothing and does not

change, It operates everywhere and is free from danger, It may be considered the mother of the Universe, I do not know its name. I call it Tao.¹⁹

We can also infer from his writings that Tao stands for the ultimate reality of nature. Tao is nothing like a creator god, but rather is a totally depersonalized concept of nature.²⁰ Tao also has a dynamic quality. It is a process of change and transformation and yet as the quotation affirms, it is always present. All this, if we think about it, really parallels many of the concepts of ecology. In ecology too, there is a sense that there are no dead spaces on our planet where we can put things we do not want. It might disappear for a while, but eventually they will be back.

Another concept in Taoism that is similar to an ecological one is that Taoism concerns itself with relationships rather than substance. By this I mean that in the Western world, we have names and studies for everything, but rarely do we notice how these subjects might relate to other forms of life. A good example of this is a medical study I recently read where the effects of certain toxic chemicals on fetuses were assessed. In the whole study not one mention was made of the women carrying these fetuses, and what the effects might be on them. I think this is so illustrative of our attitudes. We don't see connections. In the Chinese language, subjects aren't even required in a sentence which is a hard concept to grasp for Americans and other Westerners. Instead, relationships are the focus. Taoists try to see the whole and how springs and trees and humans find their place in it. Chuang Tzu expresses this well when he said:

In such an understanding there is no knowledge to process and convey. There is instead a deepening, a conversion of life outlook and attitude... The "message" is not ordinarily conveyable information but an evocation of freedom, which amounts to a call back to oneself... When one comes home to one's naturalness, one understands the naturalness of the surroundings and lives accordingly. This logic is continued by Needham who explains: For the Taoist the Tao was not the right way of life within human society, but the way in which the universe worked; in other words, the Order of Nature.²¹

In Taoism there also a concept that helps to define how people should interact with their environment called Wu Wei which translates to mean nonaction. This translation has often caused misinterpretation. Most authors who write about Taoism and ecology address this by explaining what Wu Wei really means if it is not translated literally. Po-Keung Ip explains that Wu Wei actually means "refraining from activity contrary to nature." We find affirmations of this throughout Taoist literature. We are told that Tao takes no action, and yet there is nothing left undone, given that Tao nourishes, sustains, and fulfills, Tao is invariably action-in-itself.²²

In a very non-specific way this says so much. Don't upset the balance in the first place, and nothing we need to be corrected thus the non-action. In Tao Te Ching, Lao Tzu says:

Deal with things before they appear.

Put things in order before disorder arises....

A tower of nine storeys begins with a heap of earth.

The journey of a thousand li [1/3 of a mile] starts from where one stands

He who takes an action fails.

He who grasps things loses them.

For this reason the sage takes no action and therefore does not fail....²³

Basically he is saying those who do not work within the bounds of nature are doomed to failure the message is clear and simple. Act in accordance nature and the problems we have today will not arise. Taoism is not simplistic though. It is always apparent that this is not an easy task, but something we should strive for. Everything comes from the same seed and destruction obliterates us all.

It is easy to see why many Greens call themselves Taoists. I have outlined here some of the Taoist views of nature as interpreted by several authors and myself. Taoism more than any other religion I have studied embodies ecological wisdom, one of the Ten Key Values of the Greens, in the broadest sense of the word. The interconnectedness of life is honored and celebrated.

The Greens are as a movement young and divided, but they have a deep and beautiful spiritual history to draw upon and keep them connected. I have presented only a small portion of that here, but it is meant to show that the guidelines of human meaning/destiny have already been written and practiced- in many languages, mediated through many cultures, expressed in so many wondrous ways. I hope we all continue to draw on these and reinterpret them to meet our changing needs.

Notes

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GREEN THEMES

The following four short works, "Burnout, Pacing, and Expectations," "Scale and It's Importance to Right Relationship," "Transformations," and "Harmony," are the result of a process of intent watching and listening to Greens in the field. These essays' departure point began with researching the philosophy and intentions of the California Greens, but beyond that point, we were unclear of what we were looking for.

The result of our individual observations was the realization of the importance of both individuality and community. Each piece illuminates a different aspect of the dynamic between the two. We hope they offer, as Alan Watts says in Tao: The Watercourse Way, "an explicit duality expressing an implicit unity."

Only the companion of a bonsai (there are owners of bonsai but they are of a lesser breed) fully understands the relationship. There is an exclusive and individual treeness to the tree because it is a living thing and living things change--and there are definite ways in which the tree desires to change. A man sees the tree and in his mind makes certain extensions and extrapolations of what he sees and sets about making them happen. The tree in turn will do only what a tree can do, will resist to the death any attempt to do what it cannot do or to do it in less time than it needs. The shaping of a bonsai is therefore always a compromise and always a cooperation. A man cannot create a bonsai, nor can a tree. It takes both and they must understand one another. It takes a long time to do that. One memorizes one's bonsai, every twig, the angle of every crevice and needle, and, lying awake at night or in a pause a thousand miles away, one recalls this or that line or mass, one makes one's plans. With wire and water and light, with tilting and with the planting of water-robbing weeds or heavy, root-

shading ground cover, one explains to the tree what one wants. And if the explanation is well enough made and there is great enough understanding the tree will respond and obey--almost. . .

It is the slowest sculpture in the world, and there is, at times, doubt as to which is being sculpted, man or tree.

--Theodore Sturgeon, "Slow Sculpture"

Burnout, Pacing, and Expectations

In California's Utopian Colonies, Robert Hine paints a dual picture of utopians as both those "who listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy, and pursue with eagerness the phantoms of hope," and conversely, those who curse, "Damn that old Cause that keeps our consciences working all the time and will not let us sleep and dream in peace."¹ These visionaries see utopia within their grasp, but suffer greatly when that hope is not matched by the particulars of reality. The Greens of California are utopians of sorts in their pursuit of their vision of a "green" world, and they too fall into this kind of despair.

"Any Green would echo [that there are] times when it seemed we weren't getting anywhere," says a Northern California Green of these ups and downs in hope and energy. Greens mention feeling at times ineffective, overwhelmed, feeling as if they have to do everything themselves. Another Green also notes that the energy level among Greens tends to rise and fall, and at the low points people sometimes fall into a "save the world martyrdom" which he describes as "a real downfall." Burnout is inevitable when one thinks one must fix the whole world by oneself. "What's the point?" one may think. "Why do anything at all? Nothing makes a difference anyway." As one of the big impediments to Green goals, a Southern California Green mentions reality: "We all live such ridiculous lives with not enough time or energy to do what we want."

Another Green says that Greens hope things can change for the better, but the problems are inherent in "The System" because it doesn't fit in with the Green philosophy and values. This is perhaps the biggest problem the Greens face today--how can they operate on the Green philosophy while the rest of our culture opposes it so greatly? The two worlds are working on different time scales: One "evolves"; one "develops." Ideally, the "Green" world would "evolve" in the sense that it would involve sidetracks, even wrong turns and maybe just sitting for awhile,

as well as adapting and being the best that it can be at that place and time. There may or may not be results: It is the journey which matters most of all. The current world, on the other hand, tends to "develop" in the sense of proceeding full-steam ahead, steadfastly. Any reflection, any readjustment may be considered a misstep, and each time the Greens engage this world, there is bound to be some friction, some scraping, some rawness.

The Greens themselves are a part of this culture which "develops," and even continue to support these ways while at the same time fighting them. It can be a conflict within the Green individual where old, dominant paradigm conceptions of success and progress still seem to operate and conflict with the more qualitative Green values. Involved intensely in establishing the Green Party or in organizing local CoC activities, Greens may wonder, why aren't more people registering Green? Why aren't more people participating? Where are the results? Why can't I see them yet? And perhaps the question which kills the soul--why is what I'm doing so ineffective? Burnout is not easy to avoid, especially when some Greens mention outright that the goal is "to get things done."

A line in Religious Worlds applies to this double-life dilemma the Greens face. Author William E. Paden says, "...religions are not just cognitive, conceptual affairs... but matrices of action, ways of inhabiting a world."² This is a question Greens might address and become aware of. Which world is it, in fact, that the Greens are inhabiting?

The difficulty of fully inhabiting a "Green" world/consciousness can easily be seen by glancing at the proverbial clock on the wall which continues to tick a little too loudly, reminding all of us that the planet is in peril, that lives are in danger. How can a group take the time to create a stable-state society when there isn't one now and our resources are running low? Time marches on, on one hand, and on the other, the Greens have an impossibly huge goal (at least for the short term), this "fundamental change in consciousness." To try to consciously influence--and nonviolently at that--how people think and act is as immense a project as there ever has been. In addition to struggling for existence in the time frame of the current world, a successful revolution, even of the consciousness sort, "requires a broad and coherent front of popular forces," and the participants must recognize "the importance of a larger sense of purpose and a firmer view of the relationship between means and ends."³ These are still evolving within the Greens, the cultivation of diversity and the development of a context for Green action. Expecting the Greens to win major elections right now is rather like expecting a newborn to run a marathon or even just to run.

But who can afford to wait for conditions to be perfect? Because the quality of life on Earth is dwindling, because if no one begins, there will be nothing on which to build in the future, Greens must act now. The challenge is to attempt a change while still realizing that "all change is piecemeal. Even the most revolutionary acts are only a part of the longer historic process of gradualism."⁴ The Greens need to continue their attempts because without a change in consciousness,

the ecological movement is experienced as a never-ending list of reminders: 'shame, you mustn't do that' and 'remember, you're not allowed to. . .' With a change in mentality we can say 'think how wonderful it will be, if and when. . .' or 'look there! what a pity that we haven't enjoyed that before. . .' If we can clean up a little internally as well as externally, we can hope that the ecological movement will be more of a renewing and joy-creating movement.⁵

A Green who emphasizes the importance of knowing one's own limits and refusing to exceed them says, "You can't take care of the outside world unless you take care of the inside first." This and Naess' quote above point to the value of the individual and imply that the Green Movement must encourage the health and personal development of the individual. Taking care of the inside is necessary because the individual is no good to the whole unless he or she is there for the long run. "If we wish a change to be as radical as possible," said Nietzsche, "we have to apply the remedy in small doses, but unremittingly, for long periods. Can a great action be accomplished all at once?" he asks.⁶ This very theme is even evident as the moral of a popular fable where "slow and steady wins the race."

Various Greens mention the importance of the Green Movement to re-energize and nurture the individual after requiring so much from the person in the first place. This sense of reciprocity, this sense of giving something back is very ecological. In Beyond Environmental Crisis, Alan Drengson says that when people "feel powerless, trapped in impersonal larger patterns, unable to change or to correct the situation," it is difficult to escape without "the skillful means of purification and renewal."⁷ Simple activities such as picnics or sports games that Greens mention as participating in are "fun releases" and a good way to strengthen the group and their dedication to being Green. In addition, one must develop realistic expectations, a realistic context. All one person can really do, says a Southern California Green, is plant seeds with the good faith that they will grow, while still realizing that one may never see this. Pacing is important for the growth of Green ideas because it allows room for the emotional health of the person. The nurturing of the individual is valuable because once the people are lost, all hope is lost. Today's post-industrial society already makes husks out of people--what hope is there if the

Green Party and Green Movement do the same?

Notes

1. Robert V. Hine, California's Utopian Colonies (1966; reprint, Berkeley, California: Regents of the University of California, 1983) 177.
2. William E. Paden, Religious Worlds (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988) 7.
3. Melvin J. Lasky, Utopia and Revolution (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976) 184-185.
4. Lasky, 165-166.
5. Arne Naess, Ecology, Community and Lifestyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 91.
6. Lasky, 168.
7. Alan Drengson, Beyond Environmental Crisis: From Technocrat to Planetary Person (New York: Peter Long Publishing Inc., 1989) 120.

Scale and Its Importance to Right Relationships

The enemy of the person and planet, says Theodore Roszak, is the "bigness of things."¹ One Northern California Green echoes Roszak's point, saying, "it's the abstractness of modern life that's terrible." In the Western world, after centuries of creating a separation of mind from body, human from nature, we have come to a point where "we have modified our environment to such an extent during this cultural evolution that we have lost touch with our biological and ecological base more than any other culture and any other civilization in the past."² To reestablish ecological ties and to rediscover a biological sense of ourselves, to develop a sense of what Buddhists might name "right action" and what the Greens would call "personal and social responsibility," we need to decentralize. Learning to act and exist on a much smaller scale would provide a window for a deeper understanding of these senses.

With a much more modest community size, people could see more clearly where humans fit into Nature's scheme. Without the insulation of our monolithic monoculture, "acquaintance with Mother Nature is unsentimentally direct."³ Subject to the same natural laws as the rest of the living creatures, we would realize, perhaps, that we are only among a number of animals--very complex animals--but animals nonetheless. "Different, but not above," is how one Northern California Green explains it. Seeing this is humbling. We might realize that we are much smaller than we had imagined our species, much smaller than the towers of concrete and glass that we construct as monuments to our greatness. Being different but not above, we could find our own niche in the ecological web and retreat from expansionistic and damaging ways. We could cooperate in maintaining the Earth as a habitable place and in this way establish a "right relationship" with the world around us.

In addition, being "wedded to a particular place" and "living in community with. . .[the] land"⁴ would have a big effect on our social relations: Just as a small scale highlights the right relationship of humans as a species to the rest of the world, small scale points to the right relationship between humans. Living in a decentralized bioregion, members of a community would have a particular stretch of land in common with others and would have the same dependence on this land for life. Sharing a home would encourage an approximation of a common "sense of history, location, commitment, extended identification"⁵ stemming from the cohabitation of a particular area. Whoever the individuals are, however different these people seem, they are bound by a common interest in the preservation and fair use of the land they share. Perhaps all we ever do have in common is sitting with our neighbors in the same boat at

the same time. This commonality, this rootedness, is tangible, immediate, intimate, and much like the oral tradition described by Alan Drengson:

One of the functions of oral story traditions, and of storytelling generally, is to create and perpetuate an intersubjective community and network of consciousness. People then know what brought them, as people or a person, to this particular place. They know the identity of their place, their relationships to it, to one another, and most importantly, they know who they are. They have a sense of personal and group identity. Folk myths and religious themes help give people these things. There are many themes around which a community can be created, but community cannot exist without some intersubjective sense of sharing values which include all members of the community.⁶

Greens attempt an "intersubjective sense of sharing values" in the Ten Key Values and in striving for inclusiveness and consensus decision making. Implicit in Drengson's words, the Ten Key Values, and consensus is the importance of the individual, and attention to individual human needs requires the small scale. In a community which operates on a much smaller scale than is common today, possibilities open for a number of advantages. The smaller community is likely to be more responsive, and a person may better observe causes and effects of his or her direct actions. Because we learn best by doing and testing and because "conviction must be gained through experience and not through abstraction,"⁷ this situation is ideal for showing that personal action does affect the world and does matter. The human-scaled society can help an individual develop a sense of personal worth as well. Effective, discernible action in the mass society is limited to the few, but at a local level, the individual would be "recognized and affirmed, without waiting for the far-off success of the movement or the verdict of history."⁸ In Person/Planet, Theodore Roszak emphasizes this "culture of the person" in which a person operates in a "situational network" that encourages personal growth and provides human contact.⁹ Greens also affirm the importance of nurturing the individual. Stephanie Mills quotes Mother Theresa as saying,

I do not agree with the big way of doing things. To us what matters is an individual. To get to love the person we must come in close contact. . . If we wait till we get the numbers, we will be lost in the numbers.

"At whatever level society chooses to address these problems," concludes Mills, "they begin and end in the intimate sphere."¹⁰

With responsiveness also goes a sense of individual responsibility. When actions more directly lead to results, one must act in a way that reflects one's own philosophy. If a person's actions lead to results which contradict his or her value system, these actions must be abandoned

or modified or otherwise accounted for. Concerning the community of living things, the idea of being "different but not above" implies a certain way of being, a certain way of acting towards Nature and towards other people. "When you're a member of a community, there are limits to your behavior," says a San Francisco Green. The members of the community must work together to find that tenuous balance between the good of the single individual and the good of the community of living beings. It is a paradox: Both are most important. What joy, what opportunity for personal growth and fulfillment--what reason to live?--is there in a society which requires the individual to sacrifice everything for the good of the whole? And conversely, how can the quality of life be maintained for everyone if the individual is permitted complete freedom and injures community and Nature in the process? Both seem "inhuman."

"You have a responsibility to be involved in the society you live in directly and not just pay taxes," says a California Green. In our "society of the masses" it is too easy to sit and let someone else do the work, let someone else suffer the consequences. If, however, individuals strengthened their ecological and social ties and realized that actions do indeed affect others and perhaps even come full circle, this would encourage responsible or right action. In a bioregion or a similarly constructed small- scale society, people are no longer abstract and unconnected individuals. They have intimate ties with and knowledge of Nature and other people which foster this kind of responsibility. "The System" can no longer be blamed for anything because "The System" has shrunk and a person's power has simultaneously enlarged. The person becomes a valuable and influential part of the system from which he or she cannot be disconnected. Realizing this intimate connection, a person must acknowledge his or her effect on the world which lies on this or that side of the mountains, in the river valley or on the mountain peak, and take care that his or her actions match his or her intentions.

Notes

1. Theodore Roszak, Person/Planet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Society (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978) 29.
2. Frijtof Capra, The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982) 42.
3. Stephanie Mills, Whatever Happened to Ecology? (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1989) 218.
4. Mills, 219.
5. Alan Drengson, Beyond Environmental Crisis: From Technocrat to Planetary Person (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1989) 144.
6. Drengson, 176.
7. D.T. Suzuki, An Introduction to Zen Buddhism (New York: Grove Press, 1964) 119.
8. Roszak, 26.
9. Roszak, 26.
10. Mills, 63.

Transformations

Emerging from the chrysalis, the butterfly spreads its wings and flies. This is one of nature's most amazing transformations. In fact, there are myriad transformations taking place around us every moment of the night and day: "Everything is in constant transformation."¹ Ourselves as people, the plants and creatures of the world, our earth itself, even inanimate objects are all in a continual process of change. Gandhi once described nonviolence as "a way of transforming relationships."² The Greens are also working in this direction: "A fundamental change of consciousness. . .that's what we're promoting." The Greens are attempting to provide a direction and an impetus for the process of transformation. They would like to move forward in a deliberate and resourceful manner.

Within the course of their lives, people may follow any number of paths before joining the California Greens. Some people have gone through a counter-culture experience similar to that described by Theodore Roszak.³ It is an episode that occurs in two stages. The first is an almost instinctive impulse to disaffiliate from the dominant lifestyle. "It comes to them as a deep unsettling encounter with a false identity."⁴ This is followed by a search "for a new reality principle. . .for personal identity."⁵ I have imagined this experience as a cry of "NO!" It is followed by a tentative "yes. . .?" as one begins to experiment with new options in an attempt to find an alternative which one can believe in. Other people have reached a point where they also see the need for change. Rather than an emphatic no, their response is often based in a form of sudden realization. It may be a book or a lecture or a conversation that triggers insight. Often a whole series of thoughts and experiences have "set the stage." Still other people have been questioning throughout their lives. It is part of their nature to explore the possibilities.

The butterfly begins life as a caterpillar. If there were no caterpillars, there would be no butterflies, and vice versa. It is the butterfly who lays the eggs from which the caterpillars hatch. There exists a cycle of life that is "mutually generative and mutually supportive."⁶ Each is dependent on the other for its existence. In fact, each must be present for the possibility of the other. They are interconnected. It is important to realize that we are products of our society. Because of who we are, we must to some extent work within the structure of the system. Without our society, we would not be who we are. Yet even as we are shaped by our society, we also have a role in creating it. It is in this way that we can begin to transform our culture.

Imagine a lawn that has been left unattended. It is gradually becoming a natural grassland. Within the lawn, native grasses and wildflowers will begin to appear here and there.

New plants will be sprouting among the old, occasionally replacing them, occasionally growing alongside them. In some places the new plants may be unable to compete, and simply die out. Yet given enough time, the natural grassland will prevail.

The Greens are one of a number of social movements which are attempting to replace our current society with a more viable system. For the most part these efforts must occur in place, within our present society. There will some areas that are more conducive to alternative lifestyles, and will be more receptive to Green ideas. In these areas a new culture may thrive. In other places the dominant world view may be so entrenched, that scarcely a new shoot can survive. Thus, a dynamic mosaic is created as different locales begin to accept and practice Green ideals.

To initiate this process we must begin to question the basic assumptions on which our current society is built. "We begin to change our behavior when we become mindful of conventional assumptions that we have complacently accepted."⁷ Greens would have us challenge those beliefs and begin to question our own mindsets. In doing so we realize "that there's got to be a better way to live on the Earth." When considering possible means of change, one may use "creative as well as destructive forms of disintegration."⁸ Among the Greens there is a "deconstructive impulse." When describing an "ideal Green world," there was a desire to "tear up all the roads." In conjunction with this desire, there exists an impulse toward restoration. People "are rebuilding their world. They are restoring it." They want to rebuild society "with a different type of living pattern." They are considering the question, "What do we want to create?"

In the attempt to form a new culture, the concept of preparation is very important. A radical change of this type cannot be accomplished overnight: "It's just the beginning. I mean it's a long process. I mean you're talking long." The Greens are involved in a "process of seeding the culture, of sowing the thoughts and ideas in people's minds."⁹ People then gradually turn the ideas over in their minds, examining some of the possibilities and consequences. This process happens at a subconscious and emotional level, as well as intellectually. For instance, it is necessary to contact some people several times before they are ready to make a decision about registering Green. With each contact there is an opportunity to expand one's awareness and to build on one's existing knowledge.

The gradual exposure to ideas is something that has probably been happening as you have been reading this work. There are various themes which you are likely to encounter throughout it. Each time an idea is presented, it is in a different context, and from a different

point of view. With each encounter, one becomes more familiar with the concept. As different aspects of an idea are explored, one may develop a fuller and richer understanding of what is being said. This is a process of seeding one's own mind. It happens as one becomes more informed about the Greens and begins to relate parts of what is learned to one's own life.

The Greens have a commitment to the ideas themselves as inherently valuable: "The name Green is not as important as the fact that it happens." By presenting these values and ideas, Greens are participating in "expanding the universe of thinkable thoughts."¹⁰ By influencing the types of discourse that occur, Greens are able to plant the seeds of hope for the future, and to nurture the options that have emerged.

After the ideas "have been circulated in the public conscience," there is usually a time lag before any perceptible results occur. The "seed time of a new culture. . . is the period of germination that's required,"¹¹ before anything will come to fruition. People need time to consider new thoughts and to accustom themselves to the possibility of change. It would be very interesting to explore the type of culture we would need to create in order to foster the changes Greens would like to see happen. How can we prepare a fertile ground that will nourish and support the people involved in effecting these changes?

In fact, there are a number of alternatives available in our own communities. Throughout California there are co-ops and collectives promoting alternative economic systems. There are also demonstration homes and centers providing information on sustainable systems. There is a definite need for workable modest alternatives, for transitional demands, and for concrete options. "The Greens don't complain without having an alternative." Thus, many of the people involved in developing and establishing these projects are Greens. These projects serve as examples of how it can be done, as well as testifying to the fact that it can be done.

The Greens themselves are often presented as an alternative. They tend to do things differently, and to "have a different take on life." Many people are disillusioned with our society. People "realize old patterns aren't working, but tend to fall back into them if no alternatives are available."¹² It is important "to be able to visualize and live out for yourself what it is that you want to actualize in the future. If you can't do that, it's very hard to manifest that." Greens have a vision. By stating action steps, they provide "a place for people to move to." When people who are living alternative lifestyles connect, "there's a potential, new communities can happen." It requires "choosing the possibilities over the current realities."¹³ In this way, "the idealists become the realists."

Notes

1. Susan Walker, ed. Speaking of Silence (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1987) 67.
2. Thomas Merton, Gandhi on Nonviolence (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1964) 23.
3. Theodore Roszak, Person/Planet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Society (Garden City, New Jersey:Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978) xxi.
4. Ibid., xxv.
5. Ibid., xxi.
6. Alan Watts, Tao: the Watercourse Way (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975) 23.
7. Bill Devall, Simple in Means, Rich in Ends: Practicing Deep Ecology (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1988) 192.
8. Roszak, ix.
9. Ibid., 319.
10. Christopher Manes, Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990) 77.
11. Roszak, 319.
12. Robert Theobald, The Rapids of Change: Social Entrepreneurship in Turbulent Times (Indianapolis, Indiana: Knowledge Systems, Inc.,1987) 157.
13. Murray Bookchin, The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence a Dissolution of Hierarchy (Palo Alto, California: Cheshire Books,1987) 335.

Harmony

The Greens are trying to find an alternative to a life full of disjointedness and discord. They are struggling to understand how to live as social human beings within their natural environment. All the Greens I have met, though varied in many ways, seem to believe in the interconnectedness of life. Their movement seems to be from this understanding towards a realization of harmony.

Harmony is the point at which there is a real knowing and feeling of how the diverse parts make up the whole. Harmony, having aspects of simply being yet flowing, is a sort of dynamic equilibrium, dynamic in the sense that there is a continuous flow of energy and equilibrium in the sense of being centered and at peace. Harmony is both what the field is to a field mouse and what the field is to a casual onlooker. To the field mouse the field is full of life; to the casual onlooker the field is calm and serene. Harmony is simultaneously to be elated and to be at peace.

Harmony is the dynamic spirit that comes from the relationship that develops between the dancers and the drummers. The dancers listen to the drummers. They can hear the individual parts and feel how they join. The dancers begin to feel their place within the rhythm. They are a part of it; they flow with it; they are elated by the feeling. The drummers listen to each other and watch the dancers. They begin to play off one another. There is a point where the dancers and the drummers can feel it all working together, flowing in rhythm. They are now intimately connected, and the feeling is ecstatic. The height of harmony is to reach this ecstatic point, those moments when you are stirred deeply, when you shake and the tears come to your eyes. It is to be in tune with the natural rhythms of life.

In order to reach this height, a dialogue must develop between dancers and drummers. Without communication, we cannot form this harmonious relationship. Dialogue therefore becomes an essential part of the process leading towards harmony. It is dialogue that leads to raising one's awareness. Dialogue can produce a clarity previously absent, can allow one's understanding to deepen. Dialogue can lead to an understanding of interconnectedness, yet is an ongoing process, each time building on the previous understanding. Each encounter with dialogue results in a deeper awareness of unity and diversity, thus moving closer to that place of harmony.

Diversity is essential to achieving meaningful dialogue. There needs to be interplay of ideas, thoughts and feelings, to keep the dialogue moving. There is no hope of understanding how things are interconnected if there are no parts to connect. Just as a rainbow can never form from only one color, neither can harmony evolve from one speaker. As the brilliance of a rainbow lies in the vividness of its colors, the truth of harmony rests in the integrity of its foundation. Harmony is the unity that emerges from the dialogue of diverse parts.

A good example of how the Greens begin at a common point of interconnectedness and move through dialogue towards achieving a sense of harmony is the Green consensus process. This process creates an open environment in which people feel safe to speak. This communication keeps the group moving and growing. Dialogue can serve to reinforce each other's passion and clarify each other's motivations and goals, thereby sustaining the dynamic of the group spirit. The individual is acknowledged as important and is encouraged to participate because "consensus cares about diversity." As people participate in the process, a dialogue develops between the group and the individual. A relationship forms between the individual and the group, thus the group has responsibility to the individual and the individual to the group.

Often what happens in a Greens meeting is that an idea, often coming from a single individual, is put out to the whole group. Other individuals respond to the idea and shape and transform it to reflect the feelings of the group. As each concern is dealt with a new level of understanding is reached, and one is lead closer to that point of harmony.

The idea is now stronger because of the acknowledged diversity of thought, the exchange of dialogue, and the process itself. It is through this exchange of ideas that the idea and the participants have the opportunity to grow. It is through dialogue that people can gain the knowledge, awareness, passion, and power to create social change. When this process is completed, and if consensus is reached, "harmony is created."

CULTIVATING THE POSSIBILITIES

Expressions of Green Philosophy

A time to discover "what one is about"

The California Greens are engaged in a process that represents the true meaning of philosophy--a speculative inquiry. An inquiry is a question, and the importance of that question lies in the asking of it. This provides the opportunity to speculate and reflect. One takes the time to seriously consider the question. At times, this is done contemplatively. One may meditate on the implications of the question. At other times it is a deliberate, conscious examination of the question. Questioning is an integral part of the process of defining one's philosophy. The Ten Key Values of the Greens are presented both as a definition and as a stimulus to begin asking questions. They are described as "a living, expanded dialogue that raises questions."¹ Much of the discussion concerning the Ten Key Values is actually in question form.

The other aspect in the process of defining one's philosophy is acting. To be Green means to be participating, and "doing something about it." The idea is action--here and now. Yet it is not reactionary. It is action that comes from a thoughtful consideration of the situation. It is "the commitment to ecologically wise action, socially just action, nonviolent, compassionate, loving action, and action which is rooted at the grassroots." It is action "based in values."

How does action become value-based? It occurs by questioning. As questions are raised, it is necessary to begin to make some judgements about what one believes. Decisions are formed and shaped in accordance with one's beliefs. They are rooted in one's values. Depending on what is valued, certain principles will be identified as "right" or "good." Those principles become the foundation for one's actions. Before taking action, one must consider how that action is

related to one's values. Is it a reflection of one's values? If so, then one must act. In this way actions are value-based. The crucial step is to refer back to one's principles.

Having acted, it is essential that one pause to evaluate. Were the motivations pure? Was the action carried out effectively? What were the results and the consequences? This is a process of coming back to one's values and looking anew at what one would like to accomplish. People "engage in a process of reflecting on their own experiences, exploring their ecological selves, and articulating their insights as ultimate norms."² The extent to which one's values are reflected in one's actions is a very strong affirmation of one's beliefs. When there are inconsistencies, it is an indication that one must forge a stronger connection between intention and deed. One is aiming for a greater "cohesion between thought and action."

The Greens are involved in a process of questioning and acting. There exists a constant dialectic between the two. As one Green said, "I think being Green is having a questioning and aware approach to the world, and acting from that." Through continual dialogue and interaction, each forms and creates the other.

Imagine a river flowing within its banks. The river is the moving, driving force. Yet the river's course is directed by its banks. Within those borders the river may rush past, creating rapids, or it may meander slowly here and there. But there are no absolutes. Floods occur, and rivers overrun their banks. The river is no longer controlled and contained. In this manner, a river has the power to influence its own direction. This also happens in ways that are not so drastic. Over a period of time, a river changes course by slowly eroding its banks and creating new passages. These gradual changes tend to be longer lasting, in contrast to the occasional flooding. Floods quickly recede, and the river returns to its original course. There exists a continual interaction between the river and its banks, each forming and shaping the other. It is in the totality of this interaction that we arrive at the essence of what we know as river.

The actions one takes may be seen as the river. They give life to the process. The riverbank would be formed of questions. Those questions would be the guiding principles, giving substance and meaning to one's actions. Yet to pose a question is itself an action. Thus rivers and banks, actions and questions, may at times be interchangeable. Since to question is to act, the questions become the river. They become the driving force behind the process. Through reflection and evaluation, one's actions shape one's ideas. In shaping one's ideas, the actions become the riverbanks and direct the flow of questions. Actions can also be an attempt to question. Some actions are meant to test limits, to question authority, or to question the system.

The process cycles through questioning and acting, changing and evolving as it goes. It is through this process that one's philosophy is both formed and expressed.

In this same way, reflection encompasses both questioning and acting. Reflection is a basic part of questioning. One considers what has been asked, but there is also a very active element. One's actions are a reflection of what one is thinking. Beliefs are expressed or reflected in one's behavior. Many other aspects of this process also relate to both questioning and acting. The dual features tend to compliment each other, forming a more tightly woven unity within the whole. On the other hand, they also challenge each other, encouraging the continual evolution of one's philosophy by forcing one to consider various perspectives.

To question and to act are interrelated, interdependent, and at times, interchangeable. It is the very nature of the process. And what is the goal of the process? Change. To be able to initiate and direct the transformation of our society. Greens recognize that our current system is not working. It is destructive. It destroys our environment, our communities, and people's lives. It is unjust and oppressive. It is not right. The Greens would like to transform our world: "We're aiming for a better world." For this reason, the process they follow is very important. It allows them to call into question the basic assumptions by which we live. One Green intends to "violate the assumptions of a whole lot of people. It's eye-opening." Greens call for an examination of the root causes of many of the problems we are faced with. They attempt to provide an opportunity to consider why this has happened, and to plan possible solutions. Viable actions can then be developed.

As they work toward creating a fundamental change of consciousness, it is important to keep in mind the relationship between ends and means. The ends do not justify the means. The methods one uses to achieve one's goal are reflected in what is created. One's aims "cannot be created by means which contradict the ends."³ Thus it is important to strive for a greater harmony and consistency between ends and means. Taking it even further, the means are in and of themselves the ends. By living nonviolently, one fosters nonviolence. The end one is aiming for is the means for creating change. "The ends are a part of the method of action. . .and the method of action is included in the ends."⁴ If participatory democracy is a goal, then grassroots participation is essential.

For many Greens the focus is on the process, as much as on the results or content. They acknowledge the importance of the means one uses: "The process by which you arrive at decisions and by which you do things is just as important as what it is that you decide to do." A

key factor in this process is integration. One must integrate ends and means, thought and deed, questioning and acting. There is a need to "be patient with all that is unresolved in your heart, and try to love the questions themselves. The point is to live everything."⁵ Rather than being distinct things, these qualities are all various aspects of the same process.

The way in which one lives is a reflection of the process. There is an actual progression of energy. It is the life flowing through thoughts, ideas, individuals, creatures, communities-- even throughout the world. Energy emerges from life, like water bubbling up from a spring. It participates in life, like the water which comprises the river. It channels life, like the banks directing the river's flow. Life and process reflect each other. Since life is known as a result of living, the process is truly experiential. For us as people, it is grounded in "the root of human experience." For us as individuals, it is present in each moment throughout our lives. We must begin with "those magic moments of life," and develop a philosophy from there.

The Greens are attempting to do this in a very conscious way. What does it mean to be "human"? What does it mean to "be"? In addressing these questions one must begin with an awareness of what it is to be "fully and honestly human."⁶ It is based in one's own life, one's experiences, and one's insights. Greens are looking at the qualities and values that are inherent in human-heartedness, and at the "conditions where this is allowed to come forward." Combining these concerns with the process of questioning and acting, the Greens are developing their own philosophy.

Many Greens would like to consciously shape the evolution of our culture. There is so much that needs to change. It is necessary to "tear down the old system, and expose it for what it is." Then "we must give birth to the new one, and that's what the Greens are all about, philosophically." This process provides a way to evaluate the current situation, to bring about a change within that system, and to ultimately create a new culture.

The Greens have a vision for the future, "a future that is possible, a future that someone would want to have." This is a hope which they all hold in common. When it comes to the specific type of world, there are some ideas, but those ideas are as diverse as the individuals who hold them and the communities in which those people live. Many Greens have focussed more on the transitional means of moving from here to there. The philosophical process is very important in determining where to move and in what manner. It represents change and an awareness that everything is in a constant state of transformation. Implicit in this is the realization that there is no final absolute. An ideal world may be one that is in "closer harmony with the environment,"

so that our communities "are actually ecosystems themselves." But in defining that world, one allows for the possibility that this assumption could change. Implicit in the process of questioning and acting is the possibility that as the world evolves, one's point of view could shift. According to one Green, "I reserve judgement, and reserve the right to reserve judgement, as far as where things will go in the long run."

This aspect of open-endedness is crucial. The transformation that the Greens are working on is in fact, "a journey without a destination."⁷ It is a new way of looking at the world. It is an awareness that by acting in accordance with one's values, one can actually begin to consciously direct some of the changes that are occurring. One takes responsibility for one's actions, rather than leaving it to chance or to others. It is an awareness the Greens would like to see bloom in everyone. As each person is provided with the means to question and to act, each person is able to participate in the development of a new culture.

A time to decide "what is right"

A philosophy is also a set of values. One's values become defined as one engages in the process of questioning and acting. What are the results of one's speculation, meditation, action, involvement, and reflection? What values emerge that form "a state of mind, a set of understandings, and a philosophical commitment"?

Most Greens have adopted the Ten Key Values. One Green says about them, "This is it. This is what I believe in." I would like to go further, and suggest that there are underlying qualities which are a fundamental part of Green philosophy. These are deeper, more universal qualities. Many of them are reflected in the Ten Key Values. These qualities were not invented by the Greens. The Greens have compiled and articulated many of the values and set them in contexts that are relevant to our times. Since these qualities are an essential part of being human, they exist within us all. We all have the potential to acknowledge these values, and express them in our lives. The Greens are among those who have begun to live in accordance with these values. In doing so, they provide the rest of us a guide to follow and a gentle push to start us along the path. The following essays are based on my own observation and interpretation of what is happening among the California Greens. Various aspects are also taken from the statements or comments made by Greens themselves and portray the manner in which the Greens represent themselves.

The discussion of these qualities is neither complete nor definitive. In fact, any attempt to define or categorize them would go against the very nature of the qualities. Instead, I have attempted to portray a sense of the values underlying the lives of many Greens. It may be useful to keep in mind the following quote while contemplating the qualities:

Z

Greens are out there! Greens are happening! There are individuals who are Green. It can be done. Some Greens have this kind of positive, electrifying effect on people. They are simply inspirational. They truly seem to "live the values." They identify themselves as Greens-- as people who are "environmentally aware, socially aware, aware of people problems, really concerned. . . trying to work with nature instead of against nature." Living in harmony with these beliefs is an essential part of their personal identity. These people are Green-at-heart, and a spiritual force seems to radiate out from within. Their inner beliefs and convictions are expressed in a strong, positive way. And they have fun doing it.

Most Greens enjoy being Greens: "This is more fun than anything else I could imagine doing." People spoke of fun times together, of storytelling and singing, of potlucks and plays. As one person said, "I'm doing what I'm doing because I like to." It's fun to have visions and talk about what "could be." Another person said, "It gets me up in the morning." For many people the energy and excitement of being involved come from the possibilities the Greens represent. It is inspiring "to be with a group of people who are combining their social, political, spiritual beings in a very active way."

The process of change is intensely personal, yet as changes are manifested in one's attitudes and behavior, the process is ultimately transpersonal. Some Greens have had a tremendous impact on other people. One Green said, "I never actually talked about it, but just found out, and then people start asking you." As the change in people's behavior became apparent, she continued, "it's really nice to know that these people now have a different mindset." After being with a Green who kept a peace vigil going through the night, one person said, "When I saw how dedicated he was, I decided to check out the Greens." These Greens were simply being themselves and acting according to their beliefs. As one Green stated, "You do what you think is right, and show others why you believe in it." In this manner the "potential for involvement gets demonstrated." Hopefully it will have some effect on other people and on the world.

When I'm walking down the street people often smile at me. I smile back. I can't help it. I have an irresistible urge to respond. There is likely to be a certain joy in my expression after such an encounter, and I step more lightly as I walk. Then I smile at the next person who comes along. And that person smiles back. A smile has an infectious quality about it. The same quality is evident in some Greens. The interest and commitment they express elicits a response from others. Their enthusiasm is contagious, and tends to spread from person to person. An optimistic attitude of this type can be very powerful and compelling: "The more you develop it in your own being, the more infectious it becomes 'til it overwhelms your surroundings and might by and by oversweep the world."⁹

Miro tu cara, tan tierna e inocente,
Y me brotan gotitas de inspiracion,
Miro tu cara, Angel moreno,
Y siento que nace una nueva ilusion.

-Guma

Z

There is so much we know, yet we are not even aware we know it. In each of us there exists a wealth of potential knowledge, if we could simply find a way to dip into it. It is an experiential knowledge which is based in relationship rather than reason. It springs from the associations formed among words, thoughts, and people. This knowledge is a deep current which runs both within us and between us. In speaking of spirituality, one Green likened it to groundwater: "It runs under the surface and you don't see it. But it's definitely there, and we all drink from it. We all survive with it." Our inner knowledge works in much the same way.

I believe that through intuition and contemplation, people are able to delve into this knowledge. As one becomes more aware of the harmonious and interconnected nature of our lives, channels begin to open up. It provides us an opportunity to reach down into the deep current, as well as allowing parts to surface.

A number of Greens have begun to participate in this unpredictable but very rewarding process. As one pauses to engage in reflection and contemplation, the mind is no longer busy or cluttered or occupied. Insight often occurs. One becomes conscious of what one already knows unconsciously. There may be a gradual revelation as understanding grows, or insight may come as a sharp, sudden jolt. One Green described it as "an AHA! experience." Whatever form it takes,

the awareness is something that exists within people. One can only teach people what they already know.

As the barriers are lowered, one creates passages for the flow of knowledge into one's consciousness. One is able to perceive the character of a situation. As one develops trust in oneself and in one's judgement, one's ability to see clearly grows.

In this same vein, as a group develops a sense of community, psychic channels begin to open up. The better people know, respect, trust and love one another, the greater the connections that exist between them. Because of their relationships with each other, it is easier to get people on the same wavelength. People are attuned to what is going on with others as well as with oneself. Each person then has a better idea of what others are thinking, though it may not have been expressed yet. Through empathy and understanding some people are able to develop an intuitive awareness of what others are experiencing. One Green finds her background in mediation and facilitation very useful. It assists her in discovering where connections can be made between people and helps her in establishing ties that reinforce those connections. This involves an ability to adjust what one is saying, and adapt one's approach to the current situation.

Other valuable abilities are synthesis and clarification. These qualities are exemplified in the person who is able to draw together various thoughts that have been voiced and restate those concerns. One Green finds that she is often the one to express where the group is at: "It seems like what we're trying to say is this. . ." It is always a matter of give and take as people try to come to an understanding on a subject. But the more people are able to tap into the underlying knowledge that they hold in common, the more pathways that will be created among them.

When words resonate with someone, those ideas touch a chord deep within one's soul. In that instant, one has encountered the current of knowledge deep within oneself. The Greens have a "message that rings true in people." As one person said, "The words resonated with me because I had already realized everything he was saying on an intuitive level." The words seemed to be right to him. They made sense. The deep current of knowledge is uniquely expressed in each of us, but it is something which we all share. It is a degree of knowing that is experiential. Since it is something that we have in common, touching that wellspring evokes a response from another person. As one Green observed, "You have to speak spiritually to people on those things." It is at this level that communication truly begins to happen. One Green meditates "every day for half an hour to help see all in me and me in all."

Z

When we trust unconditionally, we trust in the seed within the other person. We don't know how it will manifest, but we trust that it is a good seed.¹⁰

Trust is personal. It occurs between and among people. It is based on "mutual acknowledgement." There is a recognition of each other and of the basic humanity we all share. From this acknowledgement it is possible to build respect, then trust, and ultimately, love. Acknowledging another person is to affirm the intrinsic worth and uniqueness of both that individual and of oneself. To trust is to have faith in the goodness and potential of another person. Because trust is based in a personal relationship, it is immediate and fairly tangible. Trust often begins as tendrils gently reaching out, testing and probing. When initial gestures receive a positive response, those ties thicken and grow. Thus, people can begin to build trust among themselves. Trust may be strengthened and affirmed. It is "the feeling that you're in it with people you trust and care about, people who trust and care about you." In order to create any sense of community or belongingness among people, one must first establish trust.

For trust to grow, people must nurture the seed within the other person. The seed must be tended, supported and cared for. Growth is a gradual and intermittent process. The results may be spectacular one day, and seem nonexistent the next. Some seeds will germinate more quickly than others. Flowers may burst forth from some plants, while the beauty in other plants may be more subtle. Regardless of these variations, all plants need a regular dose of tender, loving care. The attention and concern must be consistent, whether it be on a daily, a weekly, or a monthly basis. It requires commitment over a sustained period of time for a garden to flourish.

Many Greens are gardeners and as such are aware of the time and energy required before a vegetable garden becomes productive, or a flower garden becomes self-seeding. However, the consistent commitment to care is not something that is always easy to carry over into cultivating personal relationships.

Some Greens feel that there are times when this quality is definitely missing. Several people have had to drop out of their groups at various times to deal with personal affairs. During those periods they either did not have time to participate in group activities, or the Greens simply did not fit into their lives at that point. As one person said, "There was no empathy from people." Others did not understand what was going on in that person's life. One

person mentioned the need to develop a sense of camaraderie among group members. She posed the question: "What's keeping people from coming back?"

Still other members expressed the sentiment that "the Greens don't give you as much back as other groups do." One member felt this was particularly true with regard to registering people. He did not see a real concern for the people who were being registered. "The reason why I believe in Green politics is because supposedly the commitment is to the people who are registered. It's supposed to be small grassroots things happening, not let's hurry up and get people registered, and then we'll figure it out." His feelings are so strong on this issue, that he has actually stopped registering voters.

Still other members feel the Greens make a conscious effort to try and nurture people. For these people the Greens tend to be re-energizing. The overall Green spirit "gets me charged." "The spiritual feeling of the need to nurture each other, and the Earth" is present on these occasions. People take care of one another.

Caring is an expression of concern for another person. It is based in the personal relationship one has with another person. Caring is "being there" for someone. It is providing whatever is needed, be it a hug, an attentive listener, or quiet companionship. For one person, being in the Greens is "a chance to be around people who really care about their world, and other people. . .and that's gratifying." Through care and attention it is possible to nurture trust and provide a strong foundation on which to build a relationship. Trust serves as the underlying base. It offers a source of strength on which people can draw as needed. To learn and to develop require taking risks. By creating a safe, supportive environment, the Greens are providing people the opportunity to grow. "People are asked to stretch," to go further and attempt to realize some of their full potential.

One Green spoke of the need to more compassionate about people's fears: "People are afraid to change, and are afraid of personal sacrifice." Action is often carried out only when there is a sense of mutual trust and commitment. "Social action is personal, caring, individual action within the context of small groups."¹¹ The Greens attempt to create a supportive and open environment within their local groups. Then people do not feel pressured, and can slowly begin to make small changes. In honoring those efforts at change, Greens nurture a sense of trust and self-confidence, furthering each individual's own transformation. Most importantly, since trust is personal, it is something that can begin here and now. You and I can begin to trust each other.

Z

Connectedness is the nature of the relationship that joins us all together. We are all rooted in the Earth. Our world gave birth to us, it sustains us, and will receive us when we die. One Green describes his spirituality as a leaf. "We're all a leaf on a tree, and when our life is over, we become the organic matter for the next life." Like plants, we draw nourishment from our world. Our community provides for our physical, emotional, and spiritual needs.

A recognition of one's link to the Earth is often expressed as bioregionalism. A basic tenet of bioregionalism is to know the land-to know its limits, its creatures, and its potential. Humans are viewed as "participants in biotic communities."¹² Greens feel that as members of those communities "we need to stop and look, and respect what it is that is there. . .how life can be lived respectfully in this part of the Earth." It is necessary to "recognize where you live, and what the limits of it are." Simplicity is a basic quality for many Greens. They believe that simplicity is better. Recycle, reuse, reduce. These are things all Greens do in their daily activities. They have turned away from consumerism, and simplified their needs. Greens are frugal people. They are conscious of the need for a wise and careful use of resources. By living lightly on the land, Greens are participating in "greening their own bioregion."

Bioregionalism involves an understanding of place, identity, and culture. As one Green said, "I want a home-grown world." This might be a world where vegetables and flowers are grown in one's own backyard or in the community gardens which many Greens help cultivate. Businesses would be those necessary for sustaining the community. They would be run by members of the community. It might be one person, or several people might join together to form a cooperative. Art and music and theater would be present throughout the community. As people were able to put their energies into being creative, they would be "teaching and learning and growing together."

By aiming for decentralization, self-sufficiency, and grassroots participation, Greens are trying to revive these perspectives in their communities. The ideas have been an inherent part of Native American cultures for hundreds of years. In fact many cultures have developed philosophies, rituals and beliefs based on a knowledge of their own world. There is an awareness of the unique identity of their land, of the passing of the seasons, and of the Earth as alive. These views have resonated with many Greens, who describe their spirituality as "Earth-based."

In an urban setting "you don't really touch the Earth, and that's where you get your feelings from." This lack of connection with the natural world and with one's emotions has left many people feeling distanced and alienated. To counter the abstraction of our society, there is a "wish to be bound into the world." Thus, "anything that puts us in the world and says we're of it" is a very Green thing. People tend to identify with real, immediate landscapes. It is important to preserve places that arouse the feeling of being connected, because that keeps those feelings alive. Through the protection of creeks and riparian lands, and the creation of parks and open spaces, Greens have begun to provide people with opportunities to renew their sense of identity.

Ecological awareness "gives any function a context, which deepens it." One's daily activities may seem like only a series of simple tasks. But when one understands "how it all relates to the world at large," each act has purpose and meaning. Greens have recognized a new paradigm: "to see everything as interconnected, that nothing exists in a vacuum, everything one does impacts everything else." The actions that you and I take effect the lives of others. In turn, our lives are effected by what others do. This concept applies to every aspect of our world. "What a man does to the earth he does to himself."¹³ Greens would ideally be "modelling our activities, and our actions, and our approaches on the ecosystem, on the natural workings, on the idea that we are part of the whole." One Green has actually described interconnectedness as "an eleventh key value." "Everything is interconnected. All the issues we're talking about are interconnected. All the people are interconnected."

Integration is bringing together all the various parts, in order to see the whole picture. Greens offer a way to not "separate these things, but to pull the whole together." Being Green is understanding that environmental and social issues are the same problem. They stem from the same forces of domination and oppression. Greens adhere to the theory that rather than being single, autonomous issues, they are all linked together. This is part of what the Ten Key Values tries to portray.

For many people it was this integration of the various issues that attracted them to the Greens. The presentation of the ten key values led to a crystallization of awareness. It was "all of them. . .the impact of having them all stated." It provided "a way to conceptualize the integration of a number of concerns." People became conscious of ideas and beliefs that already existed within them on an intuitive level. One Green expressed that "I had always been Green. . .and lived a Green life. . .then I was able to put an identity on what I had been doing." With this realization came a sense of belonging. It was like a "welcome home."

Z

A reaching out as well as a delving within, a social engagement as well as a contemplative exploration.

A balance, either simultaneous or sequential, exists between the privacy of the personal quest and the clamor of social action.¹⁴

Delving into one's soul can be very risky. Introspection involves questioning one's own thoughts and assumptions. It is a process of self-exploration. Most Greens have gone through a period of intense self-examination, at some point in their lives. For one person it was while she was in college. Another person was at a demonstration. "It caused me to look at where I fit into this." One Green was exposed to new ideas while in high school: "I started questioning, not just putting it aside. . . but really reading about it." Another Green asked himself, "What am I doing?" His answer was "not enough," and so he joined the Greens. All these people have been working on increasing their own self-awareness.

Awareness is knowing what is going on around one. To be Green is "to be aware of what is happening on the planet." It means being aware of what is happening in the country, in one's community, among one's friends, as well as within oneself. Awareness is the first step in creating change. If one is unaware, one cannot identify the problem, much less the cause. Without some knowledge of the situation, it is impossible to make any judgements about what is happening. One cannot decide what is right or wrong, what is working and what is not, or what changes should be made.

For example, consider a Green meeting. It has been expressed that at times "one or two people become possessive about the group." If one does not realize that one's behavior is domineering or inappropriate, one will not see any reason to change. However, if one becomes aware that such a problem exists, it is more likely that the problem can be resolved. There will then be a more supportive and cooperative atmosphere at meetings. Or suppose a group is trying to decide whether or not to endorse a certain candidate or initiative. In order to evaluate a proposal, one must be knowledgeable about the issues.

Knowledge may be acquired by reading, listening to news reports, or speaking with others. Occasionally, awareness comes as a sudden insight into what is really going on. Often we are active, willing participants in gathering information, asking questions, and seeking

answers. At other times information is thrust upon us without our consent. Some people choose to disregard or ignore much of the information they are exposed to. There is a tendency to just pick up on the things that reinforce one's own beliefs and preconceptions. "What are you going to tell them that they don't already really know. . . They don't really care." The Greens do care. They are trying to see clearly, to see things as they really are.

Many Greens have mentioned the importance of being involved in consciousness-raising activities in order to educate people. "If you're aware, I think you have a responsibility to make other people aware, to encourage them to become aware." A number of Greens are involved in tabling, leafleting, and petition drives. They view these activities as a wonderful opportunity to speak with people about the issues. One is able to engage people in conversation: "I do go into places and tell them why I don't like styrofoam cups."

For some Greens becoming aware of a problem compels them to take action: "If I feel positive about something then I'll get involved. . .as soon as I get involved in something it's almost like I can't stop." It is a sense of being challenged to do the most one can. As one Green described it, "If I just tried a little bit, and then started, it's really hard to stop, because you know it can be done." Several people have mentioned the fact that "once you reach a certain level of awareness, a certain consciousness, you can't go back again. . .to that previous state of ignoring everything and thinking that problems don't exist, because it's all too real."

As people become more knowledgeable, they become more aware of the consequences of their actions. Personally people begin to take "the responsibility for what we do," say or think; and conversely, for what we do not do, say, or think. Greens "tend to be people with a conscience." They are aware of what is happening in the world. They have acknowledged the problems and their own roles in creating and maintaining many of those problems. They are now consciously trying to create and direct change. The ability to see that something is not right, and then to work to change it, is something "people as a whole should have, Greens as a whole do have." It requires discipline and commitment to begin to change one's life. Yet this is where it must begin. Each person must be able to say, "I'm doing my part."

This involves accepting "responsibility for one's own place in the scheme of things." To varying degrees we "all bear responsibility for the current state of our society." Because of the interrelated nature of our world, each act creates ripples that are felt in ever-widening spheres of life. As one understands this concept, one begins to examine the consequences of one's actions more closely. People must be aware of the problems, the alternatives, and the ramifications of

each given course of action: "To act responsibly one must be well-informed."¹⁵ As Greens, "we all need to be continually growing as people, continually learning new things." "If people could begin to take responsibility for what they see in ways that are positive, then we move towards that."

People make choices based on their own convictions. As the members of a community decide on a certain course of action, they enact it for themselves. It is not something handed down from above. For instance, consider the approach Greens in San Diego took when working toward a styrofoam-free zone. It was necessary to "take it slow, and build community support, so it's a choice people make." Any proposal which is carried out voluntarily will have much more effect than simply mandating changes. In this vein, several Greens have said that they are not interested in "trying to make a lot of new laws." Legislation is usually "skirted if people don't believe in it."

One's thought and perceptions determine one's actions. If you want people to adopt a certain behavior, then you must convince them it is in their own best interest: "When people change their perception of their self-interest, their behavior inevitably changes."¹⁶ As people learn to take the interest and welfare of others as their own, a sense of social responsibility develops.

Greens work very well with people who agree with them. They have "a collection of understandings" in common. A supportive group of this type is very important. Yet it is also necessary to reach out to others. It is time for "Greens to move out of their own sphere of influence." One Green would like to "talk with those who might be surprised initially." Another Green enjoys "working with people who are skeptical." He finds it challenging and stimulating.

An attitude of open-mindedness is essential. Openness stems from a willingness to admit that one does not know everything. One is then willing to experiment and try new things. One is more receptive to new ideas and alternative approaches. Not only is one more open, but often one actively seeks out new ways of thinking and new means of doing things. By following this approach in their own lifestyle, Greens encounter many more opportunities to speak with people. In portraying it for others, the Greens are setting an example and inviting a response.

The active component of openness is reaching out to other people. It involves engaging others through conversations and activities. This process begins with "the ability to imagine the reality of the other person." It means being able to put yourself in someone else's shoes, and to

see through their eyes. One must work "toward understanding the background of a person, what's informing their views." In this way it is possible to establish a relationship with another person. The Greens are trying to "build basic agreements." They would like to create "congenial ways of looking at things." Rather than setting up an adversarial situation where people must choose either/or, Greens are presenting "exciting new possibilities."

For instance, in San Diego the mayor was initially viewed as the "the enemy." However, through effort and understanding an open dialogue has developed over time. Issues are discussed. Input provided by the Greens is considered. There now exists a relationship between various members of the community. There is a foundation on which to "nurture rapport and trust."

An aspect of being open-minded is tolerance. It is the willingness to allow for variations and differences. "If you work toward individual diversity, and respecting that, you're building unity of ideas and philosophies, or at least a unity of tolerance, or a unity of individuals." To be tolerant is to acknowledge and respect the ideas and behavior of others, though it may differ from one's own. If this is tolerance, then there exists a certain level of intolerance among Greens. It is evidenced in the inability to see another's point of view. "What's wrong with him? Why doesn't he see?" These opinions were expressed fairly often. "To me it's so obvious." Greens recognize that this sensitivity to the opinions of others is sometimes lacking. One person mentioned that the Greens tend to be self-righteous. She thinks there is a need to "open up to people who really care, who really understand, but who are afraid of personal sacrifice." The Greens could act as a bridge to help these people become more aware. It is necessary to "be more open to bringing these people in slowly."

At the same time there exists a definite frustration. The Greens often view the general public as thinking, "just as long as I don't have to make any changes in my life, as long as I don't have to be the one to make a little effort." The Greens would like to press people, to keep questioning. As one person said, "To provoke people a little bit, gently and lovingly, to think about some things maybe they don't think about. And then maybe determine if they want to take some action."

The need for tolerance is crucial when someone is facilitating for the first time. It is about "allowing those individuals to grow. . . allowing them to make mistakes. . . without being real uptight about it." Another example is the drive to become a party. The attempt to gain party status has been very divisive. People have very different views on the necessity and efficacy of

this tactic. "There's a clash there. But ultimately we're the same people, we've got the same vision, the same dreams." In acknowledging alternative ways of doing things instead of insisting on one's own perspective, one is exposed to new possibilities. To the extent that one is tolerant and open-minded, there exists a whole world of new ideas for one to explore.

Z

It is necessary, therefore it is possible.¹⁷

Faith is based in the conviction that one's vision is a possibility. There are no guarantees of when, or where, or how that vision might occur. Nothing is ever certain. Greens are able to accept that uncertainty, and move forward. Since one's vision is not yet a reality, faith looks to the future. The Greens have a confidence in the potential for transformation, and the creation of one's vision. One local group has even set up their meetings to focus on a vision. Their intention is that going to meetings be a positive and rewarding experience. One person in this CoC has occasionally convinced a friend who hates meetings to join them. Afterwards, he invariably exclaims, "Yeah, I was surprised. I had fun."

The Greens are committed to the vision, and dedicated to the possibilities. Often they are the people creating the possibility for change by providing alternatives. "What we represent in terms of approaches and solutions just has to happen if we're going to make it." By presenting real alternatives, Greens are attending to the importance of ends and means. The alternatives reflect the ends the Greens would like to achieve. Through adopting those alternatives, one has the means to work toward those goals. Proposed plans are imaginative, creative and practical. Some are in the process of being implemented. The plans range from rooftop gardens to give the homeless a means of production, to the use of hemp oil for heating, to a proposal that all government buildings must be American-made and that eighty percent of the materials used in construction come from within the bioregion.

Many people have joined the Greens because of a desire to address the numerous problems evident in our society. Yet there are so many concerns, and they are all so serious, and time is running out. Is it any wonder that people are often discouraged and apathetic? How can one possibly make any difference? At times "it gets overwhelming and you can't possibly do all the things that you believe in. But just to work on those is more than a lot of other people get to do." In spite of the odds, Greens are doing just that. They are "getting in the trenches, and

recycling, and cleaning up highways, and going to boring seven hour meetings." They are putting in the time and effort, and working toward a better world.

Integrity is to "come forth," to stand firmly. It is to clearly state one's beliefs and goals and values. To stand by those values is a sign of integrity. Greens have done this. "We put our values right out in front there. . .now people know where we stand." Most Greens "have a whole lot of integrity." Being Green "is to be able to hold out spiritually no matter what the tide is, to believe that there is a chance for change and transformation." The commitment to one's values and the faith in oneself come from having a dream, "and that's what having a dream is all about." It is important to maintain one's spiritual integrity. "They can't take away your spirit."

However, there are many shades of Green in the practical manifestations of integrity. "I think it's hard. You can be Green in theory, but I think it's really hard to practice." Some Greens are able to express their beliefs in many aspects of their lives. This is usually because they have chosen to structure their lives in accordance with the values they hold. Some people are able to "mesh work and home." One Green moved to Santa Cruz because it enabled him to live near his job, eliminating the need for a car. Many Greens are self-employed and are able to work out of their homes. For other people there are real conflicts when it comes to earning a living and/or driving a car.

An ideal situation would be to be able to "marry your personal avocation with your vocation." Unfortunately, this does not seem to be an option for very many people. As one person said, "Well, you have to earn a living." For another person though, "It caused me to look at my career. I'm not happy with it anymore." This person feels a need to be closer to Green values in his work. In fact, one Green recently quit his job for that very reason.

Numerous Greens have been very active in promoting Green ideals in their jobs. Several people have been able to establish recycling programs. In one instance, an Environmental Protection Committee was established to look at the impact the business has on the environment, and possible means of lessening that impact. Various projects similar to this have been initiated and carried out by Greens.

"I haven't given up my car yet," stated one person. There is a general recognition that driving is a very alienating experience, as well as being environmentally destructive. However, it is very difficult to live and work in our society without a car. Some Greens are involved in so many activities, and attend so many meetings, that a car seems to be essential. The irony of

depending on their cars to get to various peace rallies during the Gulf Crisis was not lost on the Greens.

The alternatives to driving are walking, biking and public transportation. For most people these alternatives do not seem very practical. In describing their ideal Green world, many people mentioned that bike paths would be an integral part of the design. And there are Greens who are able to live their lives without a car. "I have committed to never buying a car," said one person. "I know I need to do that." Many Greens know the changes are necessary, and so have begun to make them. As one person said, "The only limits are the limits of our own imagination, and creative energy, and physical stamina."

Z

Community is "people who are in contact with each other." It is people who interact in their daily lives. Community "occurs when I have some connection with the baker, the doctor, the man across the street, just because he lives across the street. We are then a community." What these people have in common is being in the same place at the same time. Through community people are brought together, rather than being dispersed and isolated. Within a group of people it is possible to foster a feeling of community. It is possible to create relationships between members of a community. People share with each other. They greet one another, and converse with each other. People help each other out, and rely on one another. "People take care of each other when someone's in trouble." How is a sense of community created? It is based in respect, trust, caring, openness and tolerance. These qualities define the character of a community, and the relationships which develop between people. When there is "respect and involvement with each other," people have begun to create their own sense of community.

Local Green groups tend to operate by consensus. As a sense of community develops it strengthens the consensus process. Building relationships between people is a basic part of consensus. In fact, "community is the idea behind consensus." Consensus is working in a community, listening to each other, and offering every person a voice. As trust and understanding develop among people, "a community can come to an agreement about something." Ideally no one is even aware of making a decision. All concerns are stated, considered, and addressed, and the group can simply resolve to move in that direction. "The caring that people show for each other, the attentiveness for what each other has to say, people actively trying to work things out with each other, and trying to make the process work."

An aspect many Greens have identified is being with like-minded people. Many have said that by joining the Greens they found a place to fit in. A basic trait of human nature is "to live with, care for, and love its own kind."¹⁸ A number of Greens have found aspects of this fulfilled through involvement in local groups. It is "people promoting people." Greens tend to feel most Green "when we get together." Being with others, sharing and talking, and doing things together, strengthens the group. And it is easier to get something done as a group than it is as a single individual. While biking alone in the mountains one is renewed and re-energized. There is an affirmation of oneself. But in order to take those experiences and move forward, one must act in concert with other people. An individual reaches "a point where you're powerless until you can join together with a lot of other people to get things done."

One individual felt this so strongly that she became a member of the Greens though she had never been a "joiner" before. There have been similar transformations among other Greens. While one person was out collecting signatures, he found he was surprisingly good at it. The people he was speaking with recognized his commitment as he became emotional about the issues. Another person volunteered to take responsibility for coordinating Earth Day. To be in charge was a major shift for him. Yet with the support of the group, the event came off nicely. Through the process of planning, organizing and getting everything done, his confidence in his own abilities grew.

In order to get something done, one has to do it oneself. But one can only go so far on one's own: "It's easier for a group to do something than for one individual." One Green described an experience he had while demonstrating in support of the Forests Forever initiative. There was a huge log which the protesters wanted to move. Of course, they did not have any equipment available. The only thing available was themselves. And working cooperatively together, they were able to move the log. How empowering! "If one gets enough humans together, they can do a hell of a lot." Another Green said, "Our intentions together do create effects." As people begin to unite and work together, changes begin to happen. "The quality of our relationship with other beings. . . has a suggestive, pervasive and cumulative social power."¹⁹

Social transformation ...comes from groups of people working within their own bioregions, who combine their energies to delegitimize the dominant mechanistic worldview, and

present positive models for social change.²⁰

Z

Grassroots participation is people "getting together and working on issues in their own backyards." The people living in a certain area, should be the ones creating and maintaining their own community or neighborhood. Grassroots means getting involved, here and now. It means working on changing things, here and now. "It doesn't need a title. It just needs to be me. .. addressing the issues of this community." This is a truly local activity, and has attracted a number of people who "want to act locally." Grassroots participation is one aspect of the Ten Key Values. "How can we develop a system that allows/encourages people to participate in the decisions that affect their lives?"²¹ It is the "people who are affected by a particular action or decision who are probably in the best position to decide whether it's a good thing or not, or to decide on how it should be run, or how it should be handled." Each community becomes responsible for making its own decisions. In one area fish populations had been severely reduced because of water degradation. The citizens came together and built a hatchery to help restore the population. The "locals simply took matters into their own hands."

Among the Greens there is a strong commitment to grassroots participation. For example, in San Diego there is a small community-based group which has the contract for handling all recycling in the city. The program utilizes block captains, many of whom are Greens, to encourage recycling among their neighbors. Through this program Greens are also involved in distributing water conservation information door-to-door. The Greens have also worked with the city council to ensure that the contract continues to be awarded to these recyclers, rather than to a larger corporation-based company. This program is an example of the many aspects involved in grassroots participation. The Greens are working within their neighborhoods, with diverse members of their community, to help maintain an alternative business.

For grassroots participation to occur the people must be responsible, aware, involved, and open to alternatives. There must be a sense of responsibility to the community which would cause people to act in the best interests of the community. People need to be aware of the specifics of their situation--the various options and their consequences, the social fabric and ties in the community, and the ecosystems and biosphere. This enables them to evaluate the alternatives and make a decision about what would be most appropriate for their bioregion in terms of scale, design, and operation.

People must trust themselves and have confidence in their own abilities. There is a tendency to abandon "responsibility on the assumption that others really know how to manage things better than ourselves."²² One may be intimidated by the local authorities initially. But as one gets to know them, one "sees they're people too."

They may simply appear wiser because they have access to more information. Finally, in order for any of this to happen, a willingness to become involved is essential. Involvement can also be very empowering. There is a "sense of affirmation that comes with taking action,"²³ and knowing that one can make a difference and affect one's own future.

Direct democracy is the other aspect of grassroots participation. Each individual must be responsible and recognize that the contribution and participation of each member of the community is essential. Direct democracy is "not to have someone speak for you, but to speak for yourself, not to have someone act for you, but to act for yourself, not to have someone make decisions for you, but to make decisions for yourself." This type of responsibility implies a certain freedom that can be both very demanding and very frightening. There is no longer someone else in control and giving orders. One must begin to think for oneself. Since there is no one else to blame, one is also accountable for one's actions. It is "very easy to get involved in the Greens, because the organization is non-hierarchical." However some people have been put off by this very fact. They come expecting "to be told what to do." So one must be able to think critically. One must be able to ask questions and evaluate the responses. "Democracies don't function if you have people that aren't willing to question, and aren't educated." Each person must become active and involved, because you "make your opinion of what the situation is by being there, instead of letting somebody else dictate what it is."

A time to begin "moving ourselves into action"

A philosophy is expressed in one's lifestyle. It is evident in one's way of living. "A given set of values creates a certain way of thinking and doing."²⁴ These values influence our perceptions, our attitudes, and our behavior. As human beings we all have basic needs. "For our own self-maintenance and our own self-formation,"²⁵ it is necessary to act. The routine daily doings of our lives are the features that comprise our lifestyles. It is "the things we need, how we acquire them, whom we know and what we say."²⁶ It "has to do with how we interact with each other, how we relate to each other, how we think about the world, how we view the experiences we go through." These are only some of the choices we must consider every day. We must all

make choices about what we will do and how we will do it: "Everything you do, it's a decision, based on doing the right thing." Any "change comes about with people making hard choices."

Whether it is chosen consciously or not, we all have a philosophical lifestyle. Often our actions are mere habits. Sometimes issues are not addressed because decisions are made subconsciously. Other times decisions are made by default because one simply failed to make a choice. Many Greens see this apathy as a major problem in our society. Among the Greens there exists a certain frustration about the lack of effort, concern, and awareness on the part of the general public. Greens make references to people as being in a state of amnesia or mass confusion: "Most people are sleeping, but in a way they find comfortable."

The Greens on the other hand, have tried to become aware of what they are doing. They have attempted to consciously shape their lifestyles, and to live in accordance with Green values. What is a way "to live honestly, fruitfully, with true interaction with fellow creatures?" Greens are addressing this type of question in a deliberate and thoughtful manner. They are taking these concerns into account when making choices. To do this it is necessary "to get very clear on personal values. . .then go from having a sense of integrated personal values, to having a sense of integrating them with how you are in the world, relating it to what you do in your daily life." To one Green this means "choosing who I buy from, work for, hire, or do business with." It is important to ask, "What is the right thing to do, what shall we focus on?" The Greens are one of several groups who are trying to make the question "How do I live?" a key issue in social activism.²⁷ By doing this they focus attention on our everyday lives. It is time for us to stop and see what we are truly doing. We must appraise our lives. The goal is "to study, to understand, and to be able to put into practice the Green ideas and aspirations."

One Green said, "Every aspect of my life is living Green. . . as best I can in the world we have." To what extent are Green values manifested in what Greens are doing? Have people "built that into their daily lives?" Is there a correlation between what is said and what is done? Several people have claimed that Greens "walk the talk." Is this so?

There are as many different shades of Green as there are people who identify themselves as Green. A fine mist of green may overlay people's consciousness as they go about their daily lives. Or there may be a deep streak of forest green, reflecting one's commitment to environmental concerns. In others there maybe a patchwork of colors, perhaps representing the many different groups in which they are involved.

I believe there is a shade of green within us all; and a shade of blue, yellow, purple, orange, red. As each of us allows these qualities to express themselves, a mural of experiences is created. And arching above it is a rainbow--one person's description of an ideal Green world.

I have tried to bring forth some of the ideas and beliefs informing Green philosophy, and to look at how those ideas both form and are formed by the process of questioning and acting. To be Green is to act! Social transformation is a result of personal transformation. It is a means of changing society "from the inside out."²⁸ One must "change one's personal behavior pattern as an individual."²⁹ To the extent that one is able to change, it will be visible in what is said and done and thought. One person described Green as "a way of being, not a particular thing. And everybody's in a process of doing this."

The aim is "for the sower within to sow the seed through the deed and act of himself."³⁰ Each person becomes both the means and the ends for achieving social change. Each person is capable of creating change through transforming his/her own deeds. Each person is responsible for beginning to enact those changes in her/his own life. Each person has the potential for planting the seeds of change in one's own backyard, both literally and figuratively. It is "a great, profound act of faith to make every day, knowing that everything you do is helping to bring about the changes you want." Again, I pose the question, do the Greens "walk the talk"? Do you?

** Throughout my work I have used the words and thoughts of many Greens. Unless otherwise noted, all quotes are from interviews done with members of the California Greens. I would like to thank these people for their honesty and for their wisdom.

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EARLY SPRING WITH THE GREENS

(Being Excerpts from the Personal Journal of a University Student
Escaping Finals Week, Heading North, and Encountering the California Greens)

March 13, 1991, La Jolla

Spent last night at the Green Home with the woman who runs it, Katherine Brolin. I found her number under "Green" in the phone book, and when I called and expressed interest in finding out all about the Greens, she told me she'd be happy to speak with me about it and invited me to the Green Home for a tour. The Home is a demonstration store, displaying all sorts of water-saving fixtures, composting units, energy efficient appliances, solar conversion kits, and the like, all of which are also for sale.

Katherine herself is a tall, robust woman with a marvelously warm and genuine smile. Wearing denim jeans and a coarse white blouse, she greeted me at the door as if she had been waiting for me. "Come and let's sit in the back room where we can be more comfortable," she said, leading me through an opening covered by a flap of brightly colored cloth. Beyond it was her home, a living area, a kitchen, a bathroom, and a bedroom. She showed me a seat in the living room, an old, wooden, straight-backed rocker with a pillow on the seat I imagine she had sewed herself. "The front part of the house is where the store is now. It used to be the garage, but my husband and I converted it when we got rid of the car. We'd always wanted to do something like this since the sixties, to try to spread the word about living softly on the Earth, and I'm sorry he never lived long enough to see it done. Tea?" She carried with her from the kitchen a small, steaming pot which she set on the low coffee table between us. The table's surface was stained so dark I couldn't tell what kind of wood it was.

I wanted to know about the Greens, so I asked her.

"Well, first of all, there's a party and a movement, and sometimes they're the same people, and sometimes they wouldn't want to be caught dead being mistaken for each other." She lowered her voice and gave me a conspiratory wink. "Actually, I am exaggerating a bit on that last point, but people in the Greens do have different ideas about what needs to be done and how we should go about doing it. Most of the Greens are good folks, but there's sometimes a lot of tension between the people who have it in their heads that the Party is the only way and those that think that the Green way can only be spread through the people and the Movement."

"Which are you?" I asked her. "Party or Movement?"

"Movement, I suppose, though I must say I've been a Green for as long as I can remember. I've always cared about the environment and how humans treat it or mistreat it. And," she sighed and sipped her tea, "we mistreat each other all the time, too. I never called myself a hippie, but most others did. I just thought it was a wise idea to try to live as simply as possible, try to damage as little as possible while being here on Earth. Leave the next generations something besides a husk of a world to try to live on. You know, the Party and the Movement have the same ideas in common, but they just have different ways of doing things. Me, I don't go in for all that political wrangling, so I concern myself with doing things I can do in my home and in my own community. Spread what I know to my friends and those who visit the Green Home. I guess I identify more with the Green Movement."

The Green Movement began rather recently in California, and evidently, even more recently in the San Diego area. Two years ago the La Jolla Greens split off from a more comprehensive San Diego Green group. The La Jolla Greens belong to the Committees of Correspondence, a loose confederation of local Green groups who have state meetings periodically to share what they are doing locally. One of the more recent meetings was even held in San Diego, Katherine told me. What she likes about the CoCs, she said, is that the emphasis is on the local level. While there is some state-wide action and the registered CoCs pay membership dues and subscribe to the Ten Key Values statement drafted in a now defunct national level of Green conferences, the emphasis is still on the community. This is where her interest has always been, with the people, how they interact with others and the world around them, and how they do things for themselves.

"The Ten Key Values are what we all agree upon; it's what keeps us together as Greens. The Green 'glue,' I guess you could say if you wanted to. Being Green is all about ecological wisdom, grassroots, inclusiveness, responsibility, and embodying these values in what you do everyday. I like the idea of the Green Party, and I support them, but I'm not going to put a lot of my energy into getting the political party set up because my interest is first of all in the green things I can do for my own community. And that counts a lot, not only for me and the people around me, but for the Party, too, when or if it becomes a fixture in California's political scene. The Party people are busy registering people Green and writing the platform and the by-laws, but what good is all this unless you have a track record to back it up? It's the Green Movement that's going to have the history of doing things, and it's the Movement that is ultimately going to give the Party legitimacy with the grassroots. That's why it's 'grassroots democracy' in the Ten Key Values and not just 'democracy.' That's why it's 'decentralization,' not 'centralization.' That's why it's 'inclusiveness.' Everything starts with the people. Maybe you can even say 'within' the people when you're talking about Green values. I'm afraid sometimes that the people in the Party get caught up in the politics and forget this. The political scene is important, but it's not the only thing. If I get involved like that, it's on the smaller scale."

Katherine had this great story about how she and the La Jolla Greens organized a protest against a local fast food restaurant that used styrofoam packaging. Seventy people showed up and protested and got some good publicity for the issue. In San Diego, a very conservative place, not a lot of people knew or cared about the harmful nature of styrofoam. The event was a lot of fun, Katherine said.

A week later the chain announced plans to phase out styrofoam. Katherine would like to think their group of Greens can take some credit in having helped them make the decision, though she knows they can't really say, "Yes, we made them stop using styrofoam."

I like Katherine a lot and respect her greatly. Like everything in her life, she organized this protest because she thought it would be fun. She enjoyed herself and has said she will keep on being involved in activities such as these. "You have to get some enjoyment out of it," she said, "because it's hard. Sometimes it seems there's not a lot of people out there who believe what you believe in so whole-heartedly, what you believe is so right for the Earth, for the animals and other living creatures, for the human species." She was not depressed. I don't think it's in her personality to get down about things, to waste energy on useless things such as these, but talking about the futility of the situation did bring her into a state of melancholy.

"Did you notice how close this home is to the street out there?" Katherine asked me. "Well, five years ago the city had the idea and the extra funds to widen Delacruz Avenue out there to improve traffic circulation and add that signal light you saw at the corner. They made turn lanes, too.

"All along the street we received notices in the mail that the city was reclaiming the ten feet of our properties which bordered the sidewalk in order to have enough room for the widening. It was for the public good," she said. "The cars got backed up here around rush hour, and the city got a lot of complaints. They did a study, and, as you can guess, the study said that more traffic lanes were needed."

"So the city just said, 'More lanes!'" I said. "'The solution to the problem is more lanes!'" I hammed it up when playing the part of the city, like the bank presidents in movies from the forties and fifties. Wonderful men they were. Always looked like they were in control, like they knew everything. Maybe they thought they did, too.

"Eventually we did give in." Again, the look of melancholy on her face. "They have ways, you know, and I still regret giving in. One day they mowed both rows of trees which lined the street. The next day they hauled away the carcasses and pulled the roots. It was a big project, and an election year at that. The street was done in a matter of months; people believed that the traffic problem was solved, and the mayor was re-elected."

The problem was solved. They just paved over the trees. And in ten more years, when the traffic congests again, what then? Take out the row of houses and add more lanes by building a freeway. Again, the problem's solved. Until ten years later...

"I suppose that's one place where the Greens are different. I mentioned the Ten Key Values, but even before these values is the sense of interconnectedness. This is a big part of ecological wisdom, but it underlies the other values also. Being Green is to look at the whole, to develop holistic solutions to problems. For example, the city council, a very conservative city council, I might add, saw the backed-up traffic and immediately devised a plan to widen the road."

"What about the study?" I asked. "Didn't you say the city did a study?"

"Yeah, they did a study, but what kind of proposal did they have the choice to make? Realistically, what other choice was there they could make? Southern California is not noted for

its public transportation. Maybe they had the leeway in saying how the street could be widened, or how traffic could be re-routed, but I'd hardly call that a full range of choices. The Greens," she said," are here to present an alternative. And we look at the whole picture, look at deeper senses of meaning. For example, with this road-widening project, the Greens would ask what kind of attitudes and values would make the expansion of this road and the cutting down of the trees necessary. Should it be widened at all? What kinds of other transportation plans can we come up with which are more efficient and destroy less of the natural environment? How can we contribute now to a future transportation system like this? In the Greens we strive to get a wider perspective on the issues, and we are even willing to consider tearing down some of the things that society has built before us. We have to continue to evaluate and reevaluate what we do. Just adding on to what we have already is a very narrow approach."

We talked more while fixing the evening meal, tonight a simple garden salad made with radishes and carrots she'd just picked in her garden earlier in the day and a bean dish which I'd never had before but which I enjoyed immensely. She invited me to stay and gave me a sleeping bag which I rolled out on the floor of the living room.

I slept for a bit, but decided to write some more and enjoy the quiet. The contrast between the day noises and those of the night is amazing. The day--a continual storm of noise with the automobiles racing down the street in small packs, braying like buffalo. Tonight it's silent except for an occasional car zooming by. It's raining now. Just a drizzle. The area's normally dry, Katherine says, but there's also been a drought for the past five years. The water she uses for her garden comes from the shower and sink drains. She takes what she calls "Navy showers." Her garden is lush and green.

Katherine's story about the road being widened has stuck in my mind. There does seem to be a certain "inertia" to money and what it is spent on. If you've already got roads, why begin anew with trains or something which is more efficient but is a much bigger project to undertake than to just add lanes. It would take a lot of money and planning and power to undertake a large project such as building a new, efficient, and usable transportation system.

Perhaps this is a good argument for forming the Green Party. Katherine couldn't keep the city from killing the tree in her yard or from massacring the whole row of them. They eventually widened the street. In this case, the Party may have helped her. A Green member of a legislative or executive group may or may not have been influential to halt construction and throw light on alternatives, but there would have been a better chance than if there were no

Green representation. A Green Party candidate in office, just by being in office, would have legitimacy with a wider number of people and would have more influence electorally. The Greens would influence both policies and fellow legislators who might not have come in contact with Green ideas had there not been a Green in the government.

I find it an interesting contrast that Katherine doesn't need this external sort of legitimization in her day-to-day personal activities.

Concerning the Party: In Ernest Callenbach's Ecotopia, it was the Survivalist Party that swept the North Coast governments and, to use a cliché which is inappropriate here, but nevertheless funny, "paved the way" for Ecotopia. They had a large cross-section of the populous to support them, people already disgusted with the corruption in the government and its allowing environmentally damaging practices.

I don't see that here, today, in California. People just don't think it's that bad. Or if they do, they don't realize exactly how much things must change, how they can help change.

There was a catalyst to get the people in Ecotopia together to want to change things. What I see here are people racing their engines and honking their horns impatiently, cursing the driver ahead. People are too involved in the system to see what's wrong. That holistic view that Katherine mentioned is sorely needed. Perhaps that's where her ideas of community involvement and education are useful. In this way she conveys the ideas and values of the Green Movement.

"All you can really do is green the hell out of your own bioregion," Katherine said at one point in the evening. "After that, you can only hope that people see what you're doing is good. Maybe they'll follow your lead and green their own bioregion. Maybe they won't. I'd venture to say that a whole lot won't. But some will. And that makes me hopeful."

I keep having dreams, keep waking up. The morning clatter outside is already beginning, and the sun isn't up.

More thoughts concerning the Green Party and its relationship to the Green Movement: The confederation of Committees of Correspondence give the local groups some cohesion and context for their actions. Is this a sort of government? It is parallel to the already established government that the Green Party is attempting to infiltrate. If both succeed, will there be some sort of struggle? How will it be handled?

March 15, 1991, Venice Beach

It's past midnight and quiet again. Quite nice, but it's not drizzling here as it was in San Diego. The sky's clear enough to let the moon poke through and reflect off the ocean. Only two or three days until the new moon. Is that fog off the coast?

I can already see that Kirk's active lifestyle isn't going to give me time to sit down and write.

Kirk Foster is a friend of Katherine's from Venice Beach who started with the CoCs but became interested in the Green Party when efforts began a year ago to establish one. She called him yesterday evening and arranged everything. Katherine respects Kirk because she thinks he keeps a nice balance between his local activities and the Party business. She told him I'd be up today, around noon. I was late--an hour late--because I got caught in the lunchtime traffic and I got lost in the tangle of Los Angeles freeways. Kirk was still at our meeting spot, a small park near the freeway, jumping over aluminum cans a small group of children had found for him. When he saw me, he told them he had to go, and as he gathered up the cans in a battered, brown paper bag, he thanked them for helping him recycle the aluminum in the cans. "Someday, when you're drinking another Coke or something, some of this aluminum will be in that can," he said to them.

Kirk is an officer in the California Green Party, and he always laughs about this, both because he doesn't look the part--he's tall, lanky, playful, and forever dressed in shorts and t-shirts--and because one of the Green's Ten Key Values concerns avoiding hierarchy in government or social structures. By some quirk, in applying for party status with the state of California, officers had to be chosen, and since the non-hierarchical Greens refused to pick them, the Secretary of State appointed Green Party members to the four open positions by literally drawing names out of a hat. "And that's how all my hard political work and many skills led me to hold the high position I hold today," he jokes.

He's a whirlwind of activity. He enjoys the Party work he's doing. He roller-skates everywhere, using his car as infrequently as he can. He recycles, and he tours local schools and speaks about green values and the Green Party. He's personable and warm, much like Katherine, and he was eager to put me up for a night or two. Showed me his haunts in Venice and made sure we saw the sunset at Palisades Park up the coast in Santa Monica. The beach reinvigorated me after spending a lot of the morning stuck behind the wheel of my car.

The waves are breaking like ghosts in the moonlight. He shares with four other people a small home on the beach and lives very modestly. He learned this from living on the road for a year and also from his travels to the South American rain forests.

Still more travelling tomorrow. Tomorrow afternoon at lunch, Kirk's group, the Western Los Angeles Green Party, meets at the back of a local pub. I'm interested to see how the Green Party groups operate differently from the Movement groups, if at all. Do the two kinds of Green groups share some sort of commonality? Or are they as oppositional as Katherine hinted at? After the Western L.A. meeting, Kirk's going to try to get his VW Bug running so I can follow him to the Green Party platform drafting committee meeting in Santa Barbara. After that, we part ways. I think San Francisco's next for me.

March 16, 1991, Still Venice

Several things are bothering me right now, and they all flow into one another in one way or another. Kirk and I just got back from the Green Party meeting, and Kirk's out tinkering with his car's engine. He expects it won't take an hour.

I'm thinking of potatoes right now, both big and small.

A few months ago I opened a cupboard in my apartment to discover I'd unknowingly left a potato in one dark corner. It had sent shoots out toward the door, pale tentacles reaching for the sunlight which squeezed through the crack between the doors. They were stiff, firm-looking, with a healthy green bud at the end ready to bloom under the gaze of the sun. But at the same time, I could see the tentacles had a frail quality. They looked as if they might break off easily at the base where they sprouted from the potato were I to brush them even gently. More importantly, the potato's skin had shriveled, and the flesh underneath had softened. It hadn't rotted yet; it'd just become soft. Nutrients and other matter had been taken to construct the shoots. The shoots had been constructed to be strong, to last, but in the rather large potato, there had been a noticeable, corresponding decrease in substance. To search for the sun, there had been a sacrifice in the body of the potato which was noticeable even in this large potato.

Green in California at this moment is just a small potato. It will certainly grow larger, but at this moment, it's still a small potato. It seems though, as if those individuals working in the Green Party insist on seeing it as a big potato.

Excluding myself, six people were present at this particular noontime meeting. They seemed to welcome my opinions in the discussions and were pleased with my interest in the Green Party and Movement. Since I was new to the group, I suspect that there was a lot of background discussion of the Greens and their ideals for my benefit. I also think they welcomed the chance to further define and refine their goals and values. One example of this was the reflection period just before the meeting closed in which they discussed what worked during the meeting and what could have been improved. I was grateful, both for their consideration of me and for their consideration of themselves. Beliefs and actions need to be continually reaffirmed in order to stay meaningful and strong. Religion knows this, has known it for thousands of years.

The meeting began with a discussion of registrar statistics and how many new people each had registered Green that week. At this point I asked a few questions and found out that the Green Party is not recognized by the state yet as far as having their name on the ballot and their statement of purpose in the election mailings. If three percent of California's voters register Green by early 1992, the Green Party will become official. The Greens will have more visibility, and they will be legitimate not only where the state is concerned, but also they will be legitimate in the eyes of people who may have heard of the Green Party and may have been interested in the same issues, but may not yet have been willing to put faith in the Party.

One man seemed especially enthusiastic about the numbers. "We need Eighty-thousand," he said. "Have about sixteen so far," he reported. "I registered seven this week," he grinned. "Are you registered? Are you Green?" he asked me, his smile and eyes wolfishly wide.

Too long spent on this subject, I thought. As if the numbers were there to live for, as if the values weren't the important thing. The subject eventually turned.

"I started off with the Venice CoC group but became frustrated with it," said one woman who was fingering the handle of her mug of beer. Her reddish hair was unmussed and hanging straight down along her cheeks forming a frame for her face and glasses. "All they did was sit around and talk. Never did anything. I hear this a lot from people who drop out of the Green Movement."

Katherine feels like she is doing something. I mentioned her and her participation in the styrofoam protest.

"That's good that they did that. And good for all the people in her area, too," said the woman whose name I later learned was Sarah. "It sounds like that's a pretty active CoC. But

what would have happened, say, had the restaurant not stopped using styrofoam? What if they had not listened to her and the other protesters? Then what could she and her CoC have done?" Sarah sipped at her beer, waited a moment then continued.

(Side note: Some sense here of speaking in turn and respecting one another's right to speak freely and uninterrupted. They've been together as a group for just over a year and have probably become accustomed to each other's speech and thought patterns. These individuals are familiar, have become attuned. There's a deep commitment in each to the group and to the values which keep them rooted with one another here in Venice Beach. The Greens encourage participation, encourage respect, Katherine told me, and Kirk echoed this earlier today as we walked to this meeting. People slip, of course, in heated discussion. It's only natural--they're still just humans. People always need to work on this to keep fresh. People and their needs change, and with this so does the group.)

"What could she and her CoC have done?" Sarah asked again. "Probably they would have turned to the government next. That's why we're building the Green Party. That's the way of getting things done people recognize in this state--getting things done through the electoral process. You can have all the movement you want, but the government has the last say on lots of things. That's why we need to have Greens in the government. We need to affect what the government does, and we need to change the electoral and legislative processes so they will be more inclusive and fair."

"Yeah, we talk about this all the time," piped in a man who was tipping his chair back. With his toes, he caught the edge of the table just before he lost balance. "After we get ballot status, we put people in office in all levels of the state government. These people will only be the vehicles for the platform, though, and that's what's important. In fact, formulation of the platform is what's continuing tonight in Santa Barbara. We're meeting with ideas from all over the state, and we're going to hash it out and come up with one platform everyone can approve of. Consensus takes time and is exhausting, but in the end you have a superior decision because everyone is included. Everyone can live with it."

It's reassuring, their dedication to include everyone. There's a paradox here where both the individual and the group are most important. All I can say is--that's true!

"You were leading up to a point, Brian, before you got on about the platform meeting," interjected Sarah. "What was it?"

Brian lowered his chair so that all four legs sat squarely on the ground. "in mentioning that the Greens are really a platform-based group, a value-based political entity as opposed to the cult-of-personality trend in the Republicrat Party. (Laughter here. Perhaps they don't view themselves as a third party at all, but as a second?) I wanted to make the point that the people who are building the Green Party now are really building it for the people who will become Green in the future. We're setting it all up for the people who will become Greens."

All this political talk. "You speak of a fundamental change of consciousness. This takes years. Decades. Even centuries," I said. They seemed to be playing the "all will be perfect when . . ." game. First, 80,000 registered voters. Then candidates. Then policies. But what are they doing in the meantime? "You don't seem to understand that infiltrating the political system will be an agonizingly long process. Especially when you don't seem to have a lot of support from the grassroots. Look at all of you," I said, and by this point I was frustrated enough to lash out at them. "You're all sitting here planning this Green Party, and I agree that your ideas and philosophy are healthy ones, but you all have the shadows of fat, old businessmen huddled around a conference table."

Was I getting across to them what I thought the problems with the Green Party were, or was I simply being angry and rude? I continued: "The Party is good, if, as you say, this is the kind of action that people recognize, but you have to realize that it's still a long shot. And while you're putting all your energy into building this structure, what else are you doing?" I wanted to know. "Katherine supports the Party even though she's mainly interested in the Movement. Her group hasn't registered as many people as you have, and yet they're doing other things in the community that are just as important. You're getting a lot of people who may or may not understand what the Greens are all about and who may or may not do anything to support Green ideals. The La Jolla Greens are slower, perhaps, in the numbers game, but they're doing things with the people. They don't need anyone else to validate their activities and ideals. They're building confidence in the Green ways and in the people themselves in their ability to act effectively. It's slow, but in the end it'll be stronger."

How long does it take for something as beautiful as a pearl to form? Or better yet--a diamond?

"But someone needs to put the Green Party together," said the man who had been leaning back in his chair. "I appreciate your opinion, and I see where you are coming from, but the Green Party will be needed eventually. It should be here as an option for people who want to get

involved in it," he said. "I would feel suffocated if I weren't allowed to pursue this. This is where my commitment lies in the Ten Key Values. I think they should be reflected in law."

This was the consensus of the whole group. Strong agreement.

Later on, when Kirk and I were walking back home, we talked more about the Party. "Don't you think that by playing their game you might lose something, some of your integrity?" I asked him. "I mean, the rules are set in their favor."

"Do you mean, 'Aren't you going to be corrupted?'"

"Well, yes. Can't you see where one of the Ten Key Values might be violated in the interest of furthering the ideal Green world?"

"Losing sight, of course, that the means are the ends," Kirk said. "Yeah, I get you. That's always the trouble. But I think we're wary. We reflect, and we always come back to the Ten Key Values whenever we consider doing something. You know, 'Does this support grassroots democracy?' and that sort of thing."

Silence for a few blocks.

"You know, the Party to me is just a contextual aid," he said. "I was happy with the Movement and am still active in it. I agree that all the Green action for a long time to come will be on the local level. And maybe that is the only place it can occur, in the end. Decentralization, you know. But I still think the Party is necessary to give community action context, to reinforce it, to make it mean something.

"I see what you mean about becoming tainted by the system. Can't say I know an answer to that one. We do need to explore all paths, though."

I can hear Kirk's VW sputtering.

I still think it's a matter of potatoes. Realizing how much energy and substance there actually is, and then being realistic about how much can be sapped without endangering the Movement.

Next stop, Santa Barbara.

March 20, 1991, San Francisco

I feel like the Party people, at least the ones I watched in action in Santa Barbara, have missed the point. There's still the same old separation, the holing up in the human world. Still the same academic discussions, which is fine, but practical action and change will have to wait for the Green politicians to win seats in the legislature, and before that, of course, the ballot status. Even then, all action will be through the constraints of political channels. This too is needed, but it is only good as far as it goes.

The Green Party is limited as a vehicle and therefore limits those who are active in creating this party. They have no sense of ecology, of environment, of themselves as animals. Ecological wisdom is the first of the Ten Key Values, and, while there's an environmental plank in the platform, the Party people seem to keep lapsing into abstract sorts of topics, esoteric and not grounded. Of course, humans are bound to be interested in human activities, in the human social realm. But without a grounding, everyone's likely to fly about, soar higher and higher above the trees and soil as if they were gods. Nature is a grounding influence, a constant reminder of our place, without which it's easy to get diverted and lose the values which flow from Earth. Without the intimate ties to the Nature, one gets a false, abstract sense of connectedness and comprehensiveness. Kirk said interconnectedness underlies the Ten Key Values, and Katherine, too, had a sense of this through working in her Green group. I wonder if either one of them understood the full implications. Is this the true work of the Greens, to understand fully the connectedness?

Kirk alone of the dozen people sitting in Sally Kray's home, seemed to be grounded. Sally is one of the few Green politicians, her plan being to run for the state legislature in 1992 after the Green Party becomes official. She's charismatic and seems to be a real down-home type of person. The Greens at this particular meeting all seemed to look up to her a lot, though not as a leader per se, they said, but more as someone they would trust to carry the platform.

It's funny, but Katherine and Kirk, Jeffery, Liza, and a few others at the meeting all acknowledged the importance of politics to some degree or another, but most were unwilling to commit themselves to being Green candidates. Is this a Green wariness of hierarchy?

Both the San Francisco Green Party and the CoC group met tonight in the same building at virtually the same time. The CoC only meets officially every two weeks, and the Party meets weekly. I sat in on the CoC committee which set the agenda for next week's official meeting, and after the facilitator, a lanky man in jeans and a hooded sweatshirt, called the meeting to a close, seven of the eight members hurried across the hall and joined the Party meeting which was

already in progress. The memberships overlap, and many of the Greens here in San Francisco are involved with projects in each. Is every week like this, the frenzied rush from one room to the next trying to keep up with all that's happening?

One man stayed behind in the room with me, a middle-aged man with long, grey hair pulled back into a neat ponytail and a shaggy beard which just barely wiped out all traces of his neck. "I hardly ever go to the Party meetings," he told me. "They just aren't fun, and why should I go if I'm not having fun?"

There are many levels of fun, I told him. It doesn't have to be non-stop excitement, but there are ways you can do even the most unpleasant tasks in a way that doesn't kill your soul. Smiling congenially, he said he agreed with me.

"I'm an old hippie," he said and introduced himself as Hank. "I burned out once already in the seventies, very early in the seventies as I remember. Right around Earth Day. I simply got involved with too many fights at too many different times, and in all of them I seemed to be getting nowhere." Rubbing his beard thoughtfully, he shifted his weight back in his chair and stretched his feet out under the wooden fold-up chair in front of him. "It did kill my soul, as you just said, when I was involved so physically and emotionally and all I ever saw was my commitment and effort being sucked off into nowhere. This time, though, I'm taking care of me, too. I'm not being as self-sacrificing. And that means I don't go to a lot of meetings, especially the Party ones, because they just drain me of all my enthusiasm for being Green."

He reflected silently for a moment then continued. "But what green things I do take part in, I'd like to think I do well. I compile articles for our local Green newsletter and put that out every couple weeks. And I organize a recycling effort in my neighborhood. Sometimes it seems like not a whole hell of a lot, but then I have to stop putting myself down and realize that that's all I can do well. Both are activities which I find re-energizing and have fun with. Doing the newsletter, I can keep up with what's happening in the CoCs and in the Party, and I pass it on to others. That's all really enjoyable.

"It's the recycling part that surprised me. Bundling newspapers and carrying them downstairs to the corner where the Boy Scouts pick them up--now there's a job I never thought I'd enjoy. I help do glass and aluminum, too, and all that lugging is really back-breaking. But there's something honest in it. I get a sense of how much waste an average person in this society produces in a week, and--now this is where you get to the Ten Key Values--I do feel connected.

To the trees still there in the paper. To how our society works. To where things come from and where they go. What I do does have an effect on whether these trees have died in vain for just one more daily newspaper of which the subscriber has read maybe just the comics. If the paper is recycled, then these trees have life again in some other way."

Hank seems like a really down-to-Earth person, even though it must be hard for him in this city to find a stretch of land that's not paved over completely. He's enjoying what he's doing, and he says he won't burn out any more because he's realized the importance of re-energizing and the importance of sustained energy over a period of time. "We Greens have got to be there for the long haul," he told me. But he also mentioned some distress that many Greens he's met are doing things the way he's learned doesn't lead to continued action. You can't sacrifice community, spirituality, and a sense of well-being to getting voters registered or to getting Greens put in office, he said. "If the Greens do this, then they're no better than the other parties."

Community and spirituality are what's important to him as a Green. Community is what has made the group in Los Angeles such a strong and long-lasting one, but I don't think they realize this yet that this is where their strength comes from.

Is there an advantage to participating in both groups at the same time? I asked Hank. I could only see that the members could be taking on too much at one time. If so, they wouldn't be around for "the long haul," just like Hank said. "Cross-fertilization is a good thing that comes from this," he told me. His quick answer made it seem as if he's thought about this a lot already. "Both groups are trying to do a lot of the same things," he said. "They're just approaching it from different angles, the Party primarily through the political realm and the CoCs mainly through the people and through education. They're both after the same thing, namely, to have the Ten Key Values more or less incorporated into society. They're both after self-sustainable systems, a sense of justice. Because they're each going about it in different ways, however, they're each learning different things. And they've each benefited from the other's work as far as I can tell in San Francisco. I don't go to meetings much, like I've said, and this limits what I've seen and experienced first-hand, but I've been told that the Party is really struggling with consensus and trying to make it work. Imagine," he said, a dreamy look in his eyes, "our political system running as if what everyone had to say was important. There's rifts and splits with all the various applications and definitions of consensus, but the Party is struggling with it along with the CoC.

"Another thing they've picked up from the CoC, and something which is going to get me to start going to the Party meetings, is that they're going to try to have a speaker each week for the first half of the meeting. Or they'll have a topic for discussion. It's an education type of thing, something which is fun and not all logistics and business. Something to generate ideas and enthusiasm, nourish the dreamer in all of us, and to try to make clearer what it is exactly we're all looking for. A vision. And we humans need this carrot, I'm convinced."

I mentioned the Los Angeles group's reflection at the end of their meeting on what they'd done and where they were going. I've already mentioned how impressed I was with this continual refinement and renewal. Hank also mentioned the renewal aspect, which he said was important to keeping a fresh perspective. "You don't burn out, either," he added. If you reflect for a moment and try to think about what you've done and how you can improve, he said, you've done a lot right there that most people never even think about. You've acknowledged, one, that you've done something, and two, that some things you did to the best of your ability. Or maybe not. Maybe you've realized that things could have been done better. Sometimes this is a paralyzing thought, but because you've already realized that you have the ability to do something, then you can change. If you've found that things change, then you can change and improve your approach. There's hope. "If that isn't an idea that gives you confidence to act and participate, then I don't know what is," Hank told me. "I suspect it's this world's heaviness on people's minds that keeps them in place more than any real institutional barriers, though there's certainly more than enough of these."

March 21, 1991, San Francisco again

The point about cross-fertilization I neglected to elaborate yesterday.

Hank offered me his couch last night after the Party meeting ended and we'd socialized a little bit. He even offered me a place to stay until the weekend. He's leaving then to supervise a construction job in Alameda, where he'll sleep in his truck for a couple days rather than commute back and forth for three days. I took his offer for the place to stay. He lives alone in a modest flat in the Sunset, a gridded area of streets, very regular and low and open. Long ago, the area was grassland. I found it novel to walk through Hank's neighborhood and visualize it as it once was and still is somewhere deep down. I imagine life struggling for some sort of hold underneath the pavement. The Greens are a hospitable sort, I've found, and I appreciate it.

Cross-fertilization, Hank said yesterday as we cared for his small garden which he keeps in half-foot deep trays on his kitchen counter, is important to the Greens, though he's never heard anyone really address the subject in a comprehensive sort of way. "People have it in mind, though. It's good to have some sort of network on any level where you can trade ideas." He smiled and shook a pinkie-sized carrot at me. "Then you don't have to reinvent the wheel every time. We can borrow ideas from each other and all build on each other."

I like his idea about "perspective by incongruity." It's a biological idea, too. Human eyes are both at the front of the head, and their individual fields of vision are reconciled in the brain to yield a perception of depth. Each eye has a slightly different take on things, and the combination of the two different fields of vision yields something which would not be possible with a single eye. This gets me wondering: If we each had a hundred eyes, could we Perceive the mysteries of the universe?

The world is necessarily cubist. Artists knew this a hundred years ago, but this consciousness is just beginning to sink in among the rest of us. Individually, the parts may look askew, maybe even out of place, but as a totality, they work. The important thing is that each part is left with its own identity while still contributing to the integrity of the whole.

The importance of the Green Party, says Hank, is that it can function as an umbrella organization for those groups whose views are not represented in the Republican or Democratic parties, whose views don't include a large section of society. "The Green Party is just a channel into the current political system. There's the hope that underrepresented groups will utilize this pathway, but as of yet, it's a pretty white, middle-class organization. There are perspectives that are missing from the totality still, and a lot of people in the Greens don't realize that yet. The focus is to get a platform that is all-encompassing, and that's good, but this effort will still be limited exactly because there isn't a whole lot of diversity present now."

Grassroots democracy is what's at stake here. Is it still grassroots if a small, perhaps elite, group of people plan the Green Party and set it into motion? They say they are doing it for the future Greens, but this is still a top-down way of going about it rather than action from the grassroots.

In Venice while I was staying with Kirk, I watched a man plant turf in his front yard. With a bottle of beer glued in one hand, the man bent on hands and knees and wedged strips of soil and grass into a ten-foot long portion of his yard. His lawn was a deep green when he

finished, and the blades of grass were all even with the tops of their neighbors. The seams could hardly be seen. The man smiled at his work, still nursing a beer and now listening to a small transistor radio. He seemed pleased even though this patch of lawn was unnatural. I mean, the man directed it himself, and he could never say that the individual blades had grown all on their own into the shape he'd wanted.

I really don't think he fooled himself otherwise, though.

Like Katherine and Kirk, Hank lives a simple sort of life. It's wonderful to watch him spend hours in his kitchen garden listening to the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane and spreading compost, trimming dead shoots, rigging a web of string for his future pea plants. He grows marijuana, too. "This world should be more home-grown," he told me as he cleaned bits and leaves and soil off his kitchen counter. "That's why I'm so into the Dead and the Jefferson Airplane."

He leaves tomorrow for across the bay. This morning he offered to let me stay the weekend while he's gone, but I told him I wanted to get moving north. I have the idea that I may feel more at home up there where there's a real forest and not a concrete one. Nothing should be taller than redwoods. Except maybe mountains.

The Greens in Humboldt are pretty active, Hank told me. "There's a lot to lose up there. A continual struggle with the logging companies who just want to clear cut the whole area. But most of the jobs in the area are with these companies. How do you make a choice between jobs and trees? Then there's the hemp issue which is big there, too."

He gave me a couple names of people to look up in the area. "The Greens should be more visible there than in any part of the state," he said handing me a small scrap of paper on which he'd scribbled names and numbers. "For one, there's a lot less people and a lot less city for them to get lost in. And there's a larger relative number of Greens there in Humboldt. They were the first to get one percent of the eligible voters to register Green."

Trees and people who seem dedicated to them. It sounds like my kind of place. There's a certain noble and majestic quality to trees, especially redwoods. They are already old in many cases, and they will live much longer than I will. If they were people, I'd call them wise.

I'm excited to get going again.

March 24, 1991, Trinidad

Wendy doesn't call herself a Green, but she does attend the local CoC meetings and has registered new Greens for the Green Party. "It's the philosophy that counts more than some silly label," she said. "I'm dedicated to certain ideas which I hope will be taken up by all people and organizations. Things like ecological awareness and a reverence for life, decentralization, responsibility. A sustainable way of life, one that promises a world that's worth living in for the generations who will follow us."

We met just forty or so miles south of Eureka where I stopped to get a closer look at a twenty-foot high stack of trees which had been felled and then stripped of their branches and needles. The row was nearly a mile long. Wendy found me sitting cross-legged a ways from the road, and she seemed amused and a bit sad, like I was, when I told her I was mourning for the trees. She went back to her truck, cut the engine, and then joined me, and we sat silently for awhile.

After a time, we started talking, and she told me a bit about the forestry laws and practices in Humboldt. She works at the post office in Trinidad sorting mail. She wore a Green badge on her beat-up cap which covered all but a couple dark brown wisps of short hair at her temples. I mentioned the button and asked if she was a Green. Soon we were discussing the Greens in California and her association with them in Trinidad and Arcata.

"It's the philosophy that counts more than the label," she told me. "I wear a green button without any words because it doesn't need any words on it. The color green is self-evident. No need to explain. It means life and a deep respect for it on our part."

Humboldt was the first to get one percent of the voters registered Green, Wendy said, backing up Hank. It sounds as if it's not because of the Greens and their efforts particularly. People here seem to have been "green" before the Greens, or at least they had a tendency towards it. There's a consciousness of the environment, possibly because Nature here is readily visible and close at hand. "Even the loggers know what they're doing, really," said Wendy, twisting a blade of grass in her hands. "They know that if they continue to cut down trees at this rate, there will be none in ten or fifteen years. How can they not know this? They work so closely with the trees and the land. But what can they do about it? For a lot of people here, this is the only way they can make a living, and if they question it at all, the logging corporations will boot them out of there so quickly they won't know what happened."

Even the loggers know. Because they are intimate with Nature. They are rooted, even? Like the trees they cut down?

Each person is a spoke on a wheel. They keep human dealings from flying off the Earth altogether. The social world is the rim, and the Earth is the hub. Each person realizes the interconnectedness, and everyone relates to the natural world. The personal experience of fresh, warm soil between fingers and toes, of the struggle of green plants to live wherever the possibility presents itself, of this same struggle of humans to eke out a living--to have this be a part of a person and his or her decision-making process, the person must experience all this first-hand.

Not a lot of people live here. Maybe twenty-five thousand in Eureka and as many in the rest of the towns in the county. "It's difficult to be a stranger. The mayor lives on my street and so do some of the city council members," Wendy said, then smiled conspiratorially. "And you can bet that when I see them--which is fairly often--I say, 'So Mayor Franklin, I don't think Highway 1 should be widened near the mall. That would tear out a wonderful hillside and a beautiful grove of trees.' Maybe I would tell him the real problem is the number of cars, not the width of the roads, and then I might ask him what his views on our public transit system are, ask him how it can be improved. Many times, the specific issue doesn't matter. What matters is that I'm bringing up Green questions and alternatives which he may not have thought about before. Perhaps he will now, but who knows? What matters is that he knows me when he sees me walk by his home. I'm a person, and his decisions affect me. I have thoughts about what he does that I share with him. Maybe he can still ignore me, but he has to make a conscious decision to dismiss me now rather than just losing my face in a mass of constituents."

"Do you feel heard?" I asked. "It's a great thing to be acknowledged. You can't always expect something to happen because you've expressed your wishes or desires or dreams, but sometimes it's enough that you got to express them and that you were listened to."

"Yeah, I feel I'm not just complaining into space with no hope of anything ever coming from that. I'm connected. And I do think that things will happen. That's why I keep bringing things up. If I never said anything, there would be no possibility. This way, there is." This community is small enough so that it's responsive to individual efforts, which is good because it gives a person a reason to become involved. Why try if nothing will ever change?

"And my personal successes with my own issues are good for the Greens as a whole. You draw people to the cause and to the Greens organically." When other people see this as a way of getting things done and a way of getting themselves heard, they will come of their own volition. It's building trust in the Green way that will draw people. This involves building confidence one by one in the people who are Green deep down but perhaps do not realize it yet. "People have to realize it involves a lot of personal changes, and those take a long time," Wendy said. "This takes an incredibly long time because you can't badger people to be Green. If you do, you're being 'unGreen,' and besides, what good does it do to have a bunch of people who hold Green views because they feel guilty or are afraid of being scolded. I think it's better to have a group of people who feel that the Green way is best here," she said, putting her fist over her heart. "Better to have followers who are true. Gosh," she laughed, "I sound like a religious nut or something, but it is a transformation of that sort in the way that it is all-encompassing. It infiltrates your very being. Or at least that's the ideal. A friend of mine describes it as a positive kind of cancer. It's a chain reaction where I directly affect a couple of people around me and expose them to ways which are Green, and then each of these people affects a couple more."

It's always a lot of work on the individual level, it seems, but that's what makes life worth living, the personal contact.

SUBURBAN SOULS

This essay is a personal statement. It reflects what has become clearer and clearer through my four years at college, to be a major factor in the causes contributing to the degeneration of our social and natural environments. This essay is filled with personal feelings. It depicts a state of mind, a condition that I have come to abhor; therefore, I have no claim to objectivity. I exaggerate in the hope of letting the urgency of our situation come through. This is a cry for release, an appeal to people to realize and break from the reality I describe through my metaphoric "suburb." The Greens, I believe, share my concern and stand for another way of living, one that celebrates life and freedom. The Greens represent a positive vision, and I join them in their struggle to realize such an alternative.

The point at which civilization decided to divorce conscience from consciousness. The point at which life-supporting values were put to one side for other purposes of the mind.¹

The suburban type living environment that is becoming a dominant living environment for much of California, is a very serious reflection on where we are, where we are heading, and in what new directions we need to go. By reflecting and becoming aware of the reality a suburb creates, we can begin to see what is lacking in such an environment and what is needed in order to create a livable environment. I would propose that we are creating environments that are more structures for machines than cultures for humans. What we need to move towards is a cultural revolution.

We must first recognize where we are in order to know where we must go. We are creating places for people to live where it is extremely hard to really "live," "live" meaning to feel

strongly, be passionate, creative, and develop spiritually. No real planning for "living" has gone into how to create a place for people to live. None of the basic elements needed to make a fertile soil for life to grow are to be found in a suburb. Instead of creating livable cities, but we have created even less livable suburbs. We are not only literally destroying life by paving over our natural environment with this grotesque expansion, we are also inhibiting the growth of people. It is an oppressive environment that provides little room for what gives meaning to being alive, to being human. There is no room for choice, diversity, dialogue, community, culture, spirituality, meaningful work, creativity, and thought. It is a sterile, stagnant, generic environment more suited to machines than humans. There is little opportunity to nurture and develop one's inside self. The constraints of a suburb squeeze the life out of people, and the emptiness is replaced by suburban values. One becomes operated instead of the operator of one's being, of one's destiny. One is processed rather than the processor of one's thoughts.

The suburbs, built on the remains of our natural environment, are completely artificial, devoid of any connection to their natural surroundings or the people that inhabit them. You will find no startling or even minor differences in a suburb in Northern California or a suburb in the Los Angeles valley. The people themselves, as products of these generic environments, also become virtually interchangeable. If Harry's neighbor Jim suddenly becomes Tom from Sunnyvale, it probably wouldn't make a whole lot of a difference to Harry, or to Jim or Tom for that matter. If people wear the same clothes, drive the same cars, live in the same houses, watch the same television shows, it becomes hard to distinguish who is who. Who is who in effect does not really matter. As individuals conform to an artificial living environment, they give up their individuality, that which makes Jim, Jim, as opposed to Tom. People move into this living environment rather than creating it. People must thus transform themselves to conform to this artificial environment. As people grow in such an environment and become more oppressed and limited by such an existence, their views of life become limited and narrow. As children grow in such an environment, they are not exposed to situations that allow them to be conscious and critical of the reality of the world around them. For many, reality is their suburban setting.

Freedom in this environment is reduced to referring to one's right to choose between house type A, B, or C; job D, E, or F; and television channel H, I, or J. One is not really free in any deeper sense of the word in this type of environment. Freedom of choice, which is a uniquely human characteristic, is taken away. The power of decision is not in the hands of the people. What choice we have is predetermined by the structure, and people are only under the illusion that they have freedom of choice: "Deprived of their own power of decision, which is located in

the oppressor, they follow the prescriptions of the latter."² Being deprived of one's freedom inhibits one's ability to grow. This contributes to the stagnating qualities of a suburban environment. People are limited in how they can expand and in what experiences they can have. They are limited in how much they can develop as human beings: "The oppressed only begin to develop when, surmounting the contradiction in which they are caught, they become, 'beings for themselves.'"³ Under the weight of this dominating structure, freedom is crushed.

How can people allow such an environment to exist? This artificial structure is an alienating, abstract construct. There exists a distance between the structure and the people because they are not the creators of the structure. Rather, they are creatures of the structure. This is the opposite of culture which is an expression manifestation of the people. By operating and conforming to the structure, the people themselves serve to maintain the structure. This becomes the relationship of the people to the structure. It is not a self affirming, empowering relationship; it is an alienating, disempowering relationship in which one is controlled rather than the controller of oneself. To participate in this relationship is to lose one's sense of self. The complete artificiality of this environment enhances this alienation. To regain one's sense of self, the abstractness of the environment would have to be eliminated. This would offer people the possibility to realize their place in their surroundings and thus give meaning to their lives that currently is missing.

Suppose one of them were let loose and suddenly compelled to stand up and turn his head and look and walk towards the fire; all these actions would be painful, and he would be too dazzled to see properly the objects of which he used to see the shadows.⁴

A suburb is abstract in the sense that the connections that give meaning to people and their relationships are missing. What one comes to believe is real is not real at all. We can see how a suburban environment is an abstract construct by making an analogy with a zoo. Let's take a tiger. The tiger is taken from its natural environment and placed in a simulated environment. The zoo now becomes the tiger's reality and it reacts and essentially becomes what it can be in such an environment. In effect, we can not know what it means to be a tiger, for it is acting and reacting in relation to a fake, constructed environment. What made the tiger a tiger and not a squid was its place in its natural environment. By removing all that connected the tiger to its natural environment, we essentially take away what gave meaning to being a tiger. I am not saying that the tiger's instincts or the essence of the tiger is gone. I am saying that what gave those instincts and essence meaning are gone.

The zoo becomes even more abstract to the cub that is born into such an environment. This non-reality now becomes the only reality it knows, thus becoming reality for the cub. It now no longer matters if the cub is a tiger or a squid in such an environment. As generations continue to be born in such an environment the instincts of the animal will become instincts in reaction to this false environment. The cub will become a tiger only in relationship to the zoo. The cub can never know what it is or what it means to be a tiger, for in this fake environment nothing is present that allows the animal to answer these questions. What gave the cub meaning is gone, and what we see when we go to the zoo is merely the image of a tiger. The tiger has a distorted perception of reality because its reality has been distorted.

Families living in the suburban environment are like this tiger and its cub. In a suburb what essentially made us human has been taken away. People move into this generic environment, completely devoid of any connection to its natural surroundings, and in essence take on only the image of being human. They conform to the generic identity that they take on. They become much like their shaped landscapes and domesticated pets. They are formed in designs that suit the needs of their environment and breed to maintain a certain behavior.

With each new generation being born into such an environment, reality will get more and more obscure, and people will believe this artificial existence to be natural. A person hoping to find the answers to who he/she is and what her/his place in the world is has as much hope of finding the answers to these questions in a suburb as the tiger cub does in the zoo. A person searching for meaning in a suburban structure is like the child playing tag in a funhouse of mirrors. When he or she reaches out to tag a person, the hand touches nothing, for it was not really a person at all, but only an image. A suburb provides no real context in which to give life meaning.

A suburb is an oppressive environment. What is oppressive is the structure. Everyone tied to this structure is oppressed. Everyone is operating for the structure or being operated by the structure; no one is free from the structure. The structure has the control, yet at the same time, the people allow it to have control. The difference between the oppressive situation of the tiger in the zoo and people in a suburb, is that the tiger did not choose to live in the zoo, whereas people choose to live in suburbs. A suburb creates this strange situation of oppression: Those living in a suburban situation are oppressed yet they feel privileged. They are very far from considering themselves oppressed and living in a dehumanizing environment. They find

comfort in the uniformity of their lives and surroundings and are often very far from wanting their living situation altered.

This environment lacks the stimulus and interaction that stirs creative and critical thinking. The patterns and roles that people fall into (yet never question or evaluate) inhibits their ability to take a critical look at their situation. If you are "just operating by habit, then you are not really living."⁴ In a suburb the people and their reality reflect one another. For people to reject this reality they would have to reject themselves in relation to this reality. It is far easier to reinforce their reality, which is physically comfortable, than to cope with a rejection that is emotionally disturbing. Therefore, it becomes difficult "for someone to achieve critical consciousness of his [or her] status as an oppressed man [or woman]," for it "requires critical recognition of his reality as an oppressive reality."⁵

The Monoculture is upheld by patterns that form the unspoken assumptions causing us to duplicate the very roles we are trying to transform.⁶

A life made comfortable with modern conveniences can serve to make it more abstract and alienating. They are conveniences, devices that make it easy to operate in the suburban lifestyle. They make that life appealing. These conveniences serve to maintain the structure. People even begin to use them to block out any possibilities that might show them where they are. In the movie My Dinner With Andre, Andre uses an electric blanket to describe the effects these conveniences have on people. He said an electric blanket keeps people from realizing that it is cold.

When a television set becomes the substitute for companionship, dialogue, and thought, we know that something is wrong with this society. Communication via the media is not real communication. There is no opportunity to respond; therefore; no dialogue develops. It is completely one-sided. The media tells, and the people listen. There is no opportunity for growth, but it is in this way that the structure communicates with the people. The media helps to perpetuate the myths that allow a suburban mindset to develop.

Instead of a home, they create their own padded cells, their retreats, where the television set tells them they are doing the right things, buying the right clothes, striving for the right goals, dreaming the right dreams. It is the perfect positive feedback setup. People move into a structure that is completely unfulfilling; the television tells them that what they need to fill this emptiness are material goods, so they purchase the goods, strive for the goals that will allow them to purchase more goods, dream about achieving those goals that will allow them to

purchase more goods. In purchasing these goods, they feed the system. The structure survives economically because people purchase these goods. People still feel empty because the structure is not providing what they really need, so they purchase more and more goods and turn the radio up louder and louder. In their padded cells they may have the illusion of happiness, but what they really do is turn off their minds, turn on to the television, and let themselves be controlled. They are "afraid to be alone with their own thoughts, afraid to confront the blankness and inertia of their own minds."⁷ These goods succeed in alienating them further from their environment in the suburb, from life outside the suburb, and from each other.

People find themselves moving about in this abstract, artificial, and alienating world. All that which would give or lead them to achieving a sense of place, a sense of who they are in relation to the world has been removed and replaced by objects that serve to further distance them from reality. They no longer have ties that connect them to their natural environment or to each other. They have also been denied that sense of place that comes through meaningful interaction with others and their environment. To have lost these ties can have very serious effects. It is much easier to destroy something that seems unrelated, disconnected, and meaningless to you than something that holds meaning for you and that you feel a connection with. This applies on all levels, from the personal to that of the natural environment.

To lose these ties also means that human beings become in a sense isolated and alone and at a loss for who they are. Instead of facing "the worst of all pains, complete aloneness, and doubt," they "seek a kind of security by such ties with the world as destroy their freedom and integrity of his [or her] individual self."⁸ Thus, people run back to their homes. Erich Fromm would term these missing relationships with nature and others "primary ties." They are those things that offer human beings a sense of place and security. Fromm's hypothesis is that humans emerge from these primary ties becoming more individuated and then reunite themselves to the world through their "active solidarity with all men [people] and his [their] spontaneous activity, love and work."⁹ Thus, one achieves a harmonious balance between one's self as an individual and one's self as a part of nature. In a suburb, primary relationships are distorted. People's primary ties are not with a natural environment; they are ties with their abstract, artificial suburban environment. It is an environment that promotes homogeneity, not individuality. People do not emerge from their primary ties with their suburban setting to become "free, self-determining, productive individuals," let alone find "that one possible, productive solution for the relationship of individualized man [person] with the world."¹⁰ A society that lacks the opportunity for meaningful work and active solidarity with others is lacking what unites people

in their individuality back to the world. It is very hard to become fully human in an environment that hinders one from exploring his or her individuality.

Hopelessness is a form of silence, of denying the world and fleeing from it.¹¹

Rather than face such a truth, people enter into what is essentially a relationship of codependence with the structure. People choose further to be anesthetized by this environment instead of facing the real emptiness of their lives. They are not empowered to overcome the consequences of acknowledging a relationship that denies their freedom and individuality. They are in a relationship that is out of balance. A relationship in which one is dominated can not be a healthy relationship. It negates one's identity as a person. It is the difference between a person crouching in a corner and a person dancing in the wind.

People give up their freedom and succumb to this dominating, alienating, artificial environment rather than risk facing that in many aspects their lives lack meaning. That they have not been developing those special parts of themselves that could help be richer human beings. The pain of this would be so great that not only do they run back to their padded cells, but also they do all they can to reinforce and justify the structures that oppress them.

If people are ever to really face their reality and reject it, there must be an alternative to it available to them. An environment must be created in which people could find a sense of place, explore their individuality, and have meaningful work and relationships. There is a need for the nurturing ingredients that will bring them back to life and allow them to really "live." People need to be offered some sort of hope. They will not reject their environment in exchange for hopelessness. There is a need for an environment in which people can develop mentally and spiritually. The opportunity to form meaningful relationships, around which a community can form must be provided. It is this sort of nurturing, empowering relationship that can be the alternative to entering a relationship of codependence.

The goal is to cleanse the doors of perception.¹²

In order to achieve a livable environment we must be liberated from this dominating suburban structure. To achieve this end, Paulo Friere would propose there must be meaningful, dialogical, cultural action. "The incapacity of antidialogical cultural action to supersede its induced character results from its objective: domination; the capacity of dialogical cultural action to do this lies in its objective: liberation."¹³ An essential part of the process leading towards liberation from the structure is to form community in which "dialogical action" can occur. In a

suburb you will find no place that aids in the formation of community; it is exactly the opposite. A suburb is not where people work; it is where they sleep. There is no central downtown, no meeting places, no places of cultural expression. People remain mostly in their homes, and although they sometimes form good relationships with their neighbors, they seldom form meaningful communities. What a better set up to keep any sort of social change from occurring than to house those that have the economic ability to create change in an anesthetizing, dehumanizing structure that keeps people from talking to one another! It is the perfect control: those that do not benefit from the system are locked up in decaying cities, and those that do are locked up in suburban cells.

To form any sort of meaningful relationships one needs to break from the codependent relationship with the suburban structure. The possibility of entering into some sort of meaningful community could give people a reason to reject it. A community can serve the purpose of nurturing people back to life. A real community can serve to offer people a sense of place that is lacking in a suburb.

Diversity is essential to forming a meaningful community. A group of lawyers does not make a community. They are a group that is connected by the fact that they are all lawyers. What connects people in a community is just that they are part of a community. They have a part, a place, a role in that community. Participating in a community can give purpose to one's life.

Community also pulls one away from the short-term way of thinking that operates in a suburb, to a long-term view of life. The short-term way of thinking is linear, whereas the long-term "us" approach is more cyclical. To make the next move in the present, one must first reflect on the past, then imagine the future and from this, realize the present and act. A long-term view demands that one pay attention to how life is interconnected, whereas the short-term view looks only at the one individual. For example, in a community the best possible case of an open space might be a garden or a park, but for the single individual, not seeing him or herself in relation to anything else, they might view the best possible use for an open space to be to build a house.

Community allows for interdependence to form, where everyone who participates is the stronger for it. If one does not see him or herself in relation to other people and in relation to the natural environment, s/he does not really see him or herself as a whole. A relationship of interdependence in a community is far different from the relationship of codependence found in

a suburb. People are empowered by their participation in a meaningful community instead of the completely disempowering experience of living in a suburb.

It is through meaningful relationships and dialogical action that a consciousness of one's environment can occur. It is community that offers people the sense of place and security to act on this consciousness. Thus, it is these ingredients that will allow a cultural revolution to occur. What becomes evident is that what is needed in order to create a livable environment is a cultural revolution: people replacing the structure imposed on them by a culture that comes from them, people revolting against a culture that was not really theirs, to find and create one of their own. Many Americans seem to go abroad looking for something to fill their emptiness. They often are looking for the culture that they lack at home. What they find is the importance and meaning of culture, but another culture could never really fulfill them because it is not really theirs. To have a meaningful culture it must be connected to the person and be rooted in the idea of interconnectedness and place in one's environment. Only adopting one's own culture will fill the emptiness.

Culture is a uniquely human phenomenon. Whereas other animals act on behalf of their species, humans act on behalf of their culture. To be denied culture thus means to be denied that which makes us human. Culture, though uniquely human, is bound to the natural environment. Without this aspect, culture has lost its meaning; it loses its sense of place. It becomes like the tiger wandering in the zoo. It is only a word with nothing to give it context. So too are people that function in a culture that is not interconnected to its natural environment. Culture serves to unite or strike a balance between people as distinct from nature in that they think, are creative, work, are spiritual on an individual level, and are people as intrinsically tied to and interconnected with their natural environment. A culture which neither ties humans to the natural environment, nor ties them to other people is no longer a meaningful culture. In a suburb both of these elements are missing.

Culture is a manifestation of the people. The people are the culture and the culture is the people. There is no distance between the two. If there are no people then there is no culture, whereas if there are no people there still is the structure of the suburb. The suburb is completely separate from the people. It is there and waits for people to move in and out of it, neither the structure nor the people having benefitted from the time spent together. There is no meaningful interaction between the structure and the people. The people merely partake in the structure; they are not the creators of it. This is not to say that a suburb does not reflect the people that live

there. It does, only a culture is a reflection of the people in connection with the environment while a suburb reflects people oppressed by their environment. One reflects humans interacting with each other and the environment. The other represents people disconnected from each other and their environment.

The structure found in a suburb is rigid and not open to change. It does not tolerate anything to be found in it that might alter the structure for then it would have been transformed and no longer exist. A suburb is thus a stagnant place, offering no room for growth. Culture, on the other hand is bound to the people, and must therefore allow change. Being part of the people, it grows with the people. Growth is checked and evaluated by culture's ties to its natural environment, thereby serving as point of reference. It is this interconnectedness which gives the sense of place, and it is from this point that all action should stem. When the structure holds all the power, the people have no power to transform the structure. People need to take the power back in order to be able to replace the structure with their culture.

Paulo Freire discusses cultural invasion in terms of the elite invading. In the case of the suburb, it is the structure invading, but the argument still holds true. Freire says, "In this phenomenon, the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the latter's potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression."¹⁴

The structure, being stagnant, is also generic. It is a totalitarian situation in which there is only room for the dominant, imposed values, and any sort of thought, work and relationships that promote those values. People again find themselves acting and reacting, thereby forming, developing, coming to conclusions in this environment that is imposed on them. This "cultural conquest leads to the cultural inauthenticity of those who are invaded; they begin to respond to the values, the standards and goals of the invaders."¹⁵ Again we are reminded of the tiger cub in the zoo, developing in an imposed environment. The cub can never grow up and be fully a tiger; neither can a baby in a suburb hope to grow up and be fully human. In order for people to have the possibility of becoming more fully human, people's diversity and creativity must be celebrated. A suburb serves to eliminate diversity and creativity, for only that which serves the purpose of the structure is allowed. By limiting diversity and creativity one in turn limits the possibilities for growth and thought. Conversation among people that all think alike, or worse yet do not have their own thoughts let alone a creative thought, limits the potential for any meaningful dialogue. By limiting diversity and creating a generic culture, the structure has

succeeded in maintaining itself. Without dialogue it is hard to imagine that people will ever come to grow to an understanding of their suburban existence and unite to reject it.

There is no hope of realizing the interconnectedness of life without first having diversity. Understanding the importance of human diversity is the same as understanding the importance of diversity in ecology. When you study ecology, you study species diversity and you begin to understand the interconnectedness of the universe and the uniqueness and beauty of life around us. You begin to realize the enormity of different types of life in the world and that we really can not imagine all the diversity that is out there. You begin to see how important each species is and how it makes a whole. When one species becomes extinct a whole chain is affected. You learn about the rain forest and the increasing extinction rate we cannot even know the half of what we killed. We do know that life is less rich, though. Narrowing diversity, we risk losing all the beauty, spirit, meaning in life and becoming lifeless carbon-copy, robot-type people living in a machine society. Our cultural diversity is tied to the diversity of our natural environment. By eliminating diversity in both natural and social terms we not only hurt ourselves individually but as peoples.

What will we make of the world of which we are made?¹⁶

Diversity is just as important in human terms as it is in natural terms. It is the essence of human ecology. To squelch diversity is to squelch the beauty, truth, meaning, opportunities, secrets, understanding of life. Chief Seattle warned us long ago, " If all the animals ceased to exist, human beings would die of a great loneliness of the spirit. For whatever happens to the animals, will happen soon also to human beings. Continue to soil your bed and one night you will suffocate in your own waste."¹⁷ We did not listen to Chief Seattle. What we have done to the animals we are doing to ourselves. In living environments such as suburbs, we are suffocating. We are eliminating diversity and in the process, killing our spirit. It is diversity and how that diversity is interconnected that gives life its richness, that, allows life to really and truly live. Without diversity life is dull and boring. How sad to be alive and bored. To be alive but not to have lived! To remove diversity from life is like taking the flavor out of ice cream. Why eat it!?

Culture, rather than squelching diversity and creativity, serves to loosely unite the people as diverse and creative individuals. Culture is the harmony that comes from the balance between people in relationships to each other and people in relation to their natural environment. Culture becomes the aesthetic of human life. It is what gives it beauty.

A suburb is a structure; it is not a culture as we have just defined culture. It is a dominating, totalitarian set up in which nothing that might undermine the structure is allowed to survive in any significant degree. It does not allow for diversity, does not allow for community, does not allow for natural environment, does not allow for communication, does not allow for creativity, does not allow for thinking. The structure is like a pathogen and the people living there, its host. It lives by sucking the life out of the people. Any nurturing aspects that might remove the pathogen are themselves removed.

It is an oppressive environment in that it serves the purposes of domination and control. Characteristic of such a structure is that people are not encouraged to think. The structure tries to ensure that people do not think by invading the two places that are fundamental to the formation of one's person, the home and places of education. They operate under a set of myths they believe to be true; for instance that they have freedom of choice. "Education perpetuates the myths set up by the state," says one Green.

The process of domination becomes duplicated in the education system. Thereby both the home and institutionalized places of education come to serve and reinforce the existing structure. They serve the ends of domination rather than of liberation. These two places are crucial to the formation of a person. If these places come to serve the values, standards, and goals of the structure, this is then what they will teach and what will go into the formation of people living in such a place. By keeping people from thinking for themselves and filling them rather with thoughts, this serves to stunt creativity: "In our culture education too often results in the elimination of spontaneity and in the substitution of original psychic acts by superimposed feelings and thoughts."¹⁸ People are thus kept from learning to think critically. This process of indoctrination reflects the motivation of the structure--domination. We need to move towards an environment whose process is motivated by the goal of liberation. We need to move away from the stifling stagnant control of a suburb towards a community that offers liberation, growth, and freedom.

We must be very careful though not to duplicate a totalitarian environment in our excitement to create a "fundamental change of consciousness." To try and impose, for example, the Greens' Ten Key Values upon people would be to go in a full circle and duplicate a totalitarian environment and create another stifling existence. We do not want that. Home, communities and places of education need to be places that are liberating. "Fundamentalism [holds for many] can be countered with a healthy appeal to people's sense of imagination and

desire for diversity."¹⁹ To resist diversity is to suffer the fate of having a minority's view become the dominant structure. The goal is rather to move away from a structure that is fashioned for machines and towards a culture that comes from the people.

The goal is not to create, for example, a place free of conflict and struggle. This is absurd; it is completely unnatural. Lewis Mumford wrote that conflict is "inevitable when society has reached any degree of differentiation." He goes further to say that "the desire to achieve that kind of unity is one of the most potentially regressive characteristics of totalitarian states and other similar attempts at tyranny in smaller groups."²⁰ A suburb tries to eliminate conflict and struggle by creating a homogeneous, generic environment. In creating an alternative environment, we would not choose to end conflict. Rather, the approach to solving conflicts and struggles would change. Conflict and struggle can be from where growth occurs, from where passion stems.

It is important today, when our culture is imposing itself on many other cultures, to look at culture and what it means. We must realize that it is not a culture we are imposing; it is a structure. Culture as I have defined it must be tied to its natural environment. To impose our culture on others thus is to take the meaning out of culture and to risk the destruction of our natural environment. It is to do on a world scale what a suburb does in California.

This realization is such an essential part if any meaningful social change is to occur in the United States. Because of our power in the world, it is essential that this realization occurs. We cannot let our alienating, cultureless structure come to dominate the world. It is essential for those living in the middle class to achieve this "fundamental change of consciousness," for we have the power to make a difference. We have the economic ability to change the structure. Housed in suburbs these people may never come to realize their reality as oppressive, themselves as oppressed, and most importantly to others how they are oppressors themselves contributing to an oppressive system. Our society differs, for example, from the oppressed peoples' from Latin America in that their oppression is obvious. They are not benefiting from the set up. For people such as those living in suburbs not to realize the effects such a mindset of oppression can have is to continue on the road to creating environments for machines, not people.

We live in a time where technology has brought us very close together. Our society has come to be very powerful, and we have seen many instances recur, from the "Green Revolution" to our involvement in Latin American countries, to the misuse of the television set, how our society has imposed itself on others, causing them to transform who they are and take on our

"values." This seems to be happening at an increasing rate. We have become very imperialistic. There is a very grave danger in proceeding in this fashion. We risk having our culture be the imposed dominated culture. This would lead to the death of our natural environment, natural environment including culture and cultural being people. To impose our culture on the rest of the world is to destroy the reality of our interconnectedness, our place in the world. We as a "culture" are very far from understanding our place in the world. We must recognize our oppression and move towards freedom for the world's and our own well being. We in the United States must wake up to the reality in which we live. We in California must realize what type of a destructive environment we are creating by building these sprawling suburban structures. We will not only destroy any meaning in being alive, but we will literally contribute to the destruction of our planet.

Notes

1. Richard Register, "The Elmwood Newsletter," Ecocities, Vol. 3, Number 1, 1991: 4.
2. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Continuum, 1990) 160.
3. Ibid.
4. Plato, "The Simile of the Cave," Plato's Republic (Desmond Tee Trans.: Penguin, 1933) 318.
5. Movie, My Dinner With Andre.
6. Freire, 174.
7. Margo Adair.
8. Lewis Mumford, The Future of Technics and Civilization (London: Freedom Press, 1986) 65.
9. Erich Fromm, Escape From Freedom (New York: Avon, 1969) 51.
10. Ibid., 52.
11. Ibid.
12. Freire.
13. William Blake.
14. Freire, 181.
15. Ibid., 150.
16. Ibid.
17. Anonymous Poem.
18. Chief Seattle, Address to the President 1885.
19. Fromm, 267.
20. Richard Swift, "Among the Believers," Utne Reader May 1991: 100.
21. Mumford, 56.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CALIFORNIA GREEN PARTY

Victor Lewis, who urges Greens to explicitly include people of color, the working class, the poor, and women in their organization and in their ideology, wrote:

Green is good. At the heart of the Green world view is a deep and uncompromising commitment to the embodiment of ecological wisdom in all human activity. That view is of the utmost importance to the continued survival and flourishing of humanity and the whole Earth community. . . If there is a future, it will be a Green one.

It is out of my appreciation for the core values of the Green Movement that I wish to point out some of its key unsolved problems and open a discussion that may lead to eventual solutions. . .¹

We offer this paper in a spirit akin to Lewis'.

On February 4, 1990, veteran Greens and people hoping to represent "Green" interests in the arena of electoral politics convened in Sacramento and decided to launch a massive grassroots effort to register the 78,975 voters required to achieve ballot status as the first California Green Party. Lacking funds and budget, party enthusiasts had nevertheless registered about 14,000 California voters as Green Party members as of March 1991.

The Greens' aspiration to emerge as a viable political force might be likened to that of a new blade of grass, attempting to permeate entrenched concrete. The Green Party Organizing Committee of California (GPOC) may or may not, following this analogy, represent Greens'

germination, roots, dispersal, and capacity to grow through a "concrete" context of California's political economy to "green" the state.

Where the concrete is analogous to California's institutionalized political apparatus (i.e.: executive, legislative, judiciary branches, and electoral procedures in general, including lobby activity and media accessibility), we feel California's concrete is cracked, if not crumbling sufficiently to afford the emergence of new vital political forces. Whether the GPOC should try to grow through the concrete realm of mainstream electoralism, and indeed, whether the GPOC is a seedling mighty enough to be a political force to revitalize community and political life in California is as yet unsettled.

Here we examine the history of the Green Movement, the nature of the Green Party Organizing Committee, and the nature of California's political milieu in order to explore the current possibilities for Green electoral success.

And how do we determine the relative success or failure of the GPOC? If the voter registration drive yields thirty, rather than eighty thousand signatures, the [San Francisco Chronicle](#) may report that the Green Party organizers have failed, because they have not achieved legal ballot status as a California political party. Green Party advocate Bob Long has proposed, however, that Greens registered for the state-wide party will cooperate and participate in Greens' non-electoral work.

When Green candidates, such as Ventura County congressional write-in candidate Mindi Lorenz, are not elected to office, the [L.A. Times](#) may report a Green loss. Lorenz, however, was pleased to have highlighted Ventura's over-dependence on the defense industry and its need for water conservation policies' in her campaign. "When Greens run [for office] anywhere," she said, "the quality of the dialogue changes."² Even Martha Fellows, who worked on Lorenz' campaign, and recalls feeling like "all of the skin peeled off [her] body and [her] hair fell out" due to the "institutionalized violence" and "tactics" of campaign opponents, said that the political experience the Green Party gained by running a candidate was invaluable.

When the [Sacramento Bee](#) reports the failure of a Green-sponsored initiative (the "Forests Forever/Proposition 130," for example), Greens lament the enormous counter-spending by corporate logging interests and the initiative-inundation of the citizenry, which they feel brought about ballot defeat, but they are proud to have garnered attention and to have built public awareness around the issues raised.

In a sense, only Green Party organizers can ultimately gauge the Green Party's level of success, for the barometer of the Green Party vision, aspirations, and immediate goals resides in its conceiver's hearts and minds. There are, in a very real sense, though, other folks uniquely qualified to assess the value of the Green Party's efforts. The California Green Committees of Correspondence (CoCs) have the most notable and legitimate criteria by which to evaluate the intentions and effects of party organizing activity. As the confederation which provided for the naissance of the party in California, the CoCs have also nurtured party endeavors and stand as the "grassroots" activists to whom those on registration drives proudly point as exemplary Greens.

We, like many, but not all Green Party organizers, see the CoCs as the soul and heart of the Greens, from which an electoral committee emerges as one arm or branch. Green Party organizers have drawn upon CoCs' local achievements as well as upon their Ten Key Values as the factors distinguishing them from the "Republocrats" or any other party.

While Greens strive for a respectful "unity in diversity," that is, toward support of a wide and dynamic range of activities under the Green umbrella, we regard the party (primarily because it has heralded itself as such) as accountable to the CoCs; it should work cooperatively with them, particularly on identifying creative ways to adhere to the Ten Key Values.

Finally, we regard the input of progressives--from the peace, civil rights, women's, labor, gay, lesbian, and bisexual, Native American, and ecology movements--those who have laid much of the groundwork for and will contribute much of the platform and many votes to the Green Party, as undeniably crucial. They offer valuable insight, admonitions, and ideas that the Green Party should heed.

People of color, "minorities" (who are quickly becoming the majority in this state) offer essential perspectives regarding community, the environment, social justice, and sustainability. According to many of the Green's Ten Key Values, most notably: "respect for diversity, ecological wisdom, social responsibility, and future focus/sustainability" and according to any sound political strategy, consideration of ethnic/racial "minority" visions and success barometers is key to California Green Party success.

We have integrated many perspectives of what constitutes either "Green success", "political success," or both with our own hypotheses as to what a thriving Green Party might require. From dozens of interviews with Greens and non-Greens, hundreds of pages of

newsletters, periodicals, and books, and from our own political educations and experiences, we have developed criteria by which we appraise the Green Party's prospects for success.

Broadly, we understand the dream/vision of Greens to be "a 'greening' of California." While each and every Green--representing either party, CoC, or both--envisions a uniquely "Green California" and contributes unique perspectives as to the myriad changes and activities necessary to approach that Green California, nearly all Greens refer to the aspirations outlined by the Ten Key Values as starting criteria. Individuals and local CoCs ("locals") interpret and define the values according to their understanding of how those values and Greens' interests and talents apply to meeting the specific needs identified in their communities.

We believe that a commitment to the Ten Key Values, values which should not necessarily remain static, is currently the defining attribute of United States and California Greens. We also believe that the "Strategy and Policy Approaches in Key Areas" (SPAKA) statements, while written by relatively few Greens, have been circulated and are representative of a considerable current National Green consensus toward a clearer and more definitive Green program.

Considering, then, the Ten Key Values, SPAKA statements (particularly in the key areas of Politics, Community, Strategy, and Internal Organizing), the statements of dozens of California Greens, and current political challenges faced by all Californians, we believe that the success of the GPOC will be determined by its:

- Adaptation to--or of--California's particular political populace, structures, and agenda of relevant issues;
- Accountability to the original movement (the CoCs) and to an evolving Ten Key Values;
- Precarious positioning between adaptability and clear identity;
- Capacity for creating a "unity in diversity" able to overcome or withstand factionalism;
- Ability to identify weak spots in mainstream political structures and develop effective strategies to challenge them, offering clear and meaningful alternatives;
- Unwavering commitment to "Green", rather than to power.

History

Is the GPOC seedling that of a native or well-adapted species? That is: has the party option been indiscriminately imported from West Germany or other countries with semi-working Green parties or did it evolve, adapt, and come into fruition organically in California?

The Greens were relatively unheard of in this country until March 6, 1983, when the West German Greens, after over four years of planning and strategizing, captured 5.6 percent of the vote in the national elections, advocating policies based upon the four basic principles of: "ecology", "social responsibility", "grassroots democracy", and "nonviolence" known as the "four pillars".³

Suddenly, a party that had been virtually unknown gained international attention as well as twenty-seven seats in the Federal Parliament. Because of Germany's five percent law, which excludes parties from the political process until they garner five percent of the vote, "protest parties" (This is what the Greens were called) in Germany had been kept out of mainstream politics for over thirty years.

This Green political success set a precedent. Other Green parties around the globe found renewed hope, or in the case of the U.S. Green Movement, its beginnings, in the shadow of West German Greens' political victory.

In 1984, the Green Movement in the United States was born with the formal establishment of the Committees of Correspondence (CoCs), named after committees of the American Revolutionary era. Where have the U.S. Greens gone since the establishment of the CoCs, and what special circumstances allowed the Greens to become so successful in Germany (at least for a short period of time) are two of the questions we want to address before we can look at the California context and political viability of Greens in this state.

Many have said that Germany, more than any other country with an active Green Movement, had a climate that was ripe for the emergence of a Green Party. John Ely in his paper entitled "Beyond Germany: Green Politics in Europe and the United States" gives us several reasons why the Greens might have found so much success in Germany when other ecology and Green parties existed long before die Grünen. Firstly, he explains, the great level of industrialization in a relatively small area meant that West Germany had "more explicitly

universal ecological problems."⁴ He also points out that the corporatist block led by the left-most established party in Germany (the Social Democrats), due to its accountability to business and labor interests, "tended to give local citizen and ecological initiatives little or no legally recognized space to express their opposition to governing policy."⁵ This situation was only worsened by the lack of any party on the extreme left (Communist Party) which can be found in other European parliamentary countries like France or Italy.

All of these factors combined in Germany to create a hole the Greens were ready to fill. The Greens offered many solutions to Germany's appallingly severe and widespread environmental problems, and they also provided a voice for the left that Communists, Socialists, and environmentalists could rally around. Because so many voters had become disenfranchised from the political system, Greens started with a broad base of support from people with a variety of political agendas. Since we have a "winner takes all" electoral system in the United States, which sets up two major parties, rather than proportional representation, it is much harder for a third party to be heard and especially to have a voice in the legislature. One more factor worth mentioning is that Europeans, including Germans, are much more politicized than Americans. Politics there is clearly recognized as affecting everyone's life, and therefore requires a responsible citizenry. In California a full eighty percent of the population does not show up at the polls.⁶ Across Europe such a low voter turnout is unheard of. In Germany, by contrast, the average voter turnout is eighty-five percent.⁷

The Greens had not only a timely political situation in their favor, but a government that provides for the establishment of a third party that can have real power. Achieving five percent of the vote is the biggest hurdle before those attempting to become a party, for once this is established, the party is guaranteed public monies for campaigns and other expenses. The party is then able to gain the number of seats proportional to the votes garnered. Therefore, as long as the party has five percent of the vote, they will have at least five percent of the seats. In the United States this does not happen. Instead, single-member districts award the party or person who receives the most votes the allotted seat. Obviously, the conditions of party accessibility to office helped bring about the formation and success of the German Green Party. This is not to say that the formation and struggles were easy, but the situation in Germany was very specific to Germany, and must be looked at in this light.

Because the Germans provided much of the incentive for the U.S. Green Movement, some Americans have ignored the differences. Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak in their book

Green Politics devote an entire chapter to how the German model can be applied in the United States. They write, "perhaps the most important lesson from the German Greens is that we do not have to hide our deepest longings and highest ideals to be politically effective. The Greens have shown us that an undaunted call for an ecologically-wise, non-exploitive, peaceful culture in which spiritual values are honored does resonate with people."⁸ While this is a nice idea, the authors do not talk about how the German context was different. They apply this model without looking at what is truly appropriate for the United States. This is something the Greens must keep in mind, especially as they move closer and closer to the party and further from the original conception of Greens in the United States.

Spretnak and others assembled sixty-two grassroots activists to establish the first formal U.S. Green organization, the Committees of Correspondence, in St. Paul, Minnesota, in August, 1984. Participants resolved that "since 'Green' connotes, in some communities, environmentalism as a middle-class concern that carries no commitment to social justice" they would choose an alternative name.⁹ They decided upon the Committees of Correspondence, because that was the term historically used by dissenting church groups in England and later the name claimed by the New England network which set up alternative town meetings to discuss and coordinate the political activity leading to the American Revolution. Modern Greens report that the historical American Committees of Correspondence "closely followed the advice given to Benjamin Franklin and others by the Penacook and Iroquois Confederates to have a movement grounded in and controlled by strong local units."¹⁰ The St. Paul participants decided that local CoCs were free to use the term "Green" in their names if they chose to.

The St. Paul participants recognized the particularity of the usages and connotations of "Green" in the United States, and considered U.S. race and class contexts in their attempt to avoid projecting a narrow image which could potentially alienate, be alienated from, or remain irrelevant to many people in the United States. These first CoC members also established a national CoC clearinghouse, and conceived of the Ten Key Values:

- Ecological Wisdom • Grassroots Democracy
- Personal and Social Responsibility • Nonviolence • Decentralization • Community-based Economics • Post-patriarchal Values
- Respect for Diversity • Global Responsibility
- Future Focus/Sustainability

which, unlike the "four pillars", are unique to the United States. Spretnak and Capra invite readers to help Greens refine the Ten Key Values and refer to them as " an organizing tool to introduce people to Green ideas and to generate discussion."¹¹ The CoC leaflet mentioned above further asserts, "This is not a list of ten separate issues but aspects of a coherent world view, and they are interconnected. . ."

Since the inception of these Committees of Correspondence in St. Paul, over 250 CoCs and dozens of youth Green groups have emerged throughout the country. The American Greens hosted their first national gathering in Amherst, Massachusetts, in July, 1987. In Amherst, Greens explored ideas and issues, and Charlene Spretnak emphasized the need for Green spirituality as a priority throughout Green Programs.

In 1988, the Greening of the West Conference took place in Northern California at Jones Gulch. Many Greens with whom we spoke reported feeling "jazzed" and newly optimistic due to the enormous turnout and unity apparent at the conference. Richard Grow, however, in the Spring 1989 Green Letter observed, "It was a truly remarkable achievement in the most culturally diverse region in the world, to pull together a gathering almost as white as a Contra Costa Klan meeting. . . Racism was treated as just another 'topic,' and workshops on racism typically had to compete with two dozen other workshops. . . "The agenda of the conference, and of the Green Movement itself, is quite literally set by white people, and therefore reflects mainly the concerns of white people."¹² The locations at which Greens have, up to now, chosen to hold their gatherings certainly seem to reflect socio-economic and ideological biases.

In 1989, Greens held their second national gathering in Eugene, Oregon, where they pulled together statements outlining a Green program based upon the SPAKA process which had been born out of the 1984 meeting. Greens discussed and debated a number of possible positions, among them: where to stand on a hemp legalization and capitalism. Concurrently, several Greens had begun to organize a national Green structure complete with thirty-four regions and an Interregional Committee.

Estes Park, Colorado in July, 1990 marked the third national gathering of the Greens. As working groups continued to refine the SPAKA statements, veteran national Green organizer, John Rensenbrink, working late into the night said, "I feel like it is the night of the election returns, and as the results are coming in, it is clear we are winning." Another Green responded, "California is not in yet."¹³ Although meetings were often tension-filled, Greens were thankful for the "Monkeywrenching Stress Working Group who offered massage to anyone in need!"¹⁴

Quakers, bioregionalists, students, the international working group, and Rainbow Greens reportedly held workshops. The fourth U.S. Green gathering will be held August 15-21, 1991 at Davis & Elkins College in Elkins, West Virginia.

Meanwhile, the Greens have been working on restructuring the national Green organization, and in some states, Greens have attempted to achieve state party ballot status. To date, Hawaii has twice failed to gather the requisite number of registrants, and seemingly undaunted, Party organizers there are now on their third round. The New Hampshire Greens reportedly gathered 4,000 registrants (only 3,000 were required), but at the last minute 1,500 of them were invalidated. New Mexico Greens report collecting half of the signatures required to become a legal party. Just this year Alaska became the first and only state in which the Green Party holds full party status.¹⁵ This brings us to California, where in February of 1990, some Greens decided to go for party status. It is interesting to note that since the inception of the GPOC, Green Party organizers, especially those from Marin and Sacramento, have cited the German "four pillars" alongside, or as opposed to the American "Ten Key Values" in their party organizing literature and statements.

The Green Party Organizing Committee of California: A Critical Assessment

Is the GPOC well-rooted? Is it firmly accountable to the original CoC movement and the Ten Key Values? Does it draw upon a reliable source of sustenance? Are its root systems deep? Broad?

Can the Greens promote or achieve electoral success and still be accountable to the original grassroots philosophy of the Green Movement in the U.S.? If we look to our history, the answer seems to be no. In the case of Germany, which may or may not apply to the California situation, Greens had intended to use electoral politics as a vehicle to educate Germans about the system and to bring new people into an ostensibly extra-parliamentary political ascendance. Once the Greens were successful electorally, however, certain Green politicians "began retreating from the original Green commitment to imperative mandates, rotation, and an emphasis on extra-electoral action."¹⁶ These politicians became known within the movement as the realos, who wanted to play the conventional parliamentary game. Realos, afraid of alienating some voters, soon justified demands "that the Greens not endorse peace and nuclear demonstrations . . . with the argument to the Green membership that they were representing and elected by not only the Green membership but by all who voted for them. . . This rationale gives professional politicians plenty of leeway to concoct any mandate they like, as with Nixon's 'silent majority.'"¹⁷

The realos wanted careers, big money and public prestige, but the cost was high, especially according to the fundis (fundamental oppositionists) who wanted to maintain the original emphasis on the extra-parliamentary movement." In the end, the realo strategy has prevailed, and what we see now is a total deradicalization of the German Greens and a participation in, and what fundis see as a co-optation by the administration and structure they had hoped to change.¹⁸ Eventually, fundi/realo disputes over strategy produced a division within the West German Greens. This division and an institutionalized image contribute to their current factionalism, demoralization, and waning effectiveness today.

Mindful of the liabilities of extrapolating unfairly, we nevertheless see striking parallels between the fundi/realo situation and developments in California, where the attempt to clarify the relationship between CoCs and party advocates is generating tension and spirited debate. According to Santa Cruz Green Party organizer Tom Shaver, there is a "general tension" between the movement and party, stemming from disagreements over the appropriateness of the timing of the decision to go electoral and as to the rightful role of the party. Some representatives of the Green Movement, he said, were "adamant that it was not the right time," while others were "adamant that it was the right time" for Green electoral participation. But the debate over the issue of timing is picayune (presumably even moot, since the party effort has already taken off) relative to the debate as to the proper role and rights of the party relative to the movement.

Some Greens believe that the electoral arena is absolutely anathema and entirely inappropriate for the staging of the "new politics" they hope to catalyze.

SPAKA's statements regarding politics have remained consistent through many revision periods and reflect the views of many other Greens with whom we have spoken, declaring that "the movement needs an electoral expression that compliments, strengthens, and is accountable to our grassroots direct action memberships."¹⁹ Further on, it reemphasizes: "The party must grow out of, and be accountable to, the movement as a whole. . . . State-wide parties are appropriate when they represent a coordinated, grassroots effort."²⁰

Sue Nelson and Carl Boggs, among others, have expressed their dismay with what they see as a lack of GPOC accountability to either the CoCs, Ten Key Values, or any grassroots. Citing the February 1990 meeting at which the party was initiated, Nelson writes:

When the sixty non-representative well meaning people meeting in Sacramento decided to become a State Party without convention or rules, they threw out the

Ten Key Values. How can we speak of nonhierarchical, decentralized, post-patriarchal values, . . . grassroots democracy. . . in the face of a legal state party formulation which guarantees control and movement-building from the top?²¹

And Boggs, in his article "Why the California Greens Should Wait to Have a Party", asserts:

This strategy [setting up a statewide party], poorly conceived and hardly even debated within the CoCs, is bound to be divisive and self-defeating for a very young Green Movement committed to a new type of politics. . . . The decision to create a narrow, white, socially insular shell of a party with no popular base can only be the reflection of a political death wish.²²

Shaver reports that "There is some sentiment in the Green Party [sic] that the Greens are not so well-known in the United States because things get really bogged-down in consensus, and that, given the state of the ecological [sic] crisis, Greens are not swiftly responsive enough." GPOC members are in "a mood to get things done quickly, a mood of 'let's get on with it,' and have decided to use a very modified consensus. "The word 'block' has been removed from the language of the Green Party," he said.

Shaver acknowledges that the GPOC's atmosphere of rush, among other factors, has provoked accusations from CoC members that the GPOC is "undemocratic and ungreen." Shaver encountered a newly aghast roundtable of Santa Cruz Greens recently when he passed word on to them that the nature of trying to become a political party might entail the GPOC's compromise of the Ten Key Values. Noting that these compromises were perceived as ungreen and as likely to perpetuate themselves within the GPOC "once the Party gets established," Shaver added, "We are so caught up right now with the procedures required to become a party that it's taking all of our time. Once we're on the ballot, we'll devote more time to getting people involved. I'm not really that worried that the compromises will continue once we get on the ballot." Shaver's assumption that the GPOC can compromise its means to achieve desirable "ends" is a dangerously naive one. As one Santa Cruz Green responded, "In my experience, once you give your values away, it's hard to get them back." Today the GPOC concedes a few Green values because it is running so hard and fast to get on the ballot to offer voters a "Green" alternative. A newly registered Santa Cruz Green, returning from a local peace day event lamented, "My experience yesterday at the voter registration booth was almost traumatic. I felt so helpless, standing there doing the conventional thing on the behalf of a presumably radical idea."

Next month, a few more values might be overlooked, because, for example, the state, whose electoral process the GPOC has just rushed headlong into, demands that the Party platform and representation be more uniform and less decentralized. Next year, after running long and hard to the polls, a new Green Party eager for initial exposure and success might "be forced" to "temporarily" neglect a few more values "just to remain competitive" or for any one of the million ever-present reasons to compromise "just this once" to "get ahead" in the electoral arena. The breathless GPOC could quite conceivably be running on a treadmill of concessions; each time a value is conceded to reach a political goal, the ante there is upped, increasing the speed of the treadmill and demanding ever more compromises "just to stay alive."

Asked what makes him confident that "the compromises" will not continue, he responded, "I'm in a state of trust. The people on the State Organizing Committee are coming from a good place." Our acquaintance with Green Party organizers and Greens, in general confirms that they are, by and large, an extraordinarily caring and dedicated lot of people; unfortunately, good intentions are not always enough in the realm of conventional politics. Craig McLaughlin of the Bay Guardian writes of Sacramento politicians,

By and large, legislators are honest people who want to do the right thing. . .
They go in there with altruistic motives, but they get worn down by the system.
The problem is that people lose their moral compass in such an atmosphere.²³

Greens' concern, if not moral outrage, is justifiable in response to the "compromises" being quickly made by the GPOC. Substantial numbers of Greens agreed to help the GPOC secure the Green name from a competing group (the "Siloists") and participated in launching its registration drive. The CoC's have lent a legitimacy crucial to the public's perception of, and thereby to the success of the GPOC.

In numerous articles, including one appearing in the Valley Voice of Penn Valley, California, GPOC organizers are quoted identifying the Party on the basis of the reputation of the West German Greens and citing the accomplishments of the California movement and local CoCs as reasons to join the Green Party.²⁴ In the Valley Voice piece, State Green Party Chair Kent Smith interchangeably refers to the CoCs (as the movement) and the Party, equating them, but GPOC advocates are simultaneously claiming more and more autonomy for the Party. Boggs protests, "It was realized in midstream by its initiators to be a non-GCoC activity, that is, an independent political party."²⁵

And while Westside Green Mike Feinstein's opening remark initially appeals to those native speakers of CoC rhetoric:

That a Green Party needs to be the political expression of a holistic grassroots and value-based movement is fundamental and undeniable.²⁶

He adroitly moves on to say:

However, the GCOC movement is not the entire Green Movement, but only a small portion of it.²⁷

Feinstein's context here is one in which he legitimately points out that there are individuals out there who may be doing grassroots work and share Green values, but who have not previously identified with the CoCs. While this remark is extremely important in terms of its recognition of diversity, it subtly alludes to the weight on the other side of a precarious balance, which is accountability to the movement and values which gave birth and original meaning to the GPOC.

If the Party is "owned" by all those who register "Green", the level of affinity and identification the Party will ultimately have with the CoCs and their Ten Key Values will be determined by how GPOC organizers convey "Green" and by registrants' concepts of what it means to be "Green". If Party Organizers are alienated from CoCs and their key values, they are obviously more likely to misunderstand, cede, compromise, or ignore the spirit of those values, especially amid the rough seas of electoralism. Likewise, if new Party members' concepts of the term "Green" are anything remotely resembling what Feinstein, himself says has, in North America, "been appropriated to describe products, marketing strategies, and voters for candidates of the major parties" the principles of the original movement are severely imperiled.²⁸

So, are Green Party organizers rooted in CoCs and/or accountable to the Ten Key Values? There are Party organizers who are concurrently active in a CoC, and several whose Party participation is, in fact, part of their CoC work on a Party "committee". In our own fieldwork, however, we met and interviewed five Party organizers, none of whom are currently actively involved in a local CoC. Jon Li is sort of a "Lone Ranger" in Davis, where there is no local, whereas Kent Smith, who is currently a semi-roving State Party Chair and organizer, spoke of helping initiate a few CoCs before leaving Nevada City's to do Party work. Jim Barton has kept in touch with people in the United States Green Movement since even before 1984 (and is, therefore, an incredible source of historical Green development in this country), but was not

enthralled with its strategy or potential. His refrain, over the years, was "Call me when you get your shit together." He finally plunged into Party organizing activity in Sacramento in 1990. Mark Perry (also of Sacramento) had heard of the West German Greens in 1979, but didn't really see "promise" in the U.S. Greens until he read of the state wide Party convention. He is very specifically devoted to a Green electoral development, but emphasized to us that "there really isn't a rift" and that there is "a good feeling of helping out back and forth" between the "Sacramento" ("movement and political") [sic] and the "County" ("strictly political, party-oriented") Greens. Interestingly, Perry makes a distinction between "movement" and "political" work. Like other Party organizers and indeed, many Americans, he linguistically substitutes "political" for "electoral," equating one with the other, and thereby implying the mutual exclusivity of the "political" and "the movement." Americans often negate the "politicalness" of an activity occurring outside the electoral process, regardless of the activity's power or influence.

Finally, Scott Mauvais, of Marin, an enthusiastic Party organizer who reflects upon conservative economic and liberal political thought, told us he is specifically interested in the Party, and is "not the person to talk to" to get "that New Age" perspective. When asked how he does Party work, he replied, quite honestly, "I steal people from the CoCs to do it," which, we observed, he does.

If our small sample is any indication of a trend, it would appear that the GPOC is largely comprised of white men who are, for the most part, not terribly interested in participating in extra-electoral Green processes and activities. Howard Hawkins warns

The problem here is not organizational so much as it is a matter of consciousness. . . . If the Green Parties are only for those who are 'into' electoral politics, the politicians will run them, water down the program, and the Green Parties will become part of the system, putting a Green facade on an inherently anti-ecological, anti-human system.²⁹

The same analysis applies in the case of "the new Partyists", as Kent Smith calls those currently engaging in their first Green activity by registering with the Green Party.³⁰ Party advocate Bob Long, who wisely reminds Greens that the GPOC participation in elections should be primarily a matter of education of the public, rather than being elected to office" also argues that, rather than draining the CoC's of resources, the GPOC might contribute resources by recruiting new registrants into the locals.³¹ Possibly, but Smith sheds doubt on such a prospect as he speculatively characterizes the "new Partyist":

The new people we attract will be first and foremost interested in the Green Party itself. The new Partyists will be different: more practical, more results-oriented, more overtly political. (They will not be veterans of the CoCs; endless talk will probably bore them, and the intricacies of Green "process" will turn them off.) Yet these newcomers will still be idealistic, dedicated, and truly Green. They also probably will be more skilled professionally . . . more effective . . . and actually (heresy) expect to win! ³²

Do the "new Partyists" comprise a reliable foundation for a Green Party? Our demographic surveys indicate that approximately 80 percent of Greens now registered with the Party were formally registered as Democrats. Smith mentioned that Party organizers must shoot far above the roughly eighty thousand registrants required by the state to attain legal party status, because the GPOC anticipates challenges and attempts to disqualify a Green Party by the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party stands to be split and to lose registrants to the Green Party. Some Green Party organizers have even told potential "recruits," "Just register Green now so we can get on the ballot. You can always change your party affiliation back to Democratic before the primaries."

The fact that such a considerable number of new Green Partyists are Democratic converts sets the GPOC on unstable ground. Larry J. Sabato, a University of Virginia government professor who specializes in campaigns and elections, has observed:

The closer you get to Election Day, the more third parties deflate. Most Americans simply don't want to throw their votes away. Even if they are drawn ideologically towards a third party, when it comes down to Election Day, they veer back towards the big two. They'd rather have a piece of the pie than none at all. ³³

Americans, according to UC Santa Cruz professor Daniel Wirls, are psychologically accustomed to choosing between two parties. "The whole psychology", he comments, "is 'nothing like this can get very far.'" The possibility that new Green Partyists will "blink" on Election Day poses a question as to the budding Party's strength. Additionally, registrants' investment in the prospect of Green electoral victories produces expectations which a Green Party, if it is to remain true to SPAKA statements, has not set as its political priority. If the GPOC either fails to attain ballot status, or becomes a Party but experiences a low electoral profile or many losses, will the new Partyists remain Greens?

Further, if the GPOC conforms to the confines of the established political institutions or attempts to cater to new registrants' conventional political expectations, it risks alienating its heart, the CoCs. Numerically speaking, the loss of CoC members' loyalty might be considered negligible, but a party-building strategy concerning itself solely with numbers, in this case, could be fatal; the CoCs represent precisely the grassroots alternative which draws most voters away from their former political affiliation or out of political apathy toward the Green Party.

Evidently, Party organizers face a dilemma: having made the decision to try to become a party and play on the field of electoral politics as it is and by its current rules, they have opted to comply with the state's time-line; in order to make the ballot, they must devote precious energy to hurriedly register voters and, consequently, they pay scant or no attention to ground-up grassroots movement building. Paradoxically, grassroots movement-building is an essential aspect and defining trait of "Green" to begin with.

Shaver says that the Party is working on "the Green value of "inclusiveness-- on involving as many people as possible" and suggests that perhaps "working with one value will compromise another." "Inclusiveness" is not explicitly one of the Ten Key Values, but he may be interpreting "respect for diversity" or "social responsibility" to mean inclusiveness. He may also be talking numbers again. By this rationale, diverse people might register Green, but Green may no longer be grassroots or consensus-oriented. A short time-line seems to mandate choosing breadth or depth. Bargaining occurs. Shaver believes, though, that breadth can come first, depth later. "As the Party develops, we'll be more Green," he comments.

"More Green" is a loaded phrase. Depending upon which Green is consulted, "more Green" might mean more socially diverse, more decentralized, more ecologically wise, or more of any combination of the explicit Ten Key Values. It might also mean more of a plethora of unstated, but interpreted as implicit values. Californians' interpretations of "Green" reflect the emergence of values, traditional and new, combined in hopeful ways to meet the personal, community, and global challenges of today in a sustainable way.

The unique strength of the GPOC (and Green Movement as a whole) is dependent upon its ability to strike and resonate with the chords of Californians' contemporary values and to empower people to make needed changes in accord with the deepest of those. A successful GPOC must be rooted in and reflecting Californians' deepest convictions. Particularly in California, reaching deeply entails rooting broadly as well: for in this state, our most profoundly rooted identity is, perhaps, our multiculturalism.

Are the roots of the GPOC broad?

If you cannot listen or speak to me of the lives of African-American people, you cannot speak to me of condors.³⁴

Lewis' basic problem with the Green Movement as a whole "is that it fails to adequately identify itself with many of the human victims of ecocidal ideology," because it demonstrates serious "weaknesses in its commitment to the needs and interests of people of color and working-class people."³⁵

The Green Movement in the United States is overwhelmingly identified with environmentalism, and environmentalism has been attributed to a white, upper-middle class, well-educated, Sierra Club elite, "less concerned with human health than they are with hiking trails and exotic species."³⁶ While the first of the Greens' Ten Key Values is "ecological wisdom", "environmentalism" is nowhere explicitly stated as a value. Murray Bookchin distinguishes a "narrow, single-issue pedigree and the lobby-type mentality" environmentalism from a more holistic "ecologism", identified by "an attempt to discover the interconnections and common source of seemingly isolated 'environmental' issues."³⁷ Bookchin says that the constituency exploring ecologism is potentially immense, opening "an historic pathway to a new mobilization of humanity that could yield an ecological society--one based on a new harmony between human and human and between humanity and nature."³⁸

Environmentalists, however, are still seen, for example, by nearly half of blacks surveyed by the Washington Post as caring "more about plants and animals than they do about people."³⁹ Endangered species such as the blunt-nosed lizard are, in fact, "provided more pesticide protection under federal law than farm workers, ninety-five percent of whom are Latino and black."⁴⁰ Meanwhile, lower-income communities are disproportionately bearing the brunt of the wider culture's pollution production. "Dumpsites and polluting industries are targeted for low-income communities," exploited for their lack of economic and political clout. "Racial and economic factors dictate [dump] siting decisions."⁴¹

A neighborhood in all-Hispanic East Los Angeles provides one of hundreds of examples: Five prisons and city transport maintenance yards, in addition to seven freeways, dissecting the community into sub-neighborhoods and filling them with noise and petro-chemical pollution, are located there. In the neighboring city "there are only one hundred residents, but fifteen hundred industries, including slaughterhouses, meat-packing plants, and medical waste incinerators."

Malathion sprayings there were reportedly four times heavier than in other southern California communities.⁴²

For lower-income people, and people of color in particular, "it's time to dump the myth" that they "never care about the environment, because they are too concerned with mere survival. If anything, their survival is an environmental issue."⁴³

Judi Bari, the northern California Redwood Summer organizer whose car was bombed in May of last year, had recognized a connectedness between the concerns of (largely Earth First!) environmentalists and lower-to middle-income loggers facing imminent structural unemployment. Both environmental and labor interests face the problem of forest depletion being wreaked by corporations too greedy, too far in debt, and too interested in exporting timber to be interested in sustainable logging. Bari, both a laborer and an environmentalist herself, shook the security of corporate power when she began to educate loggers, millworkers, and environmentalists about their commonalities, bridging classes and fostering "ecologicistic" solidarity.

Similarly, the New Mexico South-West Organizing Project, specifically its Network for Environmental Justice has earned national media attention and become an example for empowering the disenfranchised "to realize social, racial, and economic justice." The multiracial, multi-issue community organization has supported a struggle against "environmental racism" and linked it with a labor struggle. They have supported a strike for better wages and working conditions, and furthered resistance against the "economic blackmail" of toxic-producing industries by getting pro-active and using a federal Urban Development Action Grant to develop tourism and other economic spheres of opportunity.⁴⁴

A Marin Green working on one of many environmental action committees told us she hoped someone would come to the Greens and make outreach to people of color their issue. She didn't, she said, feel comfortable making it her issue. Other (white) Greens discussed going into minority communities to get to know people and learn about minority issues. In general, a lot of lip-service was given to broadening the Green Movement ethnically and racially (rarely in terms of class) through "outreach", but we did not encounter much evidence of "outreach" participation.

Smith perceived the problem as the non-existence of "de facto" communities of people of color. He said he would like to "go into communities of people of color and talk about Green values" but that people of color, with the exception of an Asian peace community, are not well-

organized. Rainbow Coalition spokesperson Edward Wong's observation of the civil rights organizing, which took place largely in churches, suggests that Green Party organizers' present recognition and understanding of community is narrow and classist.

Going to "talk about Green values" is similarly problematic, as some Greens have, indeed, recognized. Clay Carter, addressing "Race and Environmental Organizing" writes on "overcom[ing] the barriers to building a broad-based, multi-racial movement," pointing out the necessity of holding meetings in accessible places where people of color feel comfortable. Mauvais reports that Marin has already scheduled alternative meeting places.

Carter also asks: "Are your group's officers already picked?... Have your group's priorities already been set?"⁴⁵ Carter alludes to Greens' risk of tokenizing people of color, by trying to "incorporate" them after values and structure have already been determined, giving them no opportunity to fully participate, own, shape, or strengthen the movement or party.

Smith seems to contradict his stated belief that "true power is the empowerment of other people" by, in an earlier breath, surmising that the GPOC has nothing to offer people of color, so it should "get ballot status first" and then have something to offer or deliver to them. This ballot-first strategy precludes the broad-rooting necessary for people of diverse colors, beliefs, lifestyles, and circumstances to truly feel pride, ownership, and loyalty in a Green Party. The GPOC confronts the challenge of adhering to its Ten Key Values sufficiently to avoid compromise of the principles and ethos which established the uniquely attractive Green Movement initially, while opening the values to new interpretations, specificities, or additions broadening accessibility will require.

Lewis, suspecting that Greens' social conditioning and "phobia against being identified with leftist groups" has prevented them from making racial and economic justice more explicit priorities. He observes that the Ten Key Values mention post-patriarchal values' and 'respect for diversity' in a way that is, I believe, meant to 'include' a commitment to justice for people of color and working-class people but already has one recommendation: "Let the Green Movement name "post-racist" and "post-capitalist" as key values."⁴⁶

The academic language of the Ten Key Values reflects educational privilege and class bias as well. Terms like "post-patriarchal", "decentralization", "respect for diversity", regardless of their intent, are probably inaccessible and meaningless to all but a few university alumni and/or environmentalists.

A successful GPOC needs more than the old "environmentalist" "not in my backyard" attitude. It requires more than headlines of "Environmentalists seek political party." It requires that Greens not only get themselves out of their immediate backyards, but that they find the courage to take their commitments to the health of the planet into unfamiliar territory and that they listen, learn new language, learn to learn and to teach through sharing, and work with broader cooperation and understanding.

The Nature of the Cement

California is ripe for a man or woman on horseback, someone who can exploit the latent feelings of discontent and foreboding that have taken root in the state.⁴⁷

This quotation by Dan Walters which appeared in the California Journal reinforces the feelings of many Californians who in the face of an incredibly dynamic state, want some new answers. Southern California alone has the 13th largest GNP in the world, and by the year 2001 California will become what many call a "third world state". It is estimated that in the next generation, the Hispanic and Anglo populations will balance out at about 38 percent each.⁴⁸

Despite all the economic and demographic changes in California, the politicians running our state government for the most part have been reluctant, unresponsive and unable to take stands on issues and develop coherent policies. The California legislature and political structures are "choked with special interest money, campaign money, attorney's fees, speaker's fees, lobbying money and lots more... A major issue, by definition has at least two sides- and by taking a firm stand, the legislators will wind up offending at least one of them" thereby risking loss of financial support.⁴⁹ Thus, it is rare for politicians to make clear, independent decisions on any issue. The state is also faced with incredible air pollution problems, severe loss of agriculture lands due to destructive farming practices, water shortages, and widespread environmental degradation. Californians lack of confidence in the current government's ability to address these problems is reflected in some of the lowest voter turnouts ever recorded, and provides impetus for the Green's attempt to form a third party. Whether this third party or any third party can come up through these "cracks" in the political cement remains to be seen, but despite the fact that there appear to be cracks, it is not clear that a third party is the right answer. Many external problems plague the success of any third party in this state, and the Greens themselves have a whole special set of external barriers. Exactly what these cracks and barriers are is what will be addressed in this section.

The Cracks in the Concrete

Yes! we assert, California is ripe for a change, something different. We have alluded to this above, but what makes us so sure? A meager proportion of the eligible voters show up to the polls on election day in California, and millions of those who don't aren't registered.⁵⁰ Clearly there is an enormous, untapped pool of potential voters some of whom a sufficiently motivated and appealing party might be able to reach.

Among those Californians who actually do vote, dissatisfaction with the major parties and candidates is apparently increasing. In 1990 Californians voted "in record numbers against incumbents and for third party candidates", nearly doubling the percentage of votes going to third party candidates since 1986. Third party candidates received close to 25 percent of the vote, on average, in 1990 races where there was no Republican or Democratic opponent; just two years before, in 1988, third party candidates in similar situations had captured only 13.7 percent of the vote. Third parties are also impacting the outcome of elections. "In five of eleven 1990 state-wide races, total votes to third party candidates were [actually] greater than the margin of victory the winner held over the major-party opponent." In other words, had those who voted for third parties voted instead for the losing major-party candidate, their votes would have swung the candidate to victory.⁵¹

Both votes and allegiance to parties are declining. The National Organization for Women's (NOW's) former president Eleanor Smeal observes, "There's a huge desire for a new start. People are disillusioned with the established order of things. It's a vulnerable system now."⁵² South Dakota Green, Jeff Taylor, expressed the frustration of the American people, who don't feel either of the major parties' politicians are speaking to their concerns in employing an analogy, he asserts that current political "rhetoric can be compared to the Madison Avenue campaigns on behalf of the leading soft drink manufacturers, Pepsi and Coke.... There is actually little difference between the two. Both products are brown-colored, caffeine-loaded, sugar-saturated colas. Both manufacturers are multinational corporations with identical aims. Despite this, the way the two corporations expend money and rhetoric would lead a naive observer to think that the fate of the world rested on this battle between two bitter enemies."⁵³

Increasingly conservative Democratic and centrist Republican candidates reflect the narrowing political discourse. Frustrated with a perceived lack of choice, critics of mediocre, status-quo one: the "Republocrats", or the "Demopublicans".

The cover story of Time magazine's October 23, 1989 issue, "Is Government Dead?" was an article entitled "The Can't Do Government". Writer Stanley Cloud asserted, among other things, that politicians, "unwilling to lead, are letting America slip into paralysis, that the "The Reagan Revolution's hands-off attitude persists in Washington, where governing by symbolism has taken the place of tough decision-making on budget deficits, the drug scourge, failing schools,..." and, that Government is "paralyzed by special interests and shortsightedness" and "risks slipping into irrelevancy."⁵⁴

Despite Cloud's emphasis upon the failings of the Republican administration and an overall decline in major party loyalties, the Republicans, who have captured the past three presidential and two California gubernatorial victories and hold the Senate majority, have clearly fared better with voters than have the Democrats. According to Sacramento-based journalist Dan Walters, GOP voter identification, despite gerrymandering, equals Democratic identification for the first time in history. The Democratic Party, observes Walters, "has been drifting, unable to stop the hemorrhage of middle-class white voters to the opposition although as yet has been incapable of organizing the unorganized, non-Anglos and the economically dispossessed."⁵⁵

Voters of the old progressive labor movement, who have been the traditional "backbone" of the Democratic party, now represent the relatively heavily-taxed middle class, providing Democrats with a "coherent economic base", and they are defecting, primarily to the Republican ticket, providing the conservatives with recent victory margins. These "Reagan Democrats" are protesting the power of what they perceive to be a "liberal elite" and the "costs" of liberalism. Apparently, Republicans have effectively portrayed to moderate income voters a liberal "establishment" which is busy wrangling away the hard-earned incomes of the common person to benefit "tax recipients". A polarization has thus emerged between "taxpayers and tax recipients", who have been stereotypically construed to mean working-class whites on the one pole and minorities (particularly African-Americans, judges, bureaucrats, academics, ACLU lawyers, and Democratic politicians), on the other.⁵⁶ Not only are Democrats losing the middle class white vote, but some of the minorities especially those who are politically-active are also leaving the Democratic Party in hoards. Dan Walters, in his book *The New California*, claims that middle to upper-class Asians and Hispanics are identifying much more strongly with the Republican Party, and they register and vote.⁵⁷

The Democratic Party's loss of many of its constituents has hurled it headlong into a downwardly spiraling public image, because it has consequently increased its reliance upon

special interests in order to finance its attempt to maintain some congressional power. The Edsalls assert that the Democratic Party has "come to rely increasingly on an essentially corrupt system of campaign finance, ..incumbency, on pork-barrel spending, and on the gerrymandering of districts in order to thwart continuing demographic and ideological shifts favoring their opponents. .. Now Democrats in the House of Representatives are more dependent on institutionalized special-interest groups than are their Republican adversaries." The Party's benefactors include labor PACs as well as the more moneyed corporate PACs.⁵⁸

The state's changing demographic and economic trends have teamed with the Democratic Party's inability to "build majorities out of minorities"⁵⁹ as well as its entrenched professionalization and bureaucratization, producing a loss of confidence in its ability to represent a multiracial and "cross- class coalition."⁶⁰

Many of those alienated by the "Republocrats" are searching for a political alternative which they hope will more effectively and accountably address their needs. Some politically disenfranchised people have looked to a "third" party for the answer.

Third Party History in California: A Case Study

"We really thought we had it in 1948 with the Progressives"

- a woman from WILPF

Most third parties hope they have what it takes to make the people take notice and leave the major parties. While some have made strong attempts and even had good timing, most third parties have "played interesting but seldom crucial roles in California politics."⁶¹ Bell and Price go on, in their book about California Government, to say that, "The problems facing third parties in California plague third parties nationally: little money, overemphasis on a single issue, few "name" candidates, lack of organization, and popular issues borrowed by the major parties."⁶² In California, there are three parties other than the Democrats and Republicans which have legally qualified for party status. These are the Peace and Freedom Party, the Libertarian Party, and the American Independent Party. To remain on the ballot, these parties must, first, maintain 1/15th of the one percent they registered, and second, have at least one of their candidates running for statewide office receive at least two percent of the vote. These requirements are relatively easy when compared with other states, but parties like the Communist Party and the Prohibition Party have lost status for failure to meet them.

The Peace and Freedom Party achieved ballot status in California in 1968, at a time when social upheaval and unrest in this state was at its peak, and has been able to narrowly maintain its party status for over twenty-two years. Because we find that the Peace and Freedom Party's platform and ideology closely resembles the Green's SPAKA statements and ideologies as we understand them, and because at present, they are the only "radical" leftist party in California, we feel it is relevant to examine briefly their journey since 1968, and to assess their situation today.

The Peace and Freedom Party was founded in June of 1967 by people "who wanted to vote for something they could support."⁶³ They wanted to create an electoral arm for "the Movement" which is what Americans called the groups fighting for social change in the 60's. Many were angry and frustrated with the continuing and escalating war in Vietnam that was draining the domestic economy. By January of 1968, the Peace and Freedom Party, (PFP) after only six months of registering voters, was already on the ballot.

The PFP has a broad platform based on socialism, feminism, and more recently environmentalism. They also believe in being as active in the communities they represent between elections as during them. In their pamphlet describing the beliefs of the party, they state, "Feminist socialism unites a broad spectrum of issues promoting balanced ecological, economic, cultural and interpersonal concerns."⁶⁴ Under these principles of their platform, many candidates have been elected to city councils, school boards, and special district boards. Further, it is important to note that Peace and Freedom candidates have, in some partisan elections, garnered more votes than the West German Greens, but because we have no proportional representation in this country they have never been represented in the legislature.

Noting that PFP candidates have never had an electoral success in higher offices then why do they continue their struggle? PFP's reason as articulated by Michael Smith, a spokesperson for the PFP, is that someone must maintain a "strong and clear voice of dissent in the electoral arena." They concurrently do education about many local and state issues, and keep the dialogue alive, hoping that grassroot educating will influence the direction of California's political future.

The PFP is alive today, but with declining membership, incredible infighting, and the loss of some of its most vital members, its future is uncertain. The PFP is just one example of how hard it can be for a third party to effect change electorally in California.

The "Real" Power in California

"The Greens could sweep into office, but not into power because there is a lot more to the power structure than the elected offices of the state."

-Howie Hawkins: a Green

We all know that California is one of the biggest lobbying states in the Union. One need only go to Sacramento to figure out that most of the buildings that surround the Capitol building itself are rented by a plethora of special interest and lobby groups ranging from the Sierra Club to the Cattlemen's Association to the AIDS LIFE Lobby to Chevron. The state is run by special interests. In fact, they have been called California's third house. Not only do lobbies submit roughly one third of bills into the legislature, but they also serve the function of a political party, by contributing far more money to political candidates than either major party.⁶⁵

Lobbies and special interests are not the only place where power lies in California both politically and economically. According to Howie Hawkins, power in this state lies in the hands of three groups, besides the special interests, which includes corporate capital, where most of the money in the state resides, representing unelected interests. These groups are the "unelected military" or the FBI, the "unelected bureaucracy" or what many call the red tape, and the all omnipotent and ubiquitous press, media, and entertainment industry. These are the real forces that control the state and what will be examined in this section.

Corporations and special interests (with money) can get whatever they want in this state by merely whispering threats of disinvestment. Legislators and the workers/constituents they represent are often so painfully dependent on corporate capital that they will misrepresent the facts or make moral compromises if necessary to make sure the big bosses are kept happy and the money keeps flowing in.

We can find examples of this all over the state. The November 1990 ballot was choked with initiatives, and among these was Proposition 130 or Forests Forever which was written by a Green. Logging companies and mills representing some of the most powerful economic forces in the world, soon responded to Forests Forever by launching a huge counter initiative. They were able to spend much more than the instigators of Forests Forever on legal resources and advertising, and consequently the initiative was defeated. Voters were thoroughly confused by the counter initiatives (there were more than one), and workers on the North Coast, the region Prop. 130 would have affected, were convinced that big business was looking out for them.

Basically workers were convinced that if Prop. 130 passed they would lose their jobs because the powerful logging companies would move to areas with more lax regulations and cheaper labor.

This kind of scenario repeats itself almost daily in the state. Legislators who might normally be supportive of an environmental bill, must often vote against it to protect big business and corporate interests in their area. It is usually these same corporations who employ a good majority of the politicians' constituents. These powerful interest groups called political action committees are also taking the traditional place of political parties in California. According to Martin Smith, "The decision by a leader of the California legislature to turn to a single- issue constituency for support of this point of view (he is talking about a senator who was putting together an animal lovers' PAC) is further evidence of the decay of political parties. They no longer provide the most effective means of raising money or communicating with like-minded voters."⁶⁶

Another of the groups where power centers in California is the "unelected military" in this case the F.B.I. They often smash reform movements around the state with covert operations and sometimes even violence. According to the book on radical environmentalism, *Green Rage*, the F.B.I. spent two million dollars infiltrating Earth First!, whose popularity had been on the upswing.⁶⁷ There are numerous other examples of movements who got too "powerful" according to the state, and were subtly dismantled by federal or state forces. The Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement are just two of these.⁶⁸

The bureaucracy that pervades our daily lives is another one of the controlling powers. The Greens can make all the campaign promises in the world, and even get elected to office, but when it comes to action, everyone must pass through the bureaucracy, and the bottom line is that most people get wrapped up in the red tape somewhere along the line. This is the same bureaucracy that has created and maintains the status quo, and it is almost impenetrable. Bureaucrats are given minor powers of judgment and discretion. Individual bureaucrats may seem impotent, but collectively theirs adds up to a lot of discretion. They are also compelled to be self-perpetuating in their power, in the interest of job security. We can see this in the most mundane example of registering a car. Most people have to go back to the DMV three or four times before they actually walk away with a registration slip. The rules are always changing, depending on with whom one talks and the day of the week. If we multiply the red tape this individual has to deal with by one or two thousand we might start to see an accurate picture of what a party is up against.

Lastly we have the power of the media. Everyday we are inundated with images that reinforce the dominant culture's views. For those group's who wish to present ideologies or views different than those of the mainstream, media access is almost impossible. Campaigns these days, whether presidential or gubernatorial are totally dominated by television and media coverage. The catchy, thirty second spots on each candidate that appear each day on our televisions have replaced the articulation of clear stands on a variety of issues. Elections can be won or lost on the basis of slick commercials. Third parties with tiny budgets are given virtually no air time. Daniel Solnit, a Marin Green, said that the only times that Greens are invited to talk on the radio or television is on Sunday mornings. In 1974, the Peace and Freedom gubernatorial candidate, Elizabeth Keathley, became so upset with the party's lack of visibility and news coverage that she campaigned in the nude on a Venice Beach in Southern California to get more exposure?⁶⁹ Even then, it is only the cable stations and public radio that give away free air time. The principle of "equal access" is not as a matter of procedure extended to third parties. Paradoxically, because these parties, movements, and special interest groups have no money, their biggest external allies must be the media and public opinion.

Stereotypes from the Outside

As shown above, there are a myriad of barriers to Green political success in California. The political economy is set up so that any group or party that challenges it has a very slim chance of "making it." One of Green's major barriers is the way the public perceive them. UC Santa Cruz professor, Art Pearl, summed this up well when he stated, "despite lip service to social justice, the Greens remain an elitist, white, educated, environmentalist movement." They are seen as an insular movement with little connection to the people of California. The truth of this stereotype was only reinforced by our demographic survey of 153 Greens. ninety five percent of them had gone on to some higher education and over eighty percent identified as white or Caucasian. These figures do not even approach a reflection of the demographics of California. They are also often confused with other environmental groups like Earth First! and Greenpeace who suffer from the same or worse stereotypes.

We can see that there are many cracks in this cement that we call the California political economy, but it also apparent that this cement is thick, and the barriers to empowerment are numerous. Whether the Green blade of grass which represents the Greens or any other voice for change can push its way through all the layers is still unsettled. Either way it is important to know where the cement is thickest, and how we can best exploit the cracks. It is almost as if there

is someone up there with a bucketful of that thick cement pouring it on every evidence of life that sprouts.

The Greens stand at a fragile crossroads. The potential is there if the Greens can just find the strength and courage to be more self-critical, to look at themselves, and where they can change and reach out. This will require taking big risks that Greens have up until this point only talked about. We have hope. As Matthew Rothschild writes:

This is a promising moment for the progressive movement in America. We've got the issues, the leadership, and the beginnings of a mass base to alter the shape of American politics. Let's not blow it.⁷⁰

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DO THE GREENS HAVE AN EMPTY BOAT?

If a man is crossing a river
And an empty boat collides with his own skiff,
Even though he be a bad tempered man
He will not become very angry.
But if he sees a man in the boat,
He will shout at him to steer clear.
If his shout is not heard, he will shout again.
And yet again, and begin cursing.
And all because there is someone in the boat.
Yet if the boat were empty,
He would not be shouting and angry.
If you can empty your own boat
Crossing the river of the world,
No one will oppose you,
No one will seek to harm you.

, Taoist Sage

My research has been concentrated on the necessary ingredients for a movement's success. I have chosen for sharing here the ingredients that struck me as the most important and notable. I plan to illustrate them and to compare them with what we learned about the Green Movement in our fieldwork. My ideas and conclusions are the result of readings, observations, thoughts, and conversations associated with my research. The common thread that I perceive in each suggested pathway is that of individual responsibility for making the desired change come

about. We have written of goals of a better society, but none of these can come about unless the individuals within the movement are capable of letting this change flow out of them.

Roots: The Pathway at the Individual Level

There is an attitude and lifestyle that I believe must be possessed by the people within a movement in order for it to proceed in its desired direction. I plan to share common mistakes that movements make, according to the theorists I read. First, though, I will illustrate the importance of the power the individual holds to make a movement remain true to its goals and on a pathway to success. Ken Jones, author of The Social Face of Buddhism writes,

Transformation is to begin here and now, with people's everyday experience-- how they would really like to live their lives, and how, little by little, from the personal out to the institutional, acting locally but thinking globally, they might begin to lay the human foundations of the new society and undermine those of the old order. ¹

If a movement like the Greens is out to change certain aspects of society, it must begin at home, making sure it rids its own group of these aspects. For example, if fighting oppression, the Greens must begin with their group, paying special attention to making sure that all within the group, including and especially women and minorities, have an opportunity and a safe place to be heard. Now, for a group to function in this manner, the individuals must also make sure that they are eliminating from their own lives and relationships that which they are trying to rid from society and from their small group. Howard Clark writes,

The first step. . . is to question your own relationships--to assert yourself where you're being trodden on, to reclaim your own life, and at the same time to take responsibility for your own actions, which may mean getting off other people's backs; on the other hand, not letting yourself be pushed around, not ripping off their energies. . . Questioning our own relationships also entails questioning our role in this society, making ourselves aware of the politics of domination and exploitation. Change through building up a culture of people in struggle, a culture where people affirm each other and try to manage our own lives, a culture where people can gain a sense of ourselves as shapers of our own destiny, active agents with the power to do things for ourselves.²

My point here is, whatever a movement stands and fights for, it will do little good if the individuals involved are not living what they are demanding from society. Even if, say, a peace movement were to succeed, and global disarmament were achieved, if those in the movement were not at peace with themselves, there would still be unrest in the world. Many people have written about what groups must do to be successful, but most of my sources did not cover the

role of the individuals in this success. I will now integrate my ideas about the role of the individual into the authors' suggestions.

Anger as a Movement's Motivation

Sidney Tarrow, in his book Struggling to Reform, states that a movement must not be fuelled by anger if it is to be successful. Using a case study as support for this statement, he writes, "Social movements of the poor that were fuelled by anger always eventually died out; when the rage died down, the authorities always regained control." ³ Anger is hot and powerful, but sometimes short-lived, a flame destined to burn out too soon in some cases. In this example, the problem seems to have been the short-lived, reactive quality of the anger that was the downfall of the cited movements.

When it is the main propeller of a movement, lasting anger can be a problem too. As part of my research, I saw a documentary called Berkeley in the Sixties. This movie illustrates the beginnings of revolution by mostly the young people in the Bay Area, its course, and its eventual burnout. I am glad that the people in Berkeley were angry about censorship, racism, sexism, and general oppression. Anger, I believe, is a sign that something is not quite right and some kind of action needs to be taken to adjust the situation. But it was evident in the film that the anger took over and drowned the revolutionaries. Originally these folks stood for peace and nonviolence, and they were angry that their campus administrators and their government were involved in practices that blatantly embodied the opposite of these qualities. Anger built on itself and grew to a point beyond control. Eventually these people were so caught up in their anger that they forgot their original causes. They became verbally destructive to people around them. They began performing damaging acts of vandalism, such as blowing up police cars. The movement which began with enthusiastic, motivated members ended up with a mass of frustrated, bitter, burned out people. This movement had begun with the potential to cause skeptics who had not condoned radicalism to think twice about the state of society around them. Instead, the demonstrators gave the public wonderful reasons to hold on to their own beliefs and to disrespect the movement, for they let their anger turn them into hypocrites who performed acts of destruction in the name of peace. Many wonderful things came about as a result of the anger that originally warned these young people that something needed changing. But the movement was doomed to failure when the anger was not transformed into positive, productive energy.

I am troubled by the fact that the people in Berkeley did not take their anger and turn it into empowerment. As a group they let it remain negative and directed it outward. The anger

could have been transformed had the angry people examined themselves to see what they, as powerful individuals, could do to change the situation, instead of yelling to closed ears for others to change. Take the example of my anger about the overwhelming presence of violence toward women in this society. I've decided that this situation is not all right with me. I can demonstrate in front of ad agencies who make billboards that objectify women, and yell and yell for them to stop. This would be beneficial, for I should make my opinion known. But I need also stop and think about how vulnerable to violence I am. If I am walking around like a target, believing that I am helpless against an attack and feeling afraid, I am actually enabling the violence. I can turn my anger into empowerment by taking a self-defense class which provides me with a safe and productive place to express my anger, as well as teaching me how to keep myself from being attacked and how to fight to survive should an attack occur. In addition to my societal level involvement, I must simultaneously take personal action in order to keep myself from placing an inappropriate amount of blame on "them." I must acknowledge my share of responsibility for this problem and be pure in my motivation.

It is important to make it known that we do not like what is going on and to take appropriate measures against the perpetrators of the policies/actions we dislike. But we must take into consideration to what extent we ourselves perpetuate the problem, learn what is within our control and what is outside of it, and act upon that which is changeable. I help myself with this by saying a prayer used in Anonymous Programs. It is called the Serenity Prayer: "God, grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to know the difference." I try to remain open to receiving what I have requested.

So I wonder, what are the Greens fuelled by? One thesis member interviewed a Green in Hollywood who made it clear that he was not happy to be a Green--that this was a duty, not a pleasure. Where will he end up with that attitude? I believe that fighting for a Greener society--one of gentleness and peace--with an attitude of martyrdom and annoyance is contradictory and leads to downfall. Some of our research has been on what motivates the Greens. It is impossible to generalize a universal Green motivation, but surely a strong element in beginning the movement was the "warning anger" I spoke of earlier. What remains to be seen is what will be done with that fuel.

Confidence and Belief in Success

Tom Hayden, the founder of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) writes, "What is missing now [from most social movements] is self-confidence."⁴ A movement must believe in itself and its chances for success if it is going to succeed. To help gain confidence, a movement should take advice from Tarrow, who writes, "A movement must present a hierarchy of goals, some of which being easily, immediately attainable, and some, virtually unattainable."⁵ Easily attainable goals which result in success lead to confidence and a drive to keep going. On the other hand, movements with a big, unlikely, far-away vision repeatedly fail, end up bitter and disempowered, with their members eventually quitting. As I illustrated earlier, it is key to know how to tell what is within one's power to change and what is not.

For example, when the war broke out, many students here at UCSC got together to unite against the situation. I heard lots of angry talk as a result of two things: the media's lack of coverage of anti-war sentiment and the apathy of many students about the war. I went to a campus demonstration the first morning after the war broke out. People divided themselves into committees to do certain tasks. One committee was to march through the dorms and bang on people's doors and basically shame them for not demonstrating, and for sleeping or studying instead. Another organized to block the freeway to show that they did not approve of the war. They wanted to be drastic enough so that the media would cover the dissention. Demonstrating so that the media--a force beyond my control that is typically, reliably disappointing--will validate what I stand for is simply not effective. As a result, eventually I might feel so frustrated if I'm not getting the results I was after, that I would declare "Futility!" and give up. Or perhaps I might feel angry and resentful at demonstrations, and everywhere else, bringing as much negativity into the world as does whatever I'm protesting. Perhaps I'd be so annoyed that I'd yell nasty things to those who are not protesting, to the media, and to other people I feel should hear me. As a result, they might all be put off and reluctant to listen. If I protest for someone else's benefit, or for coverage by the media, or for anything out of my control, I could be planting the seeds of destruction. I share the anger toward the media and its inaccurate representation of the general public's opinions, and do not feel that we should "stuff," or keep quiet about that anger. Yet, seeing how drastic and loud we have to get for the media to validate us seems only to result in frustration. I suggest that a demonstration at a newspaper's headquarters would be more appropriate, especially if carried out in a non-offensive way. Letting a paper know that we object to their biased reporting and do not support them would be a better, more direct way to fulfill our goal.

If I go to a demonstration to be comforted with songs and prayers, to be in a safe place where I can express my feelings about the war and not feel so alone, I will almost certainly get what I'm after. I'm not there for the media or to make those who are not protesting feel badly. I'm there for myself, and I feel good about being there. Now the demonstration is a positive experience. Positivity is attractive, so maybe just by coincidence more people will join and more coverage will occur. These "selfish" intentions are more sound; the validation comes from within. The media and the motivation of others were out of the control of those of us who were against the war. Had the goals of the protestors been more attainable, perhaps the movement could have been more successful.

A common unrealistic goal to watch out for is that of ending up with a nation full of people with the same world view as that of those in the movement. Many people in movements are angry at society for expecting everyone to live under a certain paradigm. A movement is, firstly, hypocritical if, in the name of freedom and justice, its goal is to make everyone Green, and secondly, it is biting off more than it could ever chew. Ken Jones writes about Buddhism and a Buddhist approach to changing the world. He makes it very clear, though, that a Buddhist's objective is not to end up with a world full of only Buddhists. Ultimately, the goal is a world in which all have the space to find the way that works for them, and to follow along the path they have found, being supported by, and supporting others who are walking in a different direction. But for a movement to be that accepting, the individuals within it must be. If this is the goal, the members each must ask themselves, where in my own life am I trying to control others instead of loving and supporting them for who they naturally are? Am I open-minded and accepting? Is it alright with me that everyone doesn't agree with me? Am I denying that it is unreasonable to expect that everyone will agree with me? Without this introspection, controlling behavior can infect the movement and bring it to a closed-minded, controlling place, as happened with the campus peace movement I spoke of.

To bring it back to the Greens and their chances for success, it must be asked if the Greens believe in themselves and envision success. Do they have realistic goals that can give them a sense of accomplishment so as to avoid burnout? Are they tolerant of non-Green alternatives?

The answers to these questions are as diverse as the many Green groups all over California. Some Green Committees of Correspondence (CoC) have sound goals. The Fresno CoC group, for example, was troubled about the oak tree crisis in their area; the few trees left

were dying due to draught conditions. They wanted to do something about this situation. As a group, they went to the oak groves carrying gallons of water and watered the trees. One Fresno Green says, "We didn't try and convince people this was a worthy cause, or use our time trying to bargain away people's time, because meanwhile, the trees were dying. We saw something that needed doing, and we just did it." This attitude is typical of many other CoCs throughout California that we encountered during our field research.

Green Party groups, as distinguished from CoCs, have a much more distant goal. All steps of this goal are difficult to attain. They are out to get the number of signatures needed to put the Greens on the ballot as a third party. Just getting the signatures needed to attain party status is difficult and exhausting. But the goal beyond that is even more daunting. The Green Party wants to run and hopefully elect a Green official of some sort. There are already alternative parties on the ballot that are having no luck because people interested in a cause can be powerless over voters. There is a sticky situation people find themselves in when deciding to vote for either the refreshing alternative or against the monopolizing Republican, meaning, in favor of the next likely thing, the Democrats. These goals are so distant and demand so much energy that I fear the Greens will burn out if they do not accomplish them.

Are individual Greens confident and faithful in themselves? The answer to this question is hard to find. These days, with a huge number of dysfunctional and abusive families, and with society's standards for a worthy person becoming higher and more impossible (i.e. demanding higher degrees, darker tans, harder tummies, nicer cars, etc.), confidence is hard to come by if a person has not specifically worked on developing some.

Our demographics survey of Greens in California contained a question about Greens' involvement in programs or practices that promote personal psychological growth; therefore, we have some information on the confidence level of individual Greens. The results reveal that two-thirds of California Greens interviewed believe that they are specifically working on psychological growth in their lives. Among the means for this growth are interest or involvement in Jungian Psychology, Transcendental Meditation, Yoga, Twelve Step recovery groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous, and much more. Some Greens responded by saying that they "talk about it in the hot tub with friends" or read "pop psychology" books. Whether the majority of California Greens are chatting about personal growth over tea, reading about it now and then, or involved in a strict regimen for personal recovery, it is on the minds of the majority of Greens. The seed has been planted and seems to be sprouting in the Green community.

Hopefully the new-found health and confidence will be contagious to the remaining third who either left that question blank on the survey or answered "none." I believe that this kind of energy cannot help but attract and spread. Just by going against the mainstream to uphold and live one's values, i.e. by getting involved with the Greens, displays a belief in one's self. The fact that many Greens are working on bettering themselves helps with the general Green tolerance of other ways to be. Self-acceptance leads to acceptance of others. I am hopeful for the Greens as I review these results.

Leaders and Power

Both Hayden and Bill W., founder of Alcoholics Anonymous--a movement which I regard as extremely successful and should be used as a model for other movements--believe that having known leaders and members with more power than others sends a movement on the road to corruption and downfall. Among the Twelve Traditions, which are the backbone or "rules" for the Anonymous movement, are these: "We need always maintain personal anonymity at the level of press, radio, TV and films" and "Anonymity is the spiritual foundation of all our Traditions, ever reminding us to put principles before personalities." This is so that no one becomes the known leader or consultant of the group--all are equal--and so that meeting-goers can feel safe because their privacy is respected. Another Tradition states, "Our leaders are but trusted servants; they do not govern." This is so that no one within the group has more power than anybody else. These are the bases on which AA and other Anonymous programs were formed, turning it into the most successful movement imaginable, meeting all of its goals and going beyond them. I believe this success is partly due to the lack of leaders and authority within the movement.

Power is corrupting. Human beings are fallible and tend to be weak in the face of certain temptations. Power can feel validating. I will use myself as an example here to illustrate. I work at the College Eight dining hall at UCSC. I like that job because it is stressless, involving only menial tasks and minimal responsibilities. One day I was asked if I wanted to be shift leader. This meant I would have more responsibilities (and stress) and more pay. I was offered this position because those "higher" than I were impressed with my dependability, etc. I'd originally taken the job because it was easy, but when offered power based upon positive recognition, I automatically said yes, getting caught up in the external validation. Wanting to remain respected, and to continue living up to the perception my "superiors" evidently had of me, I found myself enforcing policies I had once complained about, and acting authoritative when

once I had been disgusted with the idea that in any place of work there is an imbalance of power. And this was the tiniest promotion and the tiniest amount of extra money, and I'm just your basic, liberal, good-hearted person. Think how incredible it would feel to know that a large number of people elected you for some important, powerful position. Election to a position of power can blow up the ego in a big way, and the hypocrisies I exhibited when promoted to shift leader can be easily displayed on a much bigger scale. Suddenly the goals of one person might become the goals of the group; adequate representation is lost. In cases of power, individuals must examine themselves and make sure that they are not becoming authoritarians who are only going to do things their way. Groups that attempt to function cooperatively, with the members representing themselves instead of being "represented" by a leader, are preferred by the authors I've read, as well as by myself.

Power as "Unkosher" Means. As I have discussed above, the fact that power is likely to result in corruption is one reason why this is not a preferred ingredient among some theorists on social movements in general. Yet, for movements like the Greens which are trying to move toward a better, more egalitarian society, there is another important reason why a hierarchical set-up is frowned upon. Jones writes, "The Good Society cannot be created by means which contradict the end."⁶

I observe this concept in the personal lives of people around me. I know plenty of people who have jobs that they do not enjoy, yet at which they remain so that they will have enough money to do what they enjoy. But the main time-consumer in their lives is not enjoyable to them; the means to the goal of enjoyment is not enjoyable, thus the goal is shot. The Greens are a good example of a movement that is potentially making this mistake. If a movement is striving for grassroots democracy, they must move toward it through grassroots democracy, and the same goes for all their other goals. But a large faction of the Green Movement is striving to create a Green Party that will appear on the California ballot and eventually offer a Green political candidate for election. To again quote Jones,

Greens who enter the foringhouse of conventional politics soon, like tomatoes, begin to turn a more conventional red and to behave like other politicians. . . The main effort for social transformation must therefore be outside the established world of power and politics.⁷

In the Greens' Ten Key Values, under "Decentralization", the Greens ask: "How can we . . . encourage the flourishing of regionally based culture rather than a dominant monoculture? . . . have a decentralized democratic society with our political, economic, and social institutions

locating power at the closest-to-home level that is efficient and practical?" And under "Grassroots Democracy," they ask, "How can we develop a system that allows/encourages people to participate in the decisions that affect their lives; ensure that representatives will be fully accountable to the people who elected them?" The answer is not to elect someone the way all our other leaders have been elected and put them into an office with the same type and magnitude of power that existing offices/officers possess. Only by practicing decentralization and grassroots politics can they achieve them, I now believe.

Do the Greens Have an "Empty Boat"?

Each suggestion I've illustrated has been an idea for a step toward an empty boat--empty-boated individuals making up empty-boated movements. Explaining this metaphor, Jones writes,

There is considerable evidence that the very existence of an adversary in a problem situation tends to invoke a combative and competitive state of mind which makes satisfactory resolution of the problem very much more difficult.⁸

Acting like an adversary keeps one from having an empty boat. An "empty-boated" person does what she does for her own sake, for her own well-being. She is not out to change or oppose anyone, but simply to move along her own path and exemplify what she believes in, for all who care to take a look at and learn from her. She does not hide, yet she does not force others to see her. A successful movement does the same thing. In the poem, the empty boat does collide and does have an effect on the other boat; the collision is necessary and should not be avoided. But the empty boat manages to cause an effect without arousing anger or defensiveness. The result of the collision is simply a decision and an action. Should the navigator try to get back on her original course, or see what's waiting in the direction she is headed as a result of the bump? Full boats set people off, turn them away, get them angry. A movement needs to make potential members feel comfortable and welcome, and to make potential enemies feel unattacked and understood. For movements like that of the Greens that are striving for something radical, the tendency of the general public is already to condemn and criticize. Movements such as these already have the odds against them and it does them no good to repel the public even more with self-righteousness, hypocrisy, hostility, and the like.

A movement fuelled by anger is a full-boated movement. The energy emanating from it is negative, intimidating, and repelling. Working to transform a negative motivation helps to empty an individual's boat, and thus, that of a movement. A movement lacking confidence is

also a full boat, and one which is not free-flowing. Frequent failures can result in letting loose anger. This can lead to deliberate, random collisions made in the hopes of finding success somewhere, or in avoiding all collisions completely and remaining unseen. As unrealistic goals can be a cause for lack of confidence, they are a cause for a restrained, full boat; if the crew has eyes firmly set on the horizon beyond, they will not see the boats around them and have more unnecessary collisions if they are not paying attention to their immediate surroundings. Power trips also account for a full boat; people want to share the sea and enjoy it as they like, as opposed to being told when, how, and where to sail according to a figurehead.

Examining one's own relationships and behaviors and motivations is a great way to empty one's boat. As to whether or not the individual Greens are doing that, all I have are our group's survey results. Only each individual knows the extent of her/his dedication to a better world--how personally one takes all one speaks of and how much of a sacrifice one is willing to make to practice what one preaches within one's own life. And only time will tell how real these efforts are, for if the people are sincere, we will witness their efforts succeeding.

The Anonymous Movement--A Case Study

The good news is that a movement exists that embodies "empty-boatedness," in my opinion. Anonymous groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous have achieved goals way above and beyond their wildest dreams, and this is how I define a successful movement. I feel it is important to tell about this movement here, so that we can see that there is hope, an example for the Greens to follow to help them stay on track. The set-up and approach of the movement has proved to be ideal in terms of what I have discussed. As an incredible added bonus, though, the substance of the Anonymous movement can and does help individuals achieve the introspection and individual action I have been discussing.

In the early 1930's, a man named Bill was desperately suffering from alcoholism. He was incredibly underweight and was in and out of hospitals and asylums, unable to hold a job. Many times he had promised himself and loved ones that he had taken his last drink, but unfortunately, his willpower could not prevail. One day he ran into an old drinking buddy of his who was, on this day, perfectly sober and seemed very happy. Bill asked his friend how he had quit, and the friend replied, "I found God." Bill was thoroughly disgusted with this response, thinking that his friend had simply switched addictions and become a religious freak. The "freak" asked Bill if Bill believed in God. Bill went on about why he could not--religions were corrupt, the Bible was inconsistent, priests were hypocritical, etc. The friend interrupted, suggesting that there is a

difference between religion and spirituality, asking if Bill could believe in a God that he defined for himself and could understand. A light bulb went on in Bill's head, and that was the beginning of his recovery. Bill's friend hadn't forced anything onto Bill, but had simply answered his questions and had been a walking example of health. Had it been a psychiatrist preaching, or an angry wife nagging, or a boss threatening him to get him to quit drinking, the result would not have been true recovery. Instead it was an old friend, gently exemplifying what Bill wanted.

As Bill sobered up, he, too, rubbed off onto a few of his alcoholic friends, and together, they walked the highway to health. Having found the key, they wanted to spread this message to others, and they began a fellowship called Alcoholics Anonymous. They wrote a book together to explain what they were doing and how they had quit drinking. About their fellowship they wrote, "...That we have no attitude of 'Holier than thou, nothing whatever except the sincere desire to be helpful; that there are no fees to pay, axes to grind, no people to please, no lectures to be endured, these are the conditions we have found most effective,"⁹ They did not have to make much of an effort to see both sides of the picture; they had all been alcoholics, thus they couldn't have a condescending attitude. The lack of this kind of attitude helped them achieve their goals.

AA in the beginning had two main goals. One was to let as many alcoholics as possible know that there is an option besides drinking and misery, that they all have a choice and can get healthy. Today, I think most admitted alcoholics are aware of this fellowship. The second was, "Someday we hope that AA will help the public to a better realization of the gravity of the alcoholic problem,"¹⁰ In their day, an alcoholic was considered weak and not so intelligent. Nobody considered alcoholism a disease. Alcoholics were judged harshly and treated inappropriately. Today that is not the case. I think that the majority of American society now realizes that alcoholism is a disease and that alcoholics are not simply weak and foolish. Employers, professors, parents, doctors, all seem to acknowledge that alcoholics and other addicts need and deserve treatment for this problem and should not be expected to be able to just stop. In addition to the goals these men put forth, their efforts resulted in successes they could not have begun to imagine. The roots of alcoholism eventually were seen to be the same as the roots of most substance addictions, like those to narcotics and sugary foods. Later, behavioral addictions such as neurotic or compulsive types of behavior also became better understood because of the realizations made in substance addiction recovery. As a result, we now have Codependents Anonymous (codependency being a type of neurosis), Overeaters Anonymous,

Narcotics Anonymous, Love and Relationship Addicts Anonymous, and others. How did this movement come so far?

AA's approach from the beginning has been that of an empty boat. The fellowship was very careful when deciding how to go about spreading their message of recovery to others. "We have stopped fighting anybody or anything. We have to!" they wrote in their book.¹¹ With this spirit they drafted the "Twelve Traditions" as their basis for running the groups; this was a sort of code of ethics. The Traditions are:

1. Our common welfare should come first; personal recovery depends upon unity.
2. For our group purpose there is but one ultimate authority -- a loving [Higher Power] as [that Higher Power] may express [him/her/its] -self in our group conscience. Our leaders are but trusted servants; they do not govern.
3. The only requirement for A.A. membership is a desire to stop drinking.
4. Each group should be autonomous except in matters affecting other groups or A.A. as a whole.
5. Each group has but one primary purpose--to carry its message to the alcoholic who still suffers.
6. An A.A. group ought never endorse, finance or lend its name to any related facility or outside enterprise, lest problems of money, property and prestige divert us from our primary purpose.
7. Every A.A. group ought to be fully self-supporting, declining outside contributions.
8. A.A. should remain forever nonprofessional, but our service centers may employ special workers.
9. A.A., as such, ought never be organized; but we may create service boards or committees directly responsible to those they serve.
10. A.A. has no opinion on outside issues; hence the A.A. name ought never be drawn into public controversy.

11. Our public relations policy is based upon attraction rather than promotion; we need always maintain personal anonymity at the level of press, radio and films.
12. Anonymity is the spiritual foundation of all our traditions, ever reminding us to place principles before personalities.

As the spirit of these traditions sinks in, one can see that these traditions safely avoid all the pitfalls I have covered. These traditions are read aloud and honored at each meeting, and the loyalty toward them has been integral in the Anonymous programs' success.

To spread their message, the fellowship went to hospitals where alcoholics were and, with the alcoholics' permission, told their story of illness and of recovery. They let the alcoholics know they were welcome to come join in the fellowship at any time, and they would leave their phone numbers. Those who were unwilling to listen were left alone--with the book the fellowship had drafted and some phone numbers. But nobody was hassled or forced to listen or make promises. Today, Anonymous groups advertise their meeting places and times, and list themselves in the phone book, and if contacted, send the caller information. Attendance is extremely high, with meetings in virtually every city in America.

After forcing no one to recover, now literally thousands and thousands of people are recovering. So many organizations seem to feel that they have to coerce people in order to get members, yet many people are turned off by organizations who have that as their practice. Many organizations also seem to constantly feel as if what they are accomplishing is "not enough." For people in Anonymous groups, the fact that these groups exist is enough, and all the success already achieved is worth celebrating. Bill and his fellowship wrote, "Most of us feel that we need look no further for Utopia. We have it with us right here and now. Each day my friends' simple talk in our kitchen multiplies itself in a widening circle of peace on earth and good will to men."¹²

The Twelve Steps -- for Alcoholics ... and for Greens?

The pathway I am on toward emptying my own boat is that of the Twelve Steps of Adult Children of Alcoholics Anonymous, adapted from those of A.A. I would like to share them here so that the reader knows of their existence and can choose them if they "resonate." I have attached them as an appendix. The first step says, "We admitted we were powerless over [(alcohol, overeating, drugs, etc.)], that our lives had become unmanageable." Admitting powerlessness means coming to a realization that we can no longer hold our will responsible for

changing our behavior or situation. For an alcoholic, it would be admitting that no number of promises made about quitting, and no yearning of the strongest magnitude to quit, will stop her/him from drinking. It is the realization that this problem has gone beyond the control of the will.

I use this step for my Greenness as well as for other problems. I admit that I am powerless over the disturbing state of the environment and the terrifying paradigm of greed and power-hunger we live under. I am powerless over the apathy of those around me. I admit that the state of our society, environmentally, economically, and spiritually has become unmanageable. Now I do not feel weighted down or lacking of enough energy.

In Step Two, the drafters "Came to believe that a Power greater than [them] selves could restore [them] to sanity." After admitting powerlessness, they realized that there was nothing left but hope; their will could not recover them, but some power, whether each individual defined that power as that of the energy of a group of people working together or that of Jesus Christ, could heal them, and this was not a helpless situation.

As I ponder our society's situation, I realize that although I alone cannot solve the world's problems no matter how much volunteer time I put in, or how much litter I pick up, etc., a Higher Power can help as long as I and others are willing to let him/her/it guide us.

Bill and friends in Step Three "Became willing to turn [their] will and [their] lives over to the care of [that higher power], as [they] understood [that higher power]." They had a problem they could not cure themselves, but realized someone/thing could. Now they were willing to ask that power into their lives to guide them to recovery. The Greens can do the same. Valuing spirituality, together at their meetings they can admit powerlessness, acknowledge the existence of a helpful, guiding power, and invite that power into their group and into each individuals life, to help them achieve their goals.

Once one begins to trust one's Higher Power, one begins to feel safe. Then it is time for courage. The rest of the steps tell us to take a real, honest look at ourselves. Drinking, or in the case of many people involved in social movements, the denial of personal responsibility for the problem and the addiction to blaming "the powers that be," keeps us from facing ourselves. Now we can, and working the steps can help us acknowledge our strengths and weaknesses. We do not have to hide, pretend, deny, or feel disempowered anymore! We can make amends to those we have harmed because of our addiction and denial and forgive ourselves. The slate is clean

and we can begin again, this time following our Higher Power instead of our will. The Steps are an everlasting process, perhaps with no ending point. They can help us as individuals within a social movement communicate fairly and effectively and to be a positive addition to the group. They can help the movement as a whole to examine itself and purify its goals and actions.

The fact that a movement as successful as the Anonymous Movement exists shows us that we can join together and achieve our wildest dreams. We can work on ourselves and work together on our world to meet our goals, as long as we acknowledge and are ready for the dedication this requires at all levels.

With addiction, as with sin, a cure is possible right up to the moment of death, for the problem inheres in the mind of the person more than in his or her external circumstances...The spiritual view enables us to appreciate the importance of the individual moral choice: rather than futile and insignificant, it is central and decisive. The fate of the earth depends on the state of our souls. In fact, we can see the...crisis as a great opportunity for the maturation of our species.¹³

NOTES

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 4. Jerald Hage, State Responsiveness and State Activism (Boston: U. Hyman, 1989) 6.
 5. Tarrow, 16.
 6. Jones, 340.
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 9. Alcoholics Anonymous, Alcoholics Anonymous (New York: Works Publishing Co, 1939).
 10. Ibid., 103.
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GREENING THE ECONOMY

From the beginning, our practicum has been concerned with the ways Greens might achieve their goals. Initially, we saw four pathways: the individual pathway, the community pathway, the political pathway, and the economic pathway. We know that this division was arbitrary, and we recognize that any division would take away our ability to visualize the whole system. After all, the inability to see the whole picture is at the root of many of the world's problems. But, our conception of four pathways gave us a way to get going with our work.

My research has been on economics, and the relevance of economics to Green fulfillment. Let me say at the outset that my experience with economics as an undergraduate has left me confused; I cannot understand how conventional economic principles can be applied to a world of finite resources. What does interest me, however, are the environmental crises occurring around the world. The depletion of natural resources and the increasing amounts of environmental degradation and pollution are occurrences with which I feel a connection, even for which I feel a responsibility.

There is an irony in all this, and the laugh's on me. The discipline that I have resisted turns out to be the academic apologist for precisely the phenomenon I should be studying. That is, our socialization to ideas like Economic Man, the Invisible Hand, and the theory of the firm, and about the imperatives toward maximization, competition and growth, are at the roots of the environmental crisis. Thus, I should be studying them, not so much to adopt them as ideology, but to address critically and to look for alternatives, myths and practices that embody hope.

I bring up my own story for two reasons: First, if I had not found myself responsible for researching economic theory, I never would have made the environmental-economic connection.

It is this vital connection that illuminates much of the environmental and socially destructive behavior exhibited by our global society. For anyone who feels drawn to the environmental crisis and wants to work for change, an understanding of the economy and the policies it dictates is a place to start.

The second reason fulfills a promise that I made to Greens during my research. A number of knowledgeable Greens whom I encountered are concerned about the level of indifference towards economics within the populous and the Green Movement: indifference by people working towards environmental change, towards social justice, and even toward a Green political party here in California. They feel this economic stigma is helping to sustain the current system and must be undone if human empowerment and ecological restoration are to have a chance. Their underlying conviction is that a new grassroots politics is essential, and that such a politics will be powered by a new understanding of economics.

What to Expect

For these reasons, the first section of my paper is an overview and critique of current economic theory. It starts with a look at the dominant mode in economics--neoclassical theory. It then examines the current indicator of our economic welfare, the Gross National Product, and the prevailing theory of economic 'growth.' The last concept dealt with is 'discounting,' which is a practice bearing major responsibility for the dire environmental and social straits in which we find ourselves.

On the surface, this first section is slightly dry and noticeably devoid of references to the Greens. Stick with it! The foundation provided by the first section will become useful in the interpretation of concepts in the second and third sections. The lack of references to the Greens in the first section is a function of my desire to lay the foundation as succinctly as possible. Greens on an official level, through the SPAKAs, have critiqued the current economic system. Generally speaking, the Greens that I met during the research phase knew of problems with the system but could not identify them and were essentially apathetic.

The second section investigates different indicators of economic welfare, development and sustainability. These new indicators are able to provide local, state, and federal governments with a clearer picture of the effects of their growth. The third section is a look at some of the steps that could move the Greens toward an economic future that embodies the spirit of the Ten Key Values.

A Grounding Point

Out of the ashes of our current economic doctrine a new theory of economic principles has begun to emerge. The new economic theory embodies ideas that go far beyond that of conventional economics. Six of the Greens' Ten Key Values share a close relationship within the new economic framework. They are also illustrative of the direction the new economic theory is going. The applicable values are:

- Community Based Economics • Ecological Wisdom
- Global Responsibility • Decentralization
- Personal & Social Responsibility
- Future Focus & Sustainability

These values are important concepts in and of themselves; together, they constitute a new economic paradigm.

In my mind, of the six values shown here, future focus and sustainability are the most critical issues to address. The facts are evident. The reports and publications declaring the state of the environment and the direction we are heading are numerous. Currently, governments and people of the world are living on future generations' resources. We know we are doing it. We have the technology to avoid it. Yet we do nothing about it.

New economic theory weights heavily the future generations' right to inherit the wealth of resources that we now enjoy. With future growth inevitable, a code of ethical development must be employed so we may pass along as many of the riches afforded to our generation as possible. A term that personifies this goal is sustainable development. While a much has been written about sustainable development, it is difficult to define succinctly. One definition that I like states that sustainable development has, as its principle aim, the search for a path of economic progress which does not impair the welfare of future generations.¹ This view of sustainable development, or any understanding you have of it, will be helpful as it is referred to frequently throughout the paper.

Current Economic Theory

Current economic theory and the policies enacted from it shape the world in which we live. Social and political systems have formed largely through the requirements set forth by an economic doctrine adopted almost a century ago. To the chagrin of many, the pathways which

we have taken to achieve our economic goals have been extremely detrimental to the world's social system and our environment.

Neoclassical Economic Theory

While neoclassical economic theory has worked for decades in its current form, its validity is now questionable. As society, the state of the environment, and the factors governing trade and capital have changed, old economic dogmas must be challenged.

Neoclassical economics essentially came of age during the Great Depression. The classical, laissez-faire approach to the market had created a situation that many believe required government intervention. As a result, fiscal and monetary policies were enacted which gave the government significant weight in the market. This shift from 'hands off' to 'hands on' participation by the government in the marketplace, at a time of social and political unrest, made sense. There was no other choice.

It could be argued that the Great Depression's effects on the transformation of economic policy and theory were among the most positive steps in moving the United States towards short-term economic world dominance. These same steps could also be argued as having moved the U.S. toward long term economic and social decline. In my mind these two arguments are the same.

Two classical economic tenets that have had tremendous effects on our system are the ideas of unlimited natural resources and factor immobility as they relate to free trade. It is an easy task reasoning why natural resources appeared to be unlimited a century ago. Modes of production and communication had a major effect on perceptions regarding natural resources. The result was that scarcity, environmental damage, and depletion were not concerns in their models.²

It is a more complex task to understand the idea of factor immobility as it relates to free trade. Think of factor immobility in terms of capital and labor, and their inability to be mobile over boundaries (national or international). This factor of immobility enabled economists to make assumptions about the nature of trade. As factor immobility changed to factor 'mobility,' the original assumptions made were no longer valid, yet economists often point to the rule of comparative advantage when discussing the merits of free trade.

For a better explanation, I must summon the classical economic rhetoric of comparative advantage. Comparative advantage is the idea that two countries are always better off specializing in the production of different goods and engaging in trade, rather than each country producing both goods and not engaging in trade. This concept of comparative advantage relates to free trade by invoking the concept of factor immobility. When comparative advantage was born, factors of production, such as capital and labor, were immobile over boundaries (state and national). Capitalists produced within their region or state and traded with other regions and states for goods, all benefiting in the process.

One hundred years later in 1991, neither capital nor labor are immobile over boundaries. Capital is now invested all over the world because state and national boundaries no longer limit the flow. The only restrictions left are tariffs and taxes.

This scenario of factor immobility led economists from Adam Smith to David Ricardo to endorse free trade. Once factors such as capital and labor become mobile, as they are today, there arose a strong argument against free trade. More on this in section three.

The Deceptive Indicator

The most watched worldwide economic indicator is the Gross National Product (GNP). The GNP provides a reference of a nation's final products and services sold within the context of the world market. The inaccuracy of the GNP comes in two forms: lack of total cost accounting and its misuse as a gauge of economic welfare.

The GNP is calculated by adding all of a nation's final goods and services for a particular period of time. The GNP itself falls short by its inability to recognize depreciation of resources in its formula. It also fails to account for the total cost of products and services on the natural environment. It essentially overlooks long-run depreciation of soils, forests, air quality, and other natural endowments for the short-run profit. There are also no variables to account for the difference between renewable and non-renewable resources or to recognize future scarcity. The GNP also shows positive growth when money is spent to combat pollution and environmental accidents. As Hazel Henderson put it:

The social cost of a polluted environment, disrupted communities, disrupted family life, and eroded primary relationships may be the only part of the GNP that is growing. We are so confused that we add these social costs into the GNP as if they were real, useful products. We have been judging our economic welfare from monthly figures of aggregate growth with no analysis as to what sector the growth has come from.³

Capitalizing on the misleading information of the GNP is the Federal government and the capitalist business community. The GNP purports to indicate our per capita economic welfare but clouds the reality of our poverty stricken members of society. In the U.S. per capita GNP is among the highest in the world. At the same time we have an extremely high rate of illiteracy. Discrepancies between national economic output and national social welfare are perpetuated by the wide acceptance of the GNP.

Growth Theory

Currently, a national economy's health is derived primarily from a comparison of past GNP figures. Within neoclassical guidelines, for an economy to be performing adequately, GNP growth of three percent or more per year is required. Anything less than three-percent growth is an indicator of a system failure.⁴ Within this context the assumption that follows is that growth is 'good' and more is 'better.' Paul Ekins, in The Living Economy, rejects this annual growth assumption.⁵ He believes that economic growth as a policy fails in a number of areas:

First, the idea of growth confuses means with ends.⁶ In a socially equitable society, economic growth should have a positive net effect on welfare. In current society, economic growth rarely has a net effect on human welfare. Individual capitalists benefit, but local people rarely do.

The second shortcoming with current growth theory is in its failure to acknowledge the Earth and its resources as finite.⁷ This is obvious with a little computation. A three-percent annual growth rate, in GNP, implies a doubling of production and consumption every 25 years. This is a gruesome statistic in light of the documented resource depletion and environmental degradation from the last twenty years of growth.

Third and ironically, economic growth as a policy is likely to intensify the effects of the problems it is meant to solve, chiefly inflation and unemployment.⁸ The reason for this is that patterns for resource allocation usually involve high opportunity cost and have a goal to maximize profit and growth. These goals of indiscriminate and unproportionate growth usually have negative implications for both labor and inflation.

Discounting & Undervaluing the Future

The question that these arguments naturally bring up is: if growth is so bad then why do we keep doing it? The reality is that economic growth is perpetuated by many forces in our

system. An ever-growing per capita consumption rate combined with an ever-growing world population determines the need for a high-consumption, growth-dominated global economy.⁹ This high valuation on consumption in our present system mortgages our generations well-being over future generations well-being.¹⁰ To rationalize this behavior, a system of valuing, or undervaluing as the case may be, the future has been established.

The economist's term for this practice is discounting, which essentially means weighting present benefits over future benefits. The rate at which the benefits change is the discount rate.¹¹ The example discussed in Blueprint for a Green Economy pertains to the relative benefits of receiving one dollar today, to receiving that same dollar next year. They argue five basic reasons for receiving the dollar today.

The first is the idea of 'positive capital productivity.' This reason offers that by receiving one dollar today and purchasing capital with it, the dollar can be put to productive use. In a year's time the dollar will have increased its value and thus generated income.

The second, third and fourth reasons imply that even if no investment gain can be incurred, the 'time preference' element alone will cause the dollar to be chosen today over next year. This can be explained by three factors; people's general 'impatience' for benefits, the 'risk and uncertainty' of future benefits being available in a year's time, and the 'risk of death' argument which states that since a person can not be assured of being alive in a year's time, they will take the dollar today.

The fifth argument delves into the classic economic tenet of 'diminishing marginal utility.' This argument is based upon the idea that if we, or our descendants, can confidently expect to be better off than we are now, the dollar will be worth less in the future than it is presently, so take the dollar today.¹²

This extensive reasoning for preferring benefits today over benefits tomorrow is the rationale behind discounting. With this notion in place, lenders then determine what discount rate they will assign to future projects. The important concept here is that lenders are usually only willing to invest in projects that will yield returns at least as high as that of banks.

High discount rates (of around ten percent) usually imply fewer investments will be made because of large initial start-up costs and, more importantly for capitalists, a long wait for profits.¹³

The impacts of discounting on society and the environment are pervasive and numerous. Because discounting is often the most important factor in calculating investments, the rate of discount usually determines if the investment will be made.

A Step Towards Greener Theory

In looking at how current economic theory deals with the environment, social welfare and distribution of resources to current and future generations, it is no surprise why the Greens feel compelled to help 'green the environment.' Much of the theoretical groundwork to do this is being laid by economists around the world who feel the only way to green the environment is through a transformation of the economic system. The rallying call bringing Greens and economists together is a united concern over the effects of our prevailing economic system on the sustainability and ultimate survivability of the natural resources and processes of the planet.

As with any emerging field, the new economic groundwork is being laid using different techniques that are trying to realize similar goals. Paul Ekins describes the new economic goals as follows:

Increasing satisfaction over the whole range of human needs, with the emphasis on personal development grounded in social justice; good health for all.

More equitable sharing of work, both in the formal and informal economies, with due value being given to each and with a new emphasis being put on the quality of work and on the quality of the technology which helps a person do it.

Greater economic self-reliance at the individual, local, provincial, national and regional level.

Conservation and ecological enhancement of the environment and sustainable use of natural resources, based on the realization that increased consumption in the context of sustainability can only be achieved by making better, more efficient use of a sustainable quantity of resources, rather than by increasing overall throughput.¹⁴

Whereas these goals are common to new theory minded economists alike, the approaches to attain these changes are somewhat different. A rough division of the new theory minded economists could take the form of a revisionist camp and new theorist camp.

The revisionists are essentially modifying the existing system through the application of 'new indicators' to account for natural resource depletion, environmental degradation, pollution, and human welfare. The general belief is that after 'new' indicators are in place the market will respond accordingly. The revisionist doctrine can also be thought of as a realist doctrine. The

reason being with this approach, change after change will occur, eventually forcing people to realize the situation and their place in it. After the seed is planted the changes will evolve into a new system of global economic interaction.

The new theorists look at 'modern' economic theory as an inherently flawed system. Herman Daly describes the problem as resulting from the high level of abstraction required in the theoretical models used by early economists and their inability to apply their conclusions while recognizing the degree of abstraction involved. He calls this notion "the fallacy of misplaced concreteness."¹⁵

With this fallacy residing in the foundation of modern economics, the new theorists are focusing on solutions and visions of creating an entirely new theory to attain the goals of a sustainable global environment.

New Indicators of Economic Welfare

Neoclassical revisionists make up the majority of economists looking to modify the existing economic 'tool box.' The revisionists, as I will refer to them, are trying to fabricate new tools to use within the current system, or a similar system, of economic theory. These 'new tools' take the form of indicators which will allow governments and the populous to better gauge their rate of development in each sector of society. The new indicators can serve as a counterbalance to the GNP figure with true social and ecological importance. In many areas the data for these indicators does exist, usually the result of independent studies. Many of these 'new' indicators aren't new at all. In 1971, Nordhaus and Tobin proposed the Measure of Economic Welfare, and in 1973 Japan's Net National Welfare indicator was established. What is needed now is a thorough ongoing monitoring of trends in these areas and their regular publication and use by the government. ¹⁶

In the case of natural resources, a system of resource accounting must be established. Currently, there is no worldwide natural capital accounting system at the macro level.¹⁷ There is also great debate over the assigning of monetary values to natural resources and environmental services. This debate is valid, but in my opinion, secondary to the idea of inducing people to realize that natural resources and environmental services are not free. By trying to value both natural resources and environmental services, we are forced into a rational decision making frame of mind in assessing the benefits and costs of what we do to the environment.¹⁸ The first step to change is recognition of problem.

Australia, Canada, France, the Netherlands, and Norway have, to some degree, recognized the problem. In response, they have begun to inventory all natural resources as a prelude to implementing accounting procedures to allow for loss of 'natural capital' in their GNP figures.¹⁹ One way of doing this is through an 'adjusted national product' (ANP) figure.²⁰ The ANP would be tabulated from the GNP minus the 'defensive' expenditures. Defensive expenditures include external costs of the growth process of production and consumption, external costs of spatial concentration, centralization of production and associated urbanization, and increasing risk susceptibility of the industrial system.²¹ This ANP technique is a way to differentiate within the GNP to arrive at a representation of the total cost of operations. The ANP while giving a better understanding of the effect of growth on natural resources and the environment would still fall short in assessing general welfare of the population.

In hopes of correlating general welfare to per capita GNP, the United Nations Development Program has produced the Human Development Index (HDI) which is comprised of the three elements of life expectancy, literacy and purchasing power.²² In comparing GNP with HDI, there is a large discrepancy between high levels of economic output and high levels of human welfare. For example, the United States ranks second in per capita GNP while ranking seventeenth on the HDI, chiefly for high illiteracy.²³ The previous examples are all part of revising the current economic system to account for natural resource depletion, environmental degradation, social welfare and sustainable development.

The Greens that I spoke with were split about fifty-fifty on their willingness to buy into the revisionist perspective. All Greens felt that change in this direction is necessary, but some felt that only settling for revising a system that is "essentially corrupt" to begin with, doesn't make sense. The flaws they pointed out, within the revisionist framework, reflected thinking that was highly-educated and spiritual in nature, but did not mesh with the reality of the situation globally or here in California. This is in not a negative critique of these particular Greens; it is in fact a compliment and testament to the dreams and beliefs that many of us have, but only few are able to actualize.

Agreeing with the revisionist point of view are largely the politically- minded Greens. They feel that by implementing new indicators now, public awareness will be heightened, thus beginning the transformation process. When asked if settling for a revision of the current economic doctrine was a co-option of environmentalism, the resounding Green response was that it represented a step in the right direction, that it would most likely yield positive results.

The Greenest of Indicators

It appears that the point of demarcation between the revisionists and the new theorists is one of means and ends. In a rough and dirty way, the revisionists' goal is to induce a change in the system and let the market wrinkles work themselves out. This goal of inducing change could be seen as a focus on means. If this were to be accepted, it could then be argued that the new theorists' focus would be on ends. Their concern is not to conceive a system that 'works,' but conceive a system that 'functions' in the context of current global demands.

Economist Herman Daly, of the World Bank, and theologian John Cobb recently published The Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare (ISEW. see in appendix). Although Daly is known for his 'ends' approach to new economic theoretical groundwork, the ISEW illustrates a comprehensive 'means' approach that is an excellent and frightening look at what the GNP does not account for. The depth of the ISEW not only provides a measure of economic well being, but shows the areas in which attention is most needed. This could be particularly helpful for policy proposals to improve national and global welfare.

The ISEW's level of detail is exceptional. It accounts for a wide range of activities individually while also providing a sum indicator for yearly reference. Comprised of twenty-two separate indicators, each category can stand alone as a measure in their respective fields. With comparisons between different categories, correlations and regressions can be noted and acted upon. Understanding that the ISEW has its limitations, it does present an in-depth model of the types of indicators we should be following in our quest for sustainable development.

Needed is the adoption of indicators similar to those found in the ISEW, to be implemented, published, and used on the local, county, state, and federal level. The Greens could use such indicators to show trends and predict future trends in their districts which could give their platform more legitimacy in the eyes of the public. This technique could also be used on the state level for the same purpose. I must clarify, the Greens could use indicators of economic, environmental and social welfare to gain support by the people. Even more important than Greens using this method, people must be made aware of the dire situation we find ourselves in. The facts are plentiful. More people must share this awareness, and the use of indicators could be instrumental in that task.

Growth v. Development

A great obstacle to overcome is differentiating between 'economic growth' and 'economic development.' The distinction to be made is that growth is a quantitative change while development is a qualitative change. This is a fundamental difference that should be acknowledged in all realms of discussion pertaining to sustainable development. In Blueprint for a Green Economy, the authors argue that economic 'growth' relates to increases in defined quantity, namely real GNP per capita. This growth can not be said to be on a 'sustainable' path if there is evidence that the feedback from changes in the environmental quality induce non-sustainability.²⁴ The term economic 'development' adopts a broader view and looks at all actions that impact on human well-being and the ability of our generation to leave behind comparable assets of natural environment to future generations.²⁵

From an Green perspective, this argument is crucial. It provides at least two opportunities for Greens to integrate into mainstream California consciousness. The first plays on the fact that not many people want to leave their children a legacy of pollution and destruction. They want and need to know that their children and their children's children get a chance to experience the beauty of California and the world as they have. This concern is one of the few issues that crosses political and social boundaries. Regardless of a person's political affiliation, most people are united when it comes to trying to preserve the integrity of the environment. As the Greens strive for identification with this cause, they will have to compete with two political machines that purport to "embody the environmental cause." A tool the Greens can use in discrediting the claims of other "environmentally conscious" political parties is to look at their short and long-run development strategies and how they relate to human well-being.

The caveat for this argument rests in our citizens at or below the poverty line which is where the second opportunity for the Greens arises. Whereas the middle to upper-middle-class populous are, generally speaking, concerned with preserving the environment, the lower-class citizens who are confined by the state are more likely concerned with basic survival than in preserving an environment for which they have little use. It is within the lower to middle classes that equal justice must travel.

Pathways to Greener Economics

New ideas are often not accepted. Modes of thinking that deviate from the norm have been regarded as 'crazy' or 'ridiculous.' Extraordinary visions of new behavior and unique ways of accomplishing tasks have also been at the root of technological progress. Our paradoxical

society often deems its wisest members as insane. Unfortunately, this paradox is alive and well as we enter the second millennium. New models and structures supporting a sustainable global society have been surfacing for some time, though the doom and gloom context in which these new ideas find themselves often turn many people away.

Robert Heilbroner reflected about the pressure of the human economy on the biosphere, especially when economic growth is no longer possible. He projected a continuing (but gradually slowing) growth economy until the middle of the first decade of the next century. When that ends, he sees the need for highly authoritarian governments to control the transition to economic decline.²⁶

Daly and Cobb see the future heralding a hotter planet, with lost deltas and shrunken coastlines, under a more dangerous sun, with less arable land, more people, fewer species of living things, a legacy of poisonous wastes, and much beauty irrevocably lost.²⁷ Even with these outlooks they feel there is hope.

In 1977, Herman Daly introduced 'steady-state economics' (SSE). By definition, SSE maintains constant stocks of people and artifacts maintained at some chosen, sufficient level by a low rate of throughput.²⁸ He accomplishes this goal through the implementation of (1) an institution for stabilizing population; (2) an institution for stabilizing the stock of physical artifacts and keeping throughput below ecological limits; (3) a distributist institution limiting the degree of inequality in the distribution of constant stocks among the constant population.²⁹ This overwhelming authoritarian society is a frightening thought. The few Greens I spoke with, who were familiar with SSE, felt the greening of society, and the system they envision, could prevent such an authoritarian society for a long time. One Green professed, "At the current rate of depletion and social inequity, authoritarian rule is not far off."

In 1989, Herman Daly and John Cobb Jr. published For The Common Good. The main focus of the book is in redirecting the economy toward community, the environment, and a sustainable future (as indicated in the subtitle). I have referred to this work frequently in my paper. It is without question an enormously important look at the entire picture of our global society, and required reading for all. Daly and Cobb take the SSE philosophy and discuss tangible, attainable steps that could point society in a sustainable direction, but not necessarily an authoritarian one.

Steps Towards a Greener Future

Green thought and Daly and Cobb's vision seem to hold many similar aspirations. The steps that Greens speak about are extremely similar to that of Daly and Cobb. I will use both to illustrate these pathways.

The first step discussed in For The Common Good is university reform. This would be fashioned by the establishment of departments to study the university institution itself and to study the social and global crisis now occurring.³⁰ The university board would attempt to look into the history of the university, in the context of how they influence and organize knowledge and how they have related to the rest of society.³¹ The social and global crisis department would focus on a holistic approach in gathering information from other disciplines to gain a macro perspective on the global situation.³²

Future Green thought also indicates that education is of utmost concern. The Greens that I spoke with seemed to be more concerned with educating youngsters than in trying to tackle the existing educational institution. Many spoke of 'alternative' schools and programs that would ground children in sustainable modes of thinking as opposed to consumption modes.

According to Greens, the most important step in the greening process is the strengthening of communities. Every Green I spoke with during research had something to say about the positive effects of community building. One Green felt that "community interaction is they key to local empowerment." Another told of a co-operative farm that during the summer and fall was able to produce close to three quarters of their town's vegetable needs. A third related how a group of citizens in her community were able to routinely influence the county supervisors towards greener alternatives in policy decisions. All of the enthusiasm surrounding community building is encouraging.

Daly and Cobb also place much weight on developing the community. For The Common Good places great importance on the idea of a global community made up of smaller communities.³³ Within the smaller community, empowered citizens could effect change through the local government to sustain and improve community life.³⁴ Communities can also work to strengthen their own economic capacity by trying to shorten supply lines. Daly and Cobb use the Meadowcreek Project of Fox, Arkansas to illustrate this point. The goal of the project was to demonstrate that even under the current economic system, buying locally grown agriculture makes sense. Working with a local college to redirect food purchases toward local produce, in one year, state produce purchases increased from nine percent to forty percent.³⁵

Some of the obstacles in redirecting food purchases back into the local economy is the convenience, on the part of grocery and food service managers, of buying many types of items from national distributors. Also there is the convenience of buying prepared foods on the consumer level. All of these issues are addressable, especially by a strong community.

Daly and Cobb also look at the issue of changing trade policies. The question of free trade is a thorny political issue right now. Many view free trade as a positive step towards a global economy. These same people believe that all parties will benefit from such a policy. I have a hard time agreeing.

In a free trade situation, where capital is mobile over national boundaries, the rule of comparative advantage no longer applies. Capitalists from Country B can exploit cheap labor and produce goods in Country A. Then export goods back to Country B for sale without tariffs. The resulting situation is perilous.

In Country A the employment being created consists of dehumanizing factory jobs paying subsistence level wages and giving little or no benefits to the worker or the community. In addition, since the host country is trying to attract foreign capital investment, the host government looks the other way to industrial pollution and unfair treatment practices by the foreign firm.

This practice has more serious consequences for Country B. By not investing in their own country's workers, the capitalists from Country B devalue the labor force and their fellow citizens' standard of living. As more jobs are lost to cheap foreign labor, either Country B lowers the minimum wage to compete with the inexpensive foreign labor or there is massive unemployment. With this policy in place, capitalists are able to cut production costs because of cheaper labor, lax pollution standards, little or no commitment to the community of foreign workers, and the lack of import tax. This policy is great for the capitalist but has no provisions to help the unemployed, undervalued worker.

The widening class disparities are a major issue in this country and particularly in California. The changing trade policies, in particular the Mexican free trade agreement, is of utmost importance to the agricultural community in California. As food producers close factories here in California and head south for cheaper production costs, California unemployment increases, the agricultural industry loses income, the banks lose income and the entire economy becomes destabilized. Daly and Cobb take the view that trade protection of American business is

vital to retaining the standard of living in this country.³⁶ This protectionist view is controversial, causing Greens themselves to be divided. There is no doubt that this issue will become a major factor in California politics and the Green platform.

University reform, strengthening community and changing trade policies are 'large' steps that can be taken to move Green awareness ahead. Medium steps, in the same direction, take the form of individual businesses that adhere to the spirit of the Ten Key Values. Worker co-operatives, credit unions and democratic businesses are a few examples of enterprises that follow the Ten Key Values.

A Final Thought

The aforementioned changes, to the current system and steps to a Greener economy, are predicated on the development of the individual. The development of an individual's perception of the self, of the community, of the environment and the partnership of the three is the foundation. Once this process begins, steps can be taken to achieve system-wide transformation.

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STEPS TOWARDS A GREENER ECONOMY

If there has been a reluctance to face certain aspects of the work issue [in economics], it is no doubt partly because the problems appear to be so intractable. And indeed they are, if one assumes that they must somehow be solved by actions through governments or through top-down management. So many things have been tried-- from job creation and vocational education programs to more thoroughgoing changes such as the welfare state and the centrally planned communist state-- and there have been so many disappointments!

And yet there is another possibility, which, when it is viewed in the light of recent developments in Eastern Europe, China, and other parts of the world, seems far more plausible than would have been the case a decade ago. That is the possibility that the dilemmas are resolvable through a still more fundamental transformation of modern industrial society-- a transformation which could come about, not through clever management from a powerful state or transnational institution, but through a bubbling up of new goals, values, commitments, and concepts, coming from a *vast, creative middle band* of people who sense a new vision and will be satisfied with nothing short of its realization.¹

A series of articles appeared in the national news magazines in 1989, reporting that stressed and burnt out, "yuppies" were "just saying no" to promotions. In a newly established San Francisco advertising firm, the husband and wife ownership team, fearing economic losses, but exhausted from their workload, risked sharing the company with its employees and

shortening everyone's hours to thirty-two per week. (To their amazement, creativity, contracts, production, and earnings then soared!)

Certainly, the kind of economy Greens would like to see will entail more than an advertising firm's minor reforms, but the example illustrates a prevalent mood psychologist and author Marsha Sinetar summarizes:

If corporations want dedication, if they want employees to invest their energy and time, they have to pay them with something other than money. Because the money exchange just doesn't work anymore. People are not slaves to the dollar and will no longer work as material slaves. This seems to be a tremendous revolution in consciousness.²

Harman and Hormann observe:

Whereas there is undoubtedly a great deal of denial with regard to recognizing the true depth and seriousness of present societal and global problems, there appear at the same time many indications of a spontaneous creative response. These include ... a host of innovative experiments in nonprofit organizations, intentional communities, alternative economies, alternative health-care programs, new forms of business entrepreneurship, citizen approaches to assisting new enterprises and community development in Third World countries, and many others.³

"Rather than choosing a conservative skepticism," they interpreted these efforts as planetary "self-healing impulses, partially unconsciously guided."⁴ Author Harrison Owen adds: "the problem is not to induce change. The issue is to recognize it--it's already there--and help people through it."⁵ Most politicians have recognized the irrelevance and inadequacy of their programs and policies toward effective promotion of the real and sustainable welfare of Californians and their environment. Unfortunately, they often see Draconian regulation as their only tool of change, and are reluctant to use that, because Draconians have lousy campaign track records.

Most Greens, however, have recognized the crises, heeded a global call for change, and can and are becoming a part of solutions. Their experience, imagination, vision, and resolute actions help to inform change.

What do we need?/Criteria for living economy

There is enough for the needy but not for the greedy.

-A. Gandhi

We can live here and be happy with less.

-Sting

Even the dinosaurs in economists' circles recognize the inadequacy of the Gross National or Gross Domestic Product figures as indices of human and environmental welfare. I suspect that, in a traditional academic and bureaucratic fashion, experts in the formal study of economics will eventually come up with a slightly modified version of national accounting procedures. Perhaps they will even surprise us by offering some meaningful reform. Meanwhile, Greens and others who have decided not to hold their breath for top-down reform are conjuring up their own criteria for developing a healthier economy for the sake of human beings and for the whole biosphere.

Development of new economic principles and values requires a clear perception of which aspects of the modern industrial society are considered most objectionable. I perceive the current economy as characterized by:

- its continuous stimulation of, and reliance on, the motivations of greed, envy, avarice, and expansionary expectations;
- its vastly complicated nature which tends to disempower the individual;
- its production of "junk" and reliance upon a vast strata of marketing and financial wizards, contributing essentially no value to the common welfare and destroying the integrity of work;
- its degradation of the ecosphere and widely disparate allocation of benefits;
- its authoritarian character, due to organization in excessively large units;
- its unconscious development and application of technology.⁶

Change relies, foremost upon the recognition that something is wrong and that current policies are not functional. It requires that people see human/human and human/biosphere

interconnectedness and interdependence. In contrast to unenlightened self-interest, Daly proposes that individuals conceptualize themselves as persons-in-community. He declares that commitment to change is "above all, a matter of religious conviction and vision."⁷ Bioregionalists, authors such as Hazel Henderson, Herman Daly, John Cobb Jr., Jonathan Porritt, Marilyn Ferguson, Willis Harman, and John Hormann, and Greens affirm the need for fundamental changes in the public consciousness. Qualities of gift, trust, and compassion could emerge as the premises of economic activity. The question of appropriate scale arises to be grappled with. Everyone, rather than just steady-state economists and participants in The Other Economic Summit (TOES) conferences could measure economic success in terms of sustainability, rather than growth, and pay attention to the social and psychological functions of work. In work, we seek community, identity, meaning, and personal empowerment.⁸ We can see business as a way of serving others and of participating in our community, rather than primarily as a means of deriving profit. Finally, we, unlike industrial economists, who can only measure transactions occurring in the formal monetary economy, can acknowledge the tremendous value inherent in the informal economy: in household work, and in myriad acts of vital exchange and sharing to which money is a stranger.

The Greens' Ten Key Values, most specifically "community-based economics", illuminate economic pathways toward a "Greener " California political economy. The promotion of an alternative economic reality might entail:

Education. At all levels, the premises of new economic theory: interconnectedness, interdependence, and sustainability would be the foundation for conveying the perceptions of self-in-(local and global) community and a for a new work ethic. Affirm values of "What goes around comes around," or, as Calderon de la Barca put it, "A good action is never lost; it is a treasure laid up and guarded for the doer's need." We can foster cooperation and teach self-sufficiency so that families, communities and regions can de-monetize exchanges, reduce transport of goods, and increase local interaction by producing many basic requirements, ecologically, for themselves. Courses in "home ecologists' would emphasize health enhancement and waste reduction, teaching new dietary guidelines and culinary appreciation; promoting ecologically safe choices for building materials and household products, and examining our consumption patterns. Herb and vegetable gardens, like the Santa Cruz homeless garden provide opportunities for community learning and sustenance! Education will be necessary to guide us through any change, including all of the following.

Decentralization. "Concentrations of power [and wealth] are as unnatural and deadly as a blood clot or an ungrounded electrical line."⁹ Promoting community-based economics will entail adjusting structures to a more human scale and de-bureaucratizing by encouraging worker self-management. Programs now managed by the federal government might be more effective and responsive if controlled locally.

Developing new ownership patterns. Encouraging, participating in, and patronizing community ownership establishments and co-operatives, the centers of an economics which is both post-socialist and post-capitalist, is vital. Whereas large firms whose owners often live elsewhere are likely to deplete a community's resources and send profits from local residents to shareholders elsewhere, Porritt explains, "A co-operative is much more likely to be sensitive to the needs of the community in which its members live." The profit motive is subordinated to concern both that "working members are adequately cared for, and ... that the co-operative is playing a constructive role in the wider community."¹⁰

Establishing and investing in socially and environmentally responsible institutions. Whether shopping or banking, we vote for the kind of world we want to inhabit with our purchases and investments. Depositors commonly invest in a large, federally-insured financial institution, seeking security and the maximum return or interest on their money, with little regard for what is done with it in the interim. Likewise, investors generally speculate and choose stock portfolios solely dependent upon anticipated financial gain, abdicating responsibility for what and to whom they are lending to or supporting. Capital moves around the world so quickly, credit, banking, and money itself has become an abstraction. In order to avoid the potential violence, wastefulness, or misdirection of their funds, and in order to see and take pride in their employment, depositors can make alternate choices. On one level is the option of "capitalism with a friendly face"; investors may choose "socially-responsible" brokerage firms whose specialty is naming and choosing, by myriad criteria, what their investors' money supports. Some mainstream firms will tailor portfolios to the investors' standards, although few are accustomed to thinking, researching, or concerning themselves with the real social or environmental impact of the numbers they juggle.

Closer to home is the option of choosing a savings and lending cooperative or credit union. Credit unions generally have a limited "field of membership," often defined occupationally or geographically. Members deposit or invest in savings or investment accounts and elect directors to manage the funds. The credit union then loans most of its assets back to

other members. Surpluses cover operating costs and reserves (ensuring economic stability), pay members dividends, or are retained for future use to benefit membership. There are no outside investors or shareholders receiving credit union earnings; members are its beneficiaries. Loans for startup projects which larger, impersonal financial institutions might not risk, are often made within credit unions. Credit unions with geographically determined fields of membership reinvest directly into the community, drawing upon local knowledge and initiative to create jobs and regenerate the local economy. Credit unions across the nation, primarily due to their particular form of insurance, are currently financially solvent and healthy, whereas capitalist-managed, federally-insured savings and lending institutions are in a state of collapse. Credit unions are beginning to experience governmental pressure to annex their system of reserves with those of mainstream banks. Greens and others might write to their congressional representatives to secure the independent financial integrity of credit unions, then participate in one themselves!

Changing consumption patterns. Bookstores are deluged, of late, with guides, books, periodicals, and articles showing the connections between our particular consumption and use patterns and their wider sociopolitical and economic impacts. John Robbins' Diet for a New America illuminates the relationship between our dietary choices and water shortages, land degradation, hunger, and health problems in a striking and fascinating manner, suggesting healthier alternatives. Debra Lynn Dadd's Nontoxic and Natural discusses the origins, contents, and effects of hundreds of commonly used products and materials, offering nontoxic substitutes. Pearson's The Natural House Book, Day's Places of the Soul, and Kathryn McCamant's Co-Housing demonstrate (beautiful!) architectural and environmental design options to promote community living and environmental health. The Council on Economic Priorities publishes Shopping for a Better World a "quick and easy guide to socially responsible supermarket shopping", considering factors such as producers' records on giving to charity, women and minority advancement, community outreach, environmental impact, and involvement with military contracts, nuclear power, or South Africa. The references mentioned are merely examples of how consumers can be informed, and can have a say in how and what they purchase affects the integrity of social and environmental systems.

Fostering self-help and individual growth. Porritt advocates the establishment of "skills exchange networks", so that those who want to teach and those who want to learn are put in touch with each other."¹¹ A neighborly-- or, in some cases, international-- exchange of gardening, reading/writing, carpentry, canning, massage, maintenance, music, art, dance, or language skills promotes ecological wisdom, post-patriarchal values, social responsibility, and

respect for diversity, while encouraging community building and trust necessary for engaging in grassroots democracy.

Demanding tax and subsidy reforms/regulating and prohibiting unsound business. Ernest Callenbach proposes a Restoration Tax, somewhat like a value-added tax upon activities and production, according to the ecological damage they incur.¹² War tax resisters refuse to support or legitimize the federal government's military expenditures, often donating their tax equivalents to other programs, instead. (Some resisters face felony charges of tax evasion for this decision.) Others advocate a reapportionment of taxation, away from federal emphasis, and back to states, bioregions, or counties. Currently money is filtered up through a hierarchy of bureaucracy (and, sometimes, back again), losing its accountability to taxpayers. Many have advocated cinching up the tax loopholes granted to oil, nuclear, defense, and agrochemical--to name a few-- interests, whose kickbacks often amount to subsidization of their activity. Greens would rather, for example, subsidize renewable energy research and production or organic and integrated pest management farming, or drug rehabilitation, medical, and education programs. The lobbies for the former interests are staggeringly powerful, but popular political constituencies, if they represent a broad and coordinated consumer revolt, political voice, voting bloc, or, in California, referendum effort, can have influence.

Exchanging goods and services outside of the formal economy. Money is a convenience which has also created a dangerous, and particularly American, illusion of (heroic) independence. If one can amass sufficient paper capital, s/he can use its exchange value to buy, rather than trade for or produce independently, every *thing* physical sustenance requires-- and more. The organic relationship between human and human and between human and earth is obscured, obliterating acknowledgement of the intricacies of interdependence. With enough money, people are artificially enabled to buy their way right out of social and ecological relationships, facilitating alienation, loneliness, and ignorance of our place in a viable world. People can reclaim their connectedness (both the unsavoury and fulfilling aspects of intimacy) to one another and to the earth by partaking in the more self-sufficient production and face-to-face exchanges. Barter networks, childcare co-ops, personal trades,--and, as Easterners and Midwest farmers in a failing formal economy have recently rediscovered--scripting, are all forms of meaningful exchange occurring regionally, outside the formal economy.

Working for international agreements. People are usually most familiar with and can generally be most effective in their own locales, but shared earth, air, and water, necessitate

cooperation to ameliorate shared problems industrialized hegemony exacerbated to begin with. Respect for a diversity of pieces of the world's wisdom puzzle will facilitate creative accords and solutions, without which any single region is threatened. Emphasizing the importance of direct, local action is one thing; isolationism is quite another. Confederal coordination, particularly informationally, of decentralized Greening efforts can eliminate redundancies without sapping local power and vitality.

Sharing. Car, food, bicycle, computer, hammer, music, clothing, time, energy.... No one of my friends, family members, or neighbors has ever had all of these at once, themselves, but nor has any one of us ever needed all of them at exactly the same moment. In summary, however, we have much, and have always lent a free hand (or car) when another was in need, knowing the energy (or bicycle) would likewise be there for us when needed. In Eugene, Oregon, there is a neighborhood tool co-op in a small shack. For the contribution of five dollars and one tool; drills, hoes, and socket wrenches were mine when I needed them; in use by someone else, rather than idle, when I didn't. It would have been prohibitively expensive and wasteful for each of us to own all of the hardware we collectively had access to. A single mother told me how she and four other single moms in her apartment building used to each cook dinner at their respective apartments one night a week, affording them nights "off", dinner "out", and friendship. The ethic of sharing and the willingness to take the small risks it entails, obvious though it seems, provide the foundation of a vital economy and collective security. This is how we are rich. Sharing is love, economy, and survival.

Living Examples of Experiments Toward a Living Economy

When the forms of an old culture are dying, the new culture is created by a few people who are not afraid to be insecure.

-Rudolf Bahro¹³

Peter Berg and Raymond Dasmann declare, "A change is taking place in California." Communities of people across the state, they find, are trying a new approach to living with one another and on and with the land. They call this phenomenon "reinhabitation, a process that involves learning to live-in-place." *Living-in-place*, they explain, is the opposite of *making a living* through short-term, destructive exploitation of land and life. Reinhabitation, they write, means

learning to live-in-place in an area that has been disrupted and injured through past exploitation. It involves becoming native to a place through becoming aware of the particular ecological relationships that operate within and around it.

It means understanding activities and evolving social behavior that will enrich the life of that place, restore its life-supporting systems, and establish an ecologically and socially sustainable pattern of existence within it. Simply stated it involves becoming fully alive in and with a place. It involves applying for membership in a biotic community and ceasing to be its exploiter. ... [It] involves developing a bioregional identity...

They define a bioregion as a term referring both to geographical terrain and a terrain of consciousness.¹⁴ There are, indeed, people across the globe who have or are developing such a consciousness, and who perceive "ecological" in its broadest sense, acknowledging societal health as necessarily implicit. These people are forging inroads to a new political economy, one which, as the German Greens propound, is "neither left nor right, but in front."

Many people in Denmark have made mixed-use communities and co-housing a way of life, reducing commutes to jobs and waste of resources neighbors now share; Sweden operates under a principle of "Every Man's [sic] Right", by which all have access to the earth, because no one owns the property they live on--people may respectfully "trespass" anywhere; and, here in Santa Cruz, community gardens, to serve the homeless and the wider community, are emerging. All of these projects and perspectives are either directly supported by Greens or share an affinity with Greens' stated vision. The following are some specific living models, which, in my estimation, speak to the possibilities of a political economy in accordance with the ethos of the Ten Key Values.

Mondragon

The Mondragon cooperatives in northwestern Spain have been identified as a third way--beyond capitalism and socialism. As an association of hundreds of industrial and commercial enterprises and housing and agricultural cooperatives managed and owned by over 20,000 owners, who are also its only workers, Mondragon is the epitome of community-based economics and grassroots democracy. Since its beginnings in the 1950's, its mostly Basque members have come to be known for their familial society, their high quality productivity, and their outstanding community development. Mondragon's reliance upon exportable industrial products and upon screening new members with much regard to ethnic identity (Basque) do not exemplify strong ecological wisdom or respect for diversity, but may have been determining factors in the experiment's success. Mondragon is located in a geographically isolated region of the Pyrenees and was founded largely to foster Basque identity.

Management styles, however, exemplify post-patriarchal values. Each enterprise is managed by its own owner/workers, who are elected from within and represent different departments of a firm. Managers are generally elected for staggered four-year terms, so that half step down every two years.¹⁵ There is immediate management and a Supervisory Board, and there are Management, Social, and Watchdog Councils, affording ample opportunity for democratic participation, especially through rotations.¹⁶

Mondragon owner/workers own their enterprises directly, as opposed, for example to the over 4000 Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP) members in the United States, who do not necessarily participate in management and whose funds are held in a trust.¹⁷ Individual Mondragon enterprises do not exceed units of 500 members, but the collective as a whole, in coordination with its ninety-one branch credit union, the Caja Laboral Popular, have developed new cooperatives, schools, and security and health organizations. Rates of pay at the lowest levels (the payrate span is 1:5) are comparable to or slightly exceed those of other Spanish employees, and pensions are generally sixty per cent of final pay plus payment of accumulated equity, which may be equivalent to 55,000 dollars.¹⁸ The Mondragon experiment is one of the largest collectives the world. Books detailing Mondragon's history and organization as well as a video, entitled "the Mondragon Experiment" have served as a model for and inspired collectives' formations in California.

The Santa Cruz Community Credit Union

The Santa Cruz Community Credit Union (SCCCU) is a savings and lending cooperative with a geographically determined field of membership (Santa Cruz County) including 6500 members holding eighteen million dollars in assets. It is a vehicle through which neighbors are essentially lending to and borrowing from neighbors. According to Vice President of Operations Donna Zavada, SCCCU was established in the 1970's to offer a non-profit banking alternative for disenfranchised (politically or economically) people. Zavada began working as a teller at the credit union eight years ago and recalls the days when "tellers were volunteers, like in a food co-op." Today SCCCU offers sophisticated services comparable to other banks while maintaining its commitment to community-based economics and while embodying nearly all of the Ten Key Values.

Upon entering the credit union, one is immediately aware of a vibrant atmosphere contrasting one's expectations of financial institutions. Brightly colored murals and artwork grace the walls; colorfully-clad employees *sans* ties and pumps speak to members in Spanish or

English: fliers, announcements of community events, and free copies of Shopping for a Better World are stacked on shelves. Zavada says the credit union's thirty-five staff members are "dynamic rabble-rousers" all committed to shaping diverse energies to provide a model of a workplace including "security, input, creativity," and juggling it all to provide a humane internal and external organization.

SCCCU is the third largest low income credit union in the nation and has provided technical assistance to its "sister credit unions in East Harlem, New York, an Asian credit union in San Francisco, an Hispanic credit union in Phoenix, a black credit union in rural Georgia, and others in Newark, New Jersey."¹⁹ According to Zavada, SCCCUC has excess deposit assets which it is unable to lend out entirely within Santa Cruz, so it maintains an external investment policy of "ethics first, with return on the dollar a close second." The board, elected by members, determines ethical standards, and Zavada conveys some struggle, "P.C. [politically correct] is not the same for everyone!"

SCCCUC has, in the past fourteen years, lent over twenty-one million dollars for community development, creating thousands of jobs. The credit union has financed businesses promoting democratic management, liveable wages, community and worker profit sharing, cooperatives, and worker ownership. It has provided loans for over 100 startup businesses and cooperatives as well as to over fifty farmers and farming cooperatives practicing organic and integrated pest management. It has promoted women and minority-owned businesses, including a trucker, a salsa manufacturer, restaurants, typesetters, and travel agencies. SCCCUC also lends community nonprofits economic opportunity, both through loans and through its VISA Donation Fund; annual beneficiaries are selected by member ballot. The credit union has promoted a community-owned radio station, childcare centers, homeless shelters, affordable housing developers, theater groups, and drug abuse programs, and voted to donate to Planned Parenthood, Santa Cruz AIDS project, Save Our Shores, and the Hospice Caring Project of Santa Cruz County, among others organizations. Santa Cruz Community Credit Union is providing jobs, housing, and community services while affording security (it is insured through its payments into the National Credit Union Administration) and thriving financially.

Democratic Management Services

Democratic Management Services (DMS) is a nonprofit corporation engaged in community economic development and providing financial services in Santa Cruz County. DMS has evolved over twenty years from "University Services Agency" to "Riptide Services", with

many changes to its current name and status. The organization was created as an umbrella agency to emerging profit and non-profit entities and has served as an incubator association for more than forty profit and non-profit entities. It owns affiliates' assets and has provided financial services and collective management training, initially for non-profit status; some of its affiliates, however, according to the IRS, became too profitable, and must now act as profit subsidiaries within DMS. The profitable businesses, Sluggo's pizza, Way of Life natural products, and Community Printers are collectives whose assets are still owned by DMS, but as its People at Work subsidiary. DMS provides credibility, alternative management training, seed grants and other financing, accounting, networking with outside funding sources, employee benefits (health, dental, and retirement), and tax exemption to its affiliates. Some affiliates need grants, tax-exempt status, and financial services on very limited bases. The Japanese Cultural Faire and other projects are examples of DMS' such "fiscal agents". Non-profit affiliates include the Kresge Food Cooperative, The Energy Conservation Program, and New Music Works. Lorraine Roque, an employee-manager at the now-profitable Community Printers, tells the story of one DMS affiliate,

The first owners here started working for almost nothing. ... Their vision? Their vision was to be what we are now, with our two presses. We contribute to the community with donations and discounts, and, yes, we use recycled paper, but we haven't found a soybean ink we like the quality of yet. I like my job; the scheduling is flexible, not rigid in case you have to go to the doctor or somewhere; you're a manager yourself.

The Body Shop, International

The Body Shop, a British company selling personal care products, has been called "the ultimate example of a company that 'does well by doing good.'"²⁰ With 320 stores worldwide, the company uses minimalist, recyclable or reusable packaging and doesn't advertise; still, it is a 125 million dollar per year enterprise. Founder Anita Roddick comments, "What distinguishes us from our competitors is that we're value-led rather than market-driven." Body Shop employees at every level are encouraged to get involved in community projects, such as work with AIDS sufferers or youth groups, on company time. Those interested in becoming franchises (there are 5000 on England's waiting list) must demonstrate concern for and work on environmental issues. The Body Shop has funded the development of artificial skin for burn victims, a Boys' Town, and Indian and Nepalese craftspeople. They "educate, educate all the time" on body care as well as

on topics like drugs and urban survival. In one year (1987) pretax profits soared by seventy four percent.²¹

Santa Cruz Green Collective

Kirk Garber, who believes economics follows politics, initiated the Santa Cruz Green Collective in November of 1990, wanting to offer a local economic alternative. The current Collective touches only the surface of his vision, which is to become an alternative economy made up of "green businesses." Rather, it is beginning as a cooperative network in which people meet one another to exchange their energies (work, time, money, goods, support, ideas). A newsletter with membership rates of one dollar per month, in which members use a classified type approach to offer items and services for barter/exchange or currency, facilitates network formations. Garber says, "We are motivated by all of these seemingly minor exchanges, because we feel that collectively they bring us closer to creating an economy that is not based on environmental destruction or social exploitations." He says there are currently sixty members-- "almost a critical mass" and is pleased to be meeting, working with, and bringing together dozens more people now and in the future. Garber likens the past six months of the Collective to "launching a kite; we had to keep pulling it along with all of our energy for fear it would fall to the ground. Now it seems to fly on its own." The Green Collective's newsletter is currently distributed at nine locations in Santa Cruz.

Ocean Beach Green Store

San Diego Greens Kip Krueger and Colleen Drekel celebrated the second anniversary of the inception of the Green Store on Earth Day, 1991. They have transformed a garage into a store and resource base of alternative literature, providing a service they did not see as being offered in the "conservative" San Diego area. Diverse organizations drop off literature at the store, which also serves as a gathering place.

Greener Alternatives

Santa Cruz Green Kathryn Taylor and Bob Schwarz co-own Greener Alternatives, a Santa Cruz business selling ecologically friendly products. They established their store on Mission Street in the fall of 1990, and take their products to Earth Day and other events as well.

Taylor had worked with the local Greens to achieve a Santa Cruz styrofoam ban, and realized she had to offer businesses an alternative, which would presumably be paper.

Having learned about the deadly dioxin used to bleach most paper products and wishing to preserve forests, Taylor sought recycled, non-dioxin-bleached paper products and began transporting paper from San Francisco by the carload, and soon, by vanloads, to Santa Cruz businesses. After several months, she and Schwarz collaborated to form Greener Alternatives. They sell high post-consumer waste, non-dioxin-bleached paper, biodegradable (plant cellulose) lunch bags, greeting cards, and, the products for which they have achieved some notoriety, hemp fibers and clothing. Taylor says the THC content in the durable, linen-like hemp clothing is minute. "You would have to smoke a pair of shorts the size of a football field to get high," she reckons. Taylor and Schwarz produce a Greener Alternatives catalog and look forward to expanding their services.

The various experiments mentioned are merely a few examples of economic endeavors through which people have attempted to create alternatives toward a more socially and ecologically sound future. There are countless instances of similar projects now functioning in communities worldwide, and countless more now in the form of personal and collective dreams, waiting to emerge. Ironically, several Greens have adopted the Nike motto, declaring, "We 'JUST DO IT'."

Notes

1. Willis Harman and John Hormann, Creative Work (Munich: Schweisfurth Foundation, 1990), 13.
2. Ibid., 194.
3. Ibid., 15.
4. Ibid., 15.
5. Ibid., 195.
6. ideas from Jonathan Porritt, Seeing Green: The Politics of Ecology Explained (Oxford and New York: B. Blackwell, 1985)
7. Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb, Jr., For the Common Good (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 20.
8. Porritt.
9. Marilyn Ferguson, The Aquarian Conspiracy (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher Inc., 1980), 223
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16. Chris Logan and Henk Thomas, Mondragon: An Economic Analysis (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1987), 27.
17. Bradley and Gelb, 8.
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20. Harman and Hormann, 169.

21. Ibid., 170.

PATHWAYS TO GREEN FULFILLMENT

If the Greens have an overall goal, it is individual and systemic adoption of the Ten Key Values. This goal involves complex processions of dynamic changes throughout many different levels and sectors of American society. Understanding the origins and progressions of these dynamics is integral to accomplishing such a goal. In this paper, I try to map some of the directions that lead to Green fulfillment.

During our research, we, like Greens themselves, discovered that criticisms of our current situation are numerous, thorough, and complete. We also found numerous and exciting visions for the future, all creative and intelligent proposals for living socially and environmentally responsible lives. Yet how to get from “here” to “there” has received relatively little attention. In our fieldwork, we encountered many excellent ideas, but they often contradicted one another. With these contradictions in mind, I will take a comprehensive look at the most fundamental, and perhaps the most complex aspect of a successful movement: its role in catalyzing and achieving change. To do this, I will first discuss the process of change in a theoretical framework, then apply these theories to the Greens themselves.

The Process of Change

As stated by modern physics, the entropy of the universe is always increasing (entropy being the property of randomness). It is the universal property of entropy that causes the passage of time, and in this sense the passage of time can be defined by change. When random change is applied to the history of our planet and its abundant life forms, it has followed the path termed "evolution." In an ever-changing world, all living things and natural formations must

adapt to better fit within the changing environment. These adaptations are not limited to the biological and geological realm, but are prevalent among human cultures as well. Although it cannot be disputed that cultures adapt to changes in their environment, the question arises as to how much of these adaptations are a result of conscious evolution. When and how do we realize that familiar patterns known to work are no longer effective and must change?¹

The answer lies in the relationship of cause and effect. In the east, this is known as Karma, "the acting out of the past in the present and the creation of the future in the now."² Examples of cause and effect events leading to change are numerous, with the greatest changes occurring as a result of the most dramatic events. "A time of crises can be an opportunity to learn from our past mistakes and make the move into a more mature relationship with life."³ Undoubtedly, the present crisis of environmental destruction is shaping the future of the Green Movement through cause and effect events that transform the ethics, values, and lifestyles of individuals. To outline how the environmental movement can be successful at accomplishing necessary changes, environmentalist and historian Roderick Nash interpreted major events of American history, such as the American Revolution and the Civil War, to show how such changes are brought about. He pointed to:

1. Shockers: revelations or events that recognize the necessity of change.
2. Ethical Education: the need for ethical, non-anthropocentric philosophers.
3. Communication: the use of books, words, and media to extend new ideas to others.
4. Charismatic Leadership: recognition that leadership abilities of certain individuals can provide strength to a movement.
5. Uncompromising Stance: the necessity of a strong stance in an attempt to change dominant paradigms.⁴

Nash also pointed out that ethical change seldom occurs peacefully and posited the idea of "a Holy War for Mother Earth." He is telling us that we are all potential partners of a constant and dramatic process that can lead to new opportunities for Green fulfillment.

A drop in the ocean partakes of the greatness of its parent although it is unconscious of it. But it dries up as soon as it enters upon an existence independent of the ocean.

- Mahatma Gandhi⁵

Understanding the dynamics of change within different sectors of the societal spectrum is a necessary step to building Green pathways. Starting with the individual, we have formed communities, states, nations, and the global community, including many levels and sectors between. In the United States, the social spectrum is a complex one, consisting of many elements interdependent in forming and organizing Western culture. As we delve into the complexities of this spectrum, we find a bureaucratic structure whose continual growth is greatly effecting the global environment. It is within this context that change takes place, with the different elements of the spectrum constantly interacting and redefining each others roles.

As individuals we may influence changes at all levels of the spectrum, and conversely, systemic changes may provide channels for change on the individual and community level. As Michael Lindfield has put it, we are all in it "together alone."⁶ This concept of the interconnectedness between the different levels of social structure, and its role in creating change, has great relevance to the Green philosophy that maintaining diversity within unity provides strength to a movement. The different needs, abilities, and ideas that exist within this spectrum are all integral parts of determining how the future can and will take shape.

The relationship between individuals and society in terms of lifestyles, ethics, and values, is at the forefront of Green understanding. Jonathan Porritt writes, "...the Green model of social and political change insists that each of us should find our own way of living and seeing Green."⁷ This perhaps is the crux along the pathway to Green fulfillment; the transformation to a socially and environmentally sustainable society that adheres to the Ten Key Values is dependant upon the transformation of individuals, and such transformation can only be initiated by the individual. How such transformations have and can occur has proved to be the most inspiring aspect of my research, and has catalyzed change and growth within my own life.

Throughout the research and interviews done by the practicum group, concepts such as sources of empowerment, vehicles for change, and tools for transformation often appeared as recurring themes when addressing the subject of change on the individual level. They were articulated by both Greens and non-Greens to explain how and why individuals became inspired and motivated to make the necessary changes and sacrifices in order to lead a "Green" life. The first step in this process is recognizing the necessity of change. Such a recognition can be triggered by something we read, or by a chain of unplanned events, or through a process of conscious and deliberate self-examination.

Personal Transformation

The natural process of examining our own lives and lifestyles is a powerful tool for recognizing our problems, needs, assumptions, sources of motivation, and directions for change. This often painful exercise is rarely done with an open mind, however: "We have an idea of how we want to be helped and are not open to anything that does not resemble what we have in mind. This approach can be extremely limiting, for it implies that the future. . . will merely be a rearrangement of old patterns."⁸ Therefore, creativity is a necessary and powerful tool for transformation. By creating a vision for the future we have a source to inspire our actions. Yet we all must take responsibility for our creativity. "One of the lessons on the path to being a whole individual is [realizing]. . . that eventually we must take care of all we have personally set in motion."⁹

God sleeps in the stones
dreams in the plants
stirs in the animals
and awakens in humanity¹⁰

The necessity of inspiration, open-mindedness, responsibility, and creativity in the process of personal transformation is best expressed by the role of spirituality and spiritual transformation in the Green Movement. "As spiritually human beings, as a part of life, we are co-creators--we create reality. When we begin realizing this, and take responsibility for our creativity (or the lack of it) we can begin to change our reality. . ."¹¹ Spiritual transformation is perhaps best likened to a change in one's level of consciousness. It is an experience one undergoes which is transforming of one's personality and one's perspective. One sees in a different way than one saw before the transformation. It is not so much a change in a particular belief or viewpoint as it is a change which takes one beyond all viewpoints. The attitude of one's mind is altered, hence the term spiritual transformation.¹²

It is this change in consciousness that has inspired many individuals to step outside of "known" boundaries and transform their lifestyles to a lifestyle that is better in tune with their inner selves and their surroundings, especially with nature. "Even in the busiest metropolis we have access to a natural world that is a doorway to peace and nourishment. That world is our own spiritual nature, to which the time-tested ways of gaining entry are prayer, contemplation, and meditation."¹³

The transforming powers of spiritual consciousness that benefit so many people have also been ignored and abused throughout history by political and religious leaders. The spiritual seeker must beware. Specific actions, exercises, and religious prescriptions may assist individuals in reaching levels of spiritual consciousness, but should not limit an individual from creating or choosing his or her own form of spirituality. Spiritual consciousness is opened by engaging in exercises determined and developed by the individual. Personally, communing with nature through environmental education and outdoor activities such as hiking, biking, and surfing provide me with a level of consciousness that inspires me to lead a lifestyle sensitive to others and the environment, and to work to change situations conflicting with these principles. As this is my personal form of spirituality, I recognize that every individual will have their own form. Some find poetry as a powerful source of spiritual consciousness, while others refer to ancient documents such as the Bible and the I Ching.

Spiritual communities such as Quakers and Unitarians have recognized the importance of spiritual development on the personal level, and provide a channel to extend the transforming power of personal spirituality to a supportive community. Theosophic libraries around the country have a magnificent collection of such artifacts that can facilitate personal spirituality and transformation, and also serve as a meeting place to share ideas and experiences. I attended a lecture about the Green Movement at the Theosophic Library in Pasadena that was very inspirational, especially because of the supportive community that facilitated the discussion. This brings me to the next important spectrum of society playing a great role in directing change-the community.

Community Support

Communities form the link between individuals and society. As such, they not only play a large part in determining the shaping of individuals' lifestyles and values, but also influence the way in which these individuals will interact with and affect society and the environment. One does not have to be a sociologist to recognize that the current state of communities in most areas of America is on the decline. Individualism and private lifestyles prevail, resulting in inefficient resource use, environmental degradation, social inequities, apathetic individuals, and disempowerment at just the time when empowered people are needed to make the necessary adaptations to changing times.

If Greens intend other individuals and systems to adhere to the Ten Key Values, it is within the community spectrum of Western culture that the greatest possibilities lie: "Communal

rebuilding is at least one, if not the most central, component of the new religious and political forces that are shaking the foundations of our world."¹⁴ It is through grassroots community organization, activity, and action that the Greens can not only inspire changes within individuals, but also provide local governments with the incentive to integrate the Ten Key Values into the decision-making process, and develop a basis for changing national and international politics and policy.

Although the overall state of American life seems to be based on private lifestyles, there are movements and places where individuals put a lot of time and energy into bettering the communities they live in. The importance of community building has been an integral part of other movements with values similar to the Greens; and can be a useful reference for Greens who are building the community pathway. The Findhorn community in Scotland was founded by Peter and Eileen Caddy and Dorothy Maclean in 1962, "on the desire to express in form the spiritual principle of the Unity of all life."¹⁵ It uses "a consensus approach to self-determination" and has established a decentralized democracy where "each group or department is required to run its own affairs and be responsible to a large measure for financial, personnel, and administrative decisions."¹⁶ Another, more generic, community-oriented movement that most Greens are familiar with is bioregionalism. It redefines boundaries according to the availability of natural resources, in order to develop community self-reliance and sustainability. These movements should provide inspiration for cooperation on community building and decentralization projects. Other such movements are all around us, establishing supportive communities, facilitating necessary changes and growth among individuals, and needing the help of the Green.

Similar to the varying abilities and willingness of American individuals and communities to accept Green change, the numerous large scale environmental, social, and political agencies, organizations, and parties waver in making the necessary changes to establish a Green future. When considering the powerful economic and technologic forces controlling these limbs of a monstrous system, the Green pathway faces many obstacles. However, the organizers of the National Green Party see systemic transformation as an achievable pathway. My point here is not to argue about the futility of such an attempt at this time, or to question the accountability of this pathway to the Ten Key values (I will make the broad assumption that such organizers and participants are accountable to them, as well as to Committees of Correspondence and local constituents), but to emphasize the interdependence between all spectrums of the Western social structure in achieving change, along with the strength of maintaining diversity within unity.

Individuals believing in a pathway of transforming national politics have every right to follow it. Perhaps even the smallest step along this pathway may lead to great advancements along the individual and community pathways, because when trying to achieve far-reaching goals, every point of pressure helps. However, one must proceed with great caution when traveling this pathway to avoid the common occurrence of compromising values. Every Green must not only take the responsibility to prevent themselves and their representatives from making such compromises, but also beware of phony infiltrators; who knows how the powers that be might try to prevent the changes proposed by the Greens.

Steps to a Green Future

Applying theories of change, the pathways to Green fulfillment involve participating with the different elements of society and catalyzing change within them. The role of a catalyst is a dangerous one to assume, however, and must be done cautiously. The Greens have a great opportunity to direct Western society towards positive ends, but are in great danger of getting lost along the way and dragging others down with them. It is for this reason that the first step to building a Green future lies within each Green individual and organization being true to, and setting an example of, what they stand for--the Ten Key Values. Unless this can be accomplished with an uncompromising stance, there is no hope of fulfilling Green goals. A specific action to achieve this is to have a discussion exercise about one of the Ten Key Values at each meeting. This not only serves the purpose of educating individuals about what the Greens stand for, but provides a source to direct the actions of the committee towards achieving goals that serve to integrate these values into the community.

Once this prerequisite has been fulfilled, there are many steps Green individuals and groups can take in order to focus their energy and turn ideas into reality. One of the most important steps is the facilitation of effective dynamics among Green groups. A self-examination activity may be a good way for Green groups to go about this. Reviewing the functions of individuals and the group may provide insight as to how the group can function more effectively. For example, at a meeting of one Green group we observed, much time was spent over a financial debate. With a little introspection, they might have realized that someone serving the function of treasurer could solve many of their monetary problems and allow their meeting time to be better spent. To further facilitate the dynamics within Green groups and between Committees of Correspondence, Brian Tokar spoke about an "inside-outside" strategy that the Greens need to adopt. It realizes changes occurring within the system as the Greens enter

it, in order to solve the problem of Committees of Correspondence becoming further sectarian due to small numbers of people attempting to define the movement and what is or isn't "Green."¹⁷

Setting attainable goals is another step along the pathway to Green fulfillment. It involves staying abreast of current issues in order to research effective channels for Green action. The Malibu Greens took a creative approach to this during the Persian Gulf War and the yellow ribbon "support our troops" campaign; they distributed green ribbons with the theme "support our planet." The different Committees of Correspondence throughout California have found different issues within their community to address, and such differences determine what goals are attainable. Another aspect that determines the attainability of a goal is the motivation of the people working towards achievement. One Green group has an exercise to determine where the members true motivations lie before setting their goals. Such an exercise may consist of two simple questions: what do you want--and what is in your way of achieving it?

Grassroots community organization, activities, and action are the primary pathways to extending Green philosophy and lifestyles to other individuals and communities. Common outreach projects that register voters and communicate Green ideas through literature and word of mouth are a good way to do this, but such outreach projects can be made more successful by going beyond the typical Green tabling activity. Larry, the Green campus representative to U.C. Riverside, along with the Riverside Greens, has organized potlucks and parties with bands to familiarize the campus community with the Green Movement and their Committee of Correspondence, as well as register voters and raise money for future activities.

In order to be effective at outreach, the Greens must first prove themselves through successful activities and projects. The Homeless Garden Project in Santa Cruz, where an area of land has been set aside to be used by the homeless to grow food and make a living, is a great example of a project that the Greens can undertake not only for outreach, but to prove their community commitment.

Outreach to underrepresented groups through actions that bring attention to important issues is a viable pathway, if it is sensitive to the fact that such groups are already busy and perhaps unwilling to work directly with the Greens until they prove themselves and what they stand for as a successful movement. A more effective route lies within Greens taking part in actions organized by an underrepresented group to show support for the groups platform. Larry, from the Riverside Greens, pointed out that youths may be the best target for such

outreach projects because most are not yet involved with pressing issues and need a place to channel their energies. He volunteers much of his time at the local high school and University, communicating with young adults about the Greens, and finding out how the Greens can support their interests and needs. It appears that senior citizens may fall in the same category, and can be a great resource to the Greens through similar projects.

Much has been said and written by Greens and non-Greens about the role of education in the pathway to achieving a "Green" world. There can be no doubt that the current educational system must be revised in order to insure a safe and healthy future for our children. Without going into the current problems and how they must change, which is covered extensively by Robert Ornstein and Paul Ehrlich in their book New World New Mind,¹⁸ I would like to point out that education goes way beyond the classroom, therefore extending the importance and responsibility of transforming the educational system to all spectrums of American society. The only way we can achieve such changes is by initiating them as individuals.

The Pathways to fulfillment of a national Green Movement and party, and the large scale goals involved with it (transforming the political system, economy, technology, media, militarism, population growth, health care, work place, etc.), are interdependent with the pathways throughout the smaller-scaled elements of the social spectrum, especially the individual and community. As within all the pathways, there are specific steps that can be taken to make the Green Movement more effective at achieving their goals within the "system" spectrum.

In conclusion, I would like to mention the great learning experience of working with our planning practicum group and its parallels with the Green Movement. Throughout the past five months we have struggled to unify the diversity of our group into one voice. The struggle has been a mind expanding experience for us all, and although our final project cannot represent it fully, we have grown a great deal as individuals and as a community. This was the greatest aspect of our project; perhaps it may be so for Green groups and individuals. Perhaps the goals of the Greens according to the Ten Key Values will prove to be unattainable in modern American society, and the struggle of every Green individual and community working to achieve them will be the pathway to Green fulfillment. As a fellow Green, I shall never give up; realizing that these changes take time, gives meaning to every step we take. As Myles

Horton and Paulo Freire have titled their latest book, "we make the road by walking."

Notes

1. Micheal Lindfield, The Dance of Change: an Eco-Spiritual Approach to Transformation (London and New York: Arkana, 1986) 152.
2. Ibid., 117.
3. Ibid., 2.
4. Roderick Nash, speech at "Radical Environmentalism Conference", University of California at Santa Barbara, 2 March 1991.
5. Lindfield, 20.
6. Ibid., 82.
7. Jonathan Porritt, Seeing Green: the Politics of Ecology Explained (Oxford and New York: B. Blackwell, 1985) 239.
8. Lindfield, 79.
9. Ibid., 87.
10. Ibid., 28.
11. Jay Ramsay ed., Transformation: the Poetry of Spiritual Consciousness (Hungerford: Rivelin Grapheme, 1988) xv.
12. Robert E. Allinson, Chang-Tzu for Spiritual Transformation: an Analysis of the Inner Chapters (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) 8.
13. Lindfield, 45.
14. Gibson Winter, Community and Spiritual Transformation: Religion and Politics in a Communal Age (New York: Crossroads, 1989) 2.
15. Lindfield, 155.
16. Ibid., 153.

17. Brian Tokar, speech at “Radical Environmentalism Conference”,
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18. Paul Ehrlich and Robert Ornstein, New World New Mind: Moving
Toward Conscious Evolution (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1989).

THE SANTA CRUZ GREENS

The Santa Cruz Greens are a group of local citizens from many different walks of life, all with the common goal of helping to create and model a socially just and ecologically sustainable world. Getting to know them, and learning the stories of how the group has become what it is has been a fascinating process. The Santa Cruz Greens have been active in issues ranging from local community organizing to larger scale education projects to Green Party organizing. Some people have been highly involved, and have been able to make Green work their full time activity, and others have taken on Green work in addition to their normal jobs. I intend for this paper to give a full and rich flavor of the workings, the history, and to bear witness to the commitment of the Greens in Santa Cruz. The people I talked with in order to develop this paper are sparkling, and full of life and passion. I want to tell their stories, and to give a sense of the way their stories intertwine to form a larger story which is the progression of one of the many Green groups in the state.

Early History

The official Santa Cruz Greens formed in 1989. Prior to this the Santa Cruz Green Alliance worked with the Green City project. The Alliance disbanded in 1986, and there had been no official Green action in the Monterey Bay area until late 1987 when one motivated person from Monterey held a conference in an attempt to re-form a Green group. This event started the Central Coast Greens who were mainly in Monterey. To a very small extent it was the beginning of the Central Coast Greens, Santa Cruz chapter. The Green Movement in Santa Cruz never really got off the ground until the Greening of the West Conference in La Honda. Craig Flowers is one of the few people still active in the Greens who participated in the events of that time.

Craig's Story

"In late '87 I read something [about the Greens] some place, maybe in the Utne reader. I said, 'I like this. This is the closest thing I have found to a physical manifestation of my spiritual beliefs.' Then my guides informed me that I ought to get involved, and so I started looking in Santa Cruz. I looked in the Good Times, in the Sun, in the calendar section all the time. I read them every week for months and months, and didn't see anything about a meeting. I figured if I kept looking eventually I'd see something. I didn't. Then finally a friend of mine called me up and said, 'I saw an article that said the the Greens are getting together two days from now in Monterey.' I thought, 'all the way over to Monterey on two days notice?' I think I arranged to borrow my mother's car. I went over there and there was an organizing meeting. I enjoyed it although I sat in the furthest back row, and said, 'I don't know nothin' about nothin'.

"There must have been more than a couple people there from Santa Cruz, but only two others wrote their names down on the list. The three of us got together over at this guy David's house. We didn't know exactly what to do. We chatted a bit, and decided we'd meet again later, and that we'd try to get [the Monterey Greens] to send us some information about what to do. At the next meeting we still hadn't received any literature, but we chatted a little bit more. Then one person said he was too busy to be involved. So that left two of us, and we didn't know what to do. So we just talked and tried to get to know each other, and played darts. That was our meeting.

"Meanwhile I'd met Kathryn and turned her on to the Green stuff. We called a meeting at Caffè Pergolesi, and expected maybe six or seven people to show. No one but Kathryn and I showed up. So we finished our tea and said, 'Fine. This is not going to bum my parade,' and went to a movie.

"I had also been a continuing member of the Central Coast Greens in Monterey. Which did get off the ground at the Monterey meeting. I had been driving over there every other week to be part of their group. They were spreading information about the Hatton Canyon Freeway and opposing the dam on the Carmel River which would have allowed huge amounts of development in Carmel and Monterey.

"I could come to their meetings, and do stuff with them, but it was too hard for me to do local actions with them because it was hard enough for me to get over there just for the meetings,

let alone the meetings of any sub-committees. So I made all the meetings, encouraged them, was part of the process, and learned consensus.

"Meanwhile Pam said that she wanted someone else to be the Central Coast Greens representative to the Northern California Greens Council, and they'd like gender balance. So I said that I would do that.

"I went with her, and I met all these other experienced Green organizers. It was a great educational experience. I got to see consensus work well there. There was a lot of harmony, and experience, and people knew each other. We had a six and a half hour marathon meeting. They were really heavy duty. That kept me fired up. Even though I was representing this punky limping local, I still learned ideas and shared what we were doing. I followed the process, and learned what all these other groups were doing.

The Greening of the West

The Greening of the West was really the event that drew the people of Santa Cruz together. The group that came together after this event had planted in it the seeds of the Green group that now exists in Santa Cruz.

Craig's story

"One of the things that kept happening was people were saying where are the Greens? They were just these little locals. So we thought well we ought to get all these Greens together in one spot, and get some of our green friends, and writers and such, and hold a conference. They rented the Jones Gulch YMCA campground in La Honda. That was the Greening of the West.

"We thought that if we had five hundred people we'd be happy. The camp would be paid for we'd make a bit of money. We had over eight hundred people. We had to turn people away. It was a major rollicking success. Everybody had a great time. At the end we decided to set signs up in the amphitheater there from the different areas so people could find out about their local group if they didn't already know. When I walked over to the Santa Cruz one when it was time for the ceremony to start there were thirty some odd people there. None of them except Kathryn had I ever laid eyes upon before.

"We set our first meeting in Watsonville so we could get people from both sides of the Bay. Only two people came from Monterey, and a whole bunch of people came from Santa Cruz. We thought, 'hey this sucks' Monterey was kind of weak. They were into their local issues, but they

weren't much into NorCal. They weren't much into interacting outside of their community. So they didn't make the efforts and sacrifices necessary to make it to that meeting. So what happened was the people from Santa Cruz started meeting in Santa Cruz. A couple people did come around the Bay occasionally to see us. After about six months or so we decided we didn't need Monterey at all, and we'd just call ourselves the Santa Cruz Greens."

Taming the Wild Horses

After the conference, plans were made for the Santa Cruz Greens to get together and become a Green group. That was more easily said than done. There were many conflicts and people were pushing for action before the group had grounded itself. A few different people gave accounts of this story, and each one emphasized a different perspective. Kathryn and Craig were the only two present with any previous experience.

Craig's story

"One of the things that happened in our meetings (which were at Loudon Nelson) was that they were very raucous, and very argumentative. People really resented the structure and the process. I said, 'Hey, if we don't follow these basic guidelines we won't be considered a Green organization by the Northern California Greens, or by the rest of the Greens in the country.' I said, 'These are basic guidelines using the consensus process.' 'I don't want to use the consensus process, I don't want to raise my hand.' they said. 'Well why don't you facilitate then? and then we can all say we don't want to raise our hands, we want to just all yell out at once.' It was tough. It was like having thirty wild horses in a room. Every one of them wanted to do an action, and every one of them wanted to do a different action, and none of them wanted to cooperate with anyone else, or make any sacrifices. People were yelling 'action, action we just want to do something. This talking is pointless. This structural stuff, this process.' Lots of people left. We just kept whittling at it, and working on a process, and working on our ways of operating. We know now in hind sight that it was the process that held us together. Regardless of the fact that all the people left, it was the process that hung us together."

Kathryn's story

"Of course, I wasn't real experienced with the Greens. But I did have organizational skills, and Craig had all the history with the Greens. He knew the process and consensus. That was really the most difficult thing. . . getting the group who most of which had never heard of the consensus process, or really wanted to bother with it, or learn it, together. They just wanted to be doing something. So it was like corralling a bunch of wild horses. There was a lot of energy there, and people wanted to do things. So we went through a process that took months.

"First we made this huge grocery list of all the topics we were interested in, or wanted to work on. There must have been a hundred different issues: gardening, organic gardening, composting, transportation, sustainable living. . . Once we got it all down we asked who will commit to becoming involved, and doing something about this issue right here. So that narrowed it down a whole lot to just a few committees. There was the ecological living committee, which ended up being called the toxics committee, which is something I organized. There were sustainable living, transportation, and growth committees.

"By the time we put the first event on there were probably half of the original 35 left. That was about six months since the Greening of the West Conference. A lot of people wanted to do something right away. They wanted to do something next week. They wanted to go out and table or they wanted to go out and collect signatures, or do an event without any planning, organization, or skills. So they just got frustrated and dropped out and went on to do things with other groups that were already established and had things going on because, like I said it took us months to get that consensus process. We had a lot of real fiery energy there, and some conflict and confrontations. But it did mellow out to about ten or fifteen regular members.

Robin's Story

Robin and Kathy Brooks are two activists that have been with the Greens since the Greening of the West conference in La Honda. Kathy wasn't able to talk to me so here is the story of those days as told by Robin:

"In the end of September in 1988 there was a three day conference in La Honda called the Greening of the West. We went partly because I had read a lot about the Greens, mostly in Germany, and I thought this was really the way to go. And partly because I was an executive member of the Sierra Club, and I was beginning to wonder. My sense was that we were saving a park here, and a tree there and a wilderness somewhere else and the planet was going to Hell.

Also the strategy of the Sierra Club was that it would concern itself with environmental stuff, but wouldn't concern itself with the unseen stuff.

"At the end of the thing we met on a hillside, and about thirty five or forty people came out from Monterey, and Santa Cruz. For some reason we missed the next meeting, but we went to the following meeting, and there were about forty people there. Nobody had the foggiest idea about what to do.

"The biggest problem was that people wanted to do everything from planting trees to recycling. There was a huge selection of things to do. We were talking about them and we talked in a circle about how we might get things done. I sort of took charge. I took this list that we had of things to do, and I said some of these we can group up. For example hazardous waste, toxics, and recycling can be grouped together, and there were about ten others. We needed to do something. People were starting to drift away. That was the second meeting we had just been talking, and we were coming up on the third. So I made a xeroxed list, and said, 'let's decide who is really interested in this, and who is willing to work on this? It's very nice to have a ten point agenda but if nobody's going to really want to work on it. . . We took a vote , and found out there were basically three things we wanted to do. They were stopping growth, toxics and recycling, and transportation.

The UCSC Long Range Development Plan

The first big project the Santa Cruz Greens worked on as a group was the defense of the community against the UCSC Long Range Development Plan. The Plan proposed growth that was in their eyes beyond what the system could handle. This challenge presented the Greens with their first opportunity to test their skills in the larger world. Although they came up against underhanded political blocks, they learned that they had an important role to play in community organizing, and in the bringing up of forgotten issues. Kathryn tells the general story very completely, and really shows what kinds of obstacles the group came up against and then Robin's story gives a good feeling of the day to day life of the project.

Kathryn's story

"One of the first things the Santa Cruz Greens did as a group was to get right involved. UCSC was coming out with their Long Range Development Plan with no consideration at all for their impact on the community. The growth impact over ten years was incredible. So the Greens were very active in educating the public. We coalition with other local communities, and

organizations to plan an event at UCSC called 'Future Vision.' What we wanted to do was to have the community come and express their vision of the future as opposed to UCSC's vision.

"It was interesting what happened. We had the day, we had the area on reserve for us for that day. A week before, UCSC came up with a front page article that they had cancelled the Future Vision event. They didn't tell anyone they were cancelling, they just came out in the newspaper, and said 'we're cancelling.'

"We still ended up having it. What UCSC said when we contacted them about that was that they had another event going on up on campus that would take up all the parking, and that they wouldn't have enough parking for us. Which was a lame excuse. They were really afraid that there was going to be some direct action, blockading the roads and stuff. That was the farthest thing from our minds.

"It was alumni week up there too, which was another reason we wanted to do it up there at that point. Because they came out the week before and said the event was cancelled the turnout was low. We still went ahead with it though, and stayed on with the planning commission of Santa Cruz county looking at the Long Range Development Plan. That was our first major event as the Greens."

Robin's story

"The general plans were coming up for review in the city, and we decided that we should study these general plans, and decided what position the Greens wanted to take. At that moment it turned out that the issue was university growth. The SLUG initiative had just been passed in the elections for slow university growth. We went to a meeting at which one of the assistant vice chancellors spoke, and presented the program for about twenty minutes. Then Kathy spoke for the Greens, and our position, and why we wanted to oppose it, and there were a number of people there from CARD [Campus Association for Responsible Development], and the Westside neighbors.

"We got together a meeting. We got the Westside neighbors, we got hold of the students, and we called a meeting. We met mostly up at Cowell for the next three months or so. The student concerns were largely ecology and education. The neighbors concern was largely traffic and the impact on the community. What we felt was necessary was that everyone listen to everyone else. We wanted people to really hear each other.

"We also had a social justice concern. That if you brought another two to five thousand students to the community with that many new staff people, and faculty that this would mean tremendous pressure on housing on the low end. This would really be hard on minority people, and woman headed families. Five students can come up with a lot of money, or a professor can come up with a lot more money than poor people. This would really change the community of Santa Cruz.

"But we were also concerned about the quality of education. John and Jeff were graduates of UC, I'm a professor, Kathy teaches. We all tended for one reason or another to prefer the old Santa Cruz. The college system and so on. We were also certainly concerned about the burrowing owl, and about the redwoods and the ecology.

"We discovered that what we were able to do on this committee was to get everybody to listen to everybody else, we had a consensus process which the students used too, but I think not as strictly. We had spent a lot of time learning how the consensus process works, and how it should work, and trying to learn how to use it better, and what a facilitator should do. It's not just to call on people, but how do you bring things together? How do you really deal with vibes watching? So I think we learned that the Greens had a special thing we could do. Even though the five of us were half of the total Greens never the less we were important.

"In a way I think it made us really independent. I think it got us a lot of respect. People began to hear about the Greens. The City on the Hill will cover the Greens, and report what we do, and that mattered to us. We worked well with Green principles."

The Toxics Committee

Originally, the Toxics Committee was known as the sustainable living committee. They began researching toxics in the community which eventually led to the creation of a business called "Greener Alternatives" which now makes many different kinds of recycled paper products available to the public at large. Kathryn Taylor was the head of that committee and is now one of the two operators of Greener Alternatives. The time and effort she has put into the business has made it into a full time job, and hardly allows her the time for other Green activities. This is her story of the development.

Kathryn's Story

"Our first issue as a committee of four people was to get styrofoam banned from the city of Santa Cruz. So we started looking for alternatives to styrofoam because we knew we couldn't just say stop using that. We knew we had to come up with an alternative. We knew we had to say 'don't use that use this instead it's better because. . .' The most obvious alternative to us was paper products, and so we started researching the paper industry, and discovered that 3 percent of commercial wood harvest goes to disposable paper products, most of which we don't even need, things like chopsticks, and toothpicks, napkins, and paper cups, and paper plates. Most of those things we don't even need and we're cutting trees down to make them.

"So I got real charged up about it. Right about that time Greenpeace came out with an article 'Whitewash the Dioxin Cover-up.' It was all about the Dioxin issue. Here we were thinking about offering paper products as an alternative to styrofoam because styrofoam has the CFCs, and we find out that paper products have dioxin in them, plus you're cutting trees down to make them. What now?!? But then I got all wound up about the fact that all white paper products had chlorine bleach and dioxin in them: kleenex, toilet paper, and feminine napkins, diapers, milk cartons, coffee filters. So many things going right into your system the fastest way that they could get there. So you might as well shoot it up! So that's where I went with the toxics committee.

"We wrote up an educational pamphlet about recycled paper and the paper industry and dioxin, and all that, and encouraged people to buy and use recycled paper products. We took that letter and mailed out to all the Green Committees of Correspondence in the country. We followed that up the next fall with information about hemp as an alternative to wood. We did the same thing the same mailing.

"Once I realized that recycled paper products could be an alternative to virgin wood products it took me about three months to find any. There were no recycled paper products that I could find in this community anywhere. No xerox paper, notepads, envelopes, toilet paper. This was about two and a half years ago. Then finally I found the office paper at Conserve-A-Tree in San Francisco. They're a big paper distributor, but they're not so big that they have a fleet of trucks or any thing. So they have a minimum order of a hundred dollars which is three cases of the C-100 which is the recycled, and unbleached which for me, is the best. It has the minimum impact on the environment, and that's what I like to use, and encourage people to use. It is more expensive. You could probably get a case of virgin white xerographic paper for half the price, and that's some pretty stiff competition. But I didn't care. I wanted to use it in the office where I

worked, I wanted to use it at home, the Greens wanted to use it, and Ecology Action wanted to use it. So there were three cases. Well, there's a minimum fifty dollar shipping charge. That makes three cases of paper at fifty dollars each. So you have to be pretty committed to be willing to do that, as I was. So I drove up to San Francisco and picked the paper up in my car, and brought it back. I used one case in my office, and home, sold one case to the Greens, and one to Ecology Action. So then other people found out I was doing that, and they asked me to get them a case when I went. Then next time I bought five cases, and the next time I bought nineteen cases, and the next time it was like twenty-nine cases. Then I ended up having to borrow peoples vans and trucks and stuff to go up and pick it up. That was K.E.T. Enterprises at that time. That's what I called myself.

"I was doing this and Ecology Action knew I was doing this, and my partner, Bob Shores, was living up in Felton at the time. He called Ecology Action, and said, 'I'm interested in distributing recycled paper products, and I wondered if you knew anyone who was already doing that?' Christopher who was active in the early stages of the Santa Cruz Greens said, 'yeah,' and gave him my phone number. We got together and talked about the whole idea. To make a long story short, since I was already buying the office paper he started buying large quantities or cases of the toilet paper, or paper towels, and facial tissue and stuff like that. So I was able to store my office paper up at his house. He had a big house without much furniture. I'd sell his products, and he'd sell my products. We kind of kicked the business off on Earth Day last year. We had a real good response. In September we moved into this place out of our homes as Greener Alternatives."

Transit

After the LRDP the Santa Cruz Greens stayed involved in city politics. For the most part they have been active in working on political campaigns, transportation issues, and speaking up in situations in which most other progressive groups were staying silent for fear that they may rock the boat too much. The people mostly involved in this have been Jeff Ringold, and Robin and Kathy Brooks. Their projects have included things like work on Scott Kennedy's campaign, advocating for better public transit in Santa Cruz, and getting Jeff appointed to the City Planning Commission, which he is now on, and speaking out loudly for Green causes. Campaigning

The story of the Greens involvement in Scott Kennedy's campaign, although short, shows how small time grassroots organizers can actually see their effects in local politics without being

represented by a Green Party. The Santa Cruz Greens have not waited for their official Party to come along to become active in local politics.

Robin's Story

"The main thing we did, especially Jeff and myself we worked on election stuff. We worked especially hard for Scott Kennedy, we also worked for Neal Coonerty. Scott, although he doesn't know much about the environment, and Green things he's really Green in his heart, he really believes in consensus.

"We not only worked personally for Scott Kennedy's campaign, but we also organized. We got together the Sierra Club the environmental council, Save Our Shores, and Ecology Action, and Save the Grey Whale Ranch, and we put together a fairly large environmental forum. More than a hundred people came, and we had all the candidates, and each of the organizations submitted a question, and then we handed them to the candidates in advance, and we asked them to speak on that, and then answer questions from the floor. It was a well attended meeting, and it was well covered by the press, and we got people to take some pretty clear stands. Most of them were pro environmentalist. One thing about Santa Cruz one person once said from the Board of Supervisors, "anywhere else I'd be a liberal Republican. Here I'm an ultra conservative." So everyone pretty much came out for the environment. In fact the one person who refused to attend got beaten. So I was feeling kind of good about that. He had not come, and it may have cost him the election. He was the one guy who when he first heard about the Greens he thought we were some kind of foreign agents of communists of some kind.

Transportation

The transportation committee of the Santa Cruz Greens has been headed up by Jeff Ringold who has been active in local city affairs for longer than the Santa Cruz Greens have been around. When I asked Jeff to tell me the story of the transportation committee he pointed to a stack of papers almost a foot high, and said, "that is the story of the transportation committee." The story of transportation in Santa Cruz is a classic one of old traditions versus new less tried, but potentially more effective kinds of technology. This section describes but one of the many events of the history of the transportation issue in Santa Cruz.

Jeff's Story

"I was looking to find one issue that I could really get into and learn about, and be in touch with, and people were talking about the relationship of the economy and the environment, and how often they're at odds, or they seem to be at odds, but in a long range perspective they're not. One of the issues that kept on coming up in terms of economics, development, growth, environmental quality, land use, and affordability of housing, and all that was public transit. From many different perspectives improving public transit would be helpful. Economically, socially, and environmentally. So I started to get involved with some of the people who had been involved in Green City. There was quite a lot of discussion of the rail transit, or some other alternative fixed guideway.

"I think the most important shift for me was when the Planning and Conservation League was having a rail bond act that they were going to try to put on the June 1990 ballot. I saw this fairly early on in the process, and thought I should check that out in terms of Santa Cruz, because the complaint has always been, 'well we'd love to have mass transit, but there isn't enough money.' In the regional transportation improvement program it was something like half a percent, and all the rest went to roads. The direction we were going as a community according to the transportation committee was all roads. For a long time there was discussion about over the hill rail service, but really there hadn't been a strong political will to do that for a while. There was one person on the County Board of Supervisors who was really an avid fan of public transportation, and it was largely because of him that we began a fixed guideway study process. The thought was well we can study it, but there's no money. We don't know where the money's going to come from.

"Meanwhile transit was being slashed by the federal, and state government, and then if you toss in the effect of the earthquake transit was in bad shape in Santa Cruz, and still is. We once had a really great bus system, and it's been slashed.

"So I came back, and decided to talk to people in the transit district about it. I had been working with someone who had been on the traffic commission. But his attitude was that, 'there's no reason to go in hat in hand to the head of the transit district, and not be treated seriously,' meaning let's not go in without being prepared. So I set up an appointment myself to go in, and find out what was going on. And much to my surprise he had just heard about the rail bond act. Not only had he just heard about the rail bond act, but he was strongly environmentally minded.

"This was interesting because he was someone in a role of authority within the transit district. But, he was unable to advocate from his position for the rail bond act. He was interested in finding a grassroots group that wanted in doing this. And I was working with the Greens at that point. We were the Central Coast Greens not Green City anymore. I told him there might be. So I checked it out, and people were into it. So I did an article for what was then the Sun on public transit and the rail bond act, and the gondola idea. There were some people who didn't like the idea of rail transit, or guideway transit at the time because it was intrusive. They didn't see it as realistic that you could get people out of their cars.

The Planning and Conservation League ran their bond act by giving a per capita allotment based upon the population. Then on top of that they had special money for demonstration projects, which was the biggest part of the money. They gave that based upon how much a community gave to put a rail bond act on the ballot. So it was kind of like selling off chunks of the bond to get your project in. So we had only three weeks because we had started so late to raise \$150,000. If we could raise \$150,000 we would get sixty million extra dollars into the county for fixed guideway transit.

"So we asked some local people around town. Some people saw who was president of the Planning and Conservation League, Gary Patton, and said 'sorry, we don't give to progressive causes.' Other people found it too speculative. No one could guarantee absolutely that it would pass. Then the community would still have to decide how they would use it. Most people laughed at the idea of us trying to raise the money, but I wasn't going to pass it up. So we tried. . . and didn't make it. So we got nothing except our eleven million dollars per capita. But the fixed guideway issue hasn't been dropped.

"I have noticed since that though that there has been time some measure of sensitivity around transportation issues. Environmentalists spoke out, and much to the surprise of some of the people we continued to speak out. Mike Rotkin and I did an article in the SCAN newsletter and said that we need better environmental leadership. We said this direction with transportation is wrong.

"The interesting thing is that now people seem to be finally talking about how a rail project could remove traffic from Highway One during the rush hour commute. I think people saw that this opposition by the environmental community is strong and consistent. So now they think, 'let's see, maybe we can make rail transit work in a way that will take traffic off of Highway One.' But still it may be that a lot of the money has to come through private

investment. So that's where it stands now. It looks like the next phase of the study will be funded."

The Green Collective

One of the things the Greens are interested in doing is bringing people together, and creating more cooperation, and communication. The Green Collective is one of the manifestations of this idea in Santa Cruz. The Green Collective was started in November of 1990 by Kirk Garber. It is a two page publication that comes out every month with listings of job offerings, housing available, items for trade, and an especially big section on services people are needing or willing to trade. There is everything from bike and car maintenance, to massage therapy. One aspect of it that Kirk told me he is particularly involved in is the food co-op. Several people get together on a regular basis and order food together in bulk, and thus get it at wholesale prices.

The original idea was, "to make a way for people to integrate their their Green ways into their work. I wanted to get alternative forms of exchange going, barter etc. Or just get people with similar ideas together in whatever way possible. What I'd like to see is an economy that's Green." Although the Green Collective is only very small right now Kirk is dedicated to the idea of giving people the opportunity to do work that is furthering Green values. "Just getting these people together," he says, "is a good way to start. Connections start forming, and once those connections form it's easier for people to work together. It's not like making jobs for people, but at least it's a start. There has to be ways for people to actually get involved. Their work is what they believe in. You can't separate the two. So I'm trying to bring that together. If people were in a situation where they were less isolated that would help. I think people tend to isolate each other. The majority of people now drive everywhere, and they live in their own little unit in a suburb or something. They don't want to get involved with others except in a superficial way. And I think that's a real problem. It increases the attitude that 'I'm not responsible.'" Thus the ideas behind a project such as the Green Collective really are rooted in the heart of the Green Vision of the Future.

The Green Talks

Part of the Green commitment to helping to change the world is getting people educated about Green issues, and enrolling them in Green activities. They have gone about this by holding potlucks, Green Talks, the Ecotopian Festival, and at least an hour at the end of every business

meeting to discuss Green values. For the most part these events were sponsored by, and participated in by everyone.

The potlucks were one of the earlier ideas. Kathryn Taylor, with the help of the Toxics Committee, took on a lot of the responsibility for these. Their hope was to get people interested in coming to Green events, and hear what Greens had to say. The regulars of the meetings thought that it would be very difficult for a new person to come and sit through a business meeting, and hear all the agenda items being discussed of which they were not yet a part. They thought that if people knew some Greens personally they would be more interested in group membership, and activities. A lot of people came to these potlucks. Some of them were street people wanting a free lunch, but that was apparently okay. After a while, though, Kathryn got tired of putting them together all the time, and no one else had the energy to do so. So they faded, and the Green Talks took their place.

The purpose behind the Green Talks was to have speakers and information on Green things that would get the community interested in Green activities, or at least inspire people to a Greener way of thinking. Topics ranged from light, and solar rail systems, to the Mondragon cooperatives in Spain. In addition they had Danny Moses, a long time Green activist from the Bay Area speak about local and international green events.

The last Green Talk grew into something larger than had been expected. It became the "Ecotopian Festival". The festival was a large event with music, dancing, and information booths. The headline speaker was Earnest Callenbach, the author of Ecotopia, and Ecotopia Emerging . two novels which describe the creating and functioning of a Green utopia. The festival was a great success, and provided much needed funds for the group. However a few people did most of the work, and their motivation was lost due to lack of further support. As a result there have been no Green Talks since.

As well as outreach to the community in the form of fun events, such as the potlucks and the Ecotopian Festival, the Santa Cruz Greens try to make their meetings as interesting as possible for new comers. At every meeting some time is set aside at the end to discuss Green values. This may mean a discussion of one of the Ten Key Values, the consensus process, or the Green position on activities such as monkeywrenching. The goals of the discussion time are to create a space where everybody at the meeting has an opportunity to say their part whether they are a new or old member, to help remind the group of their principles, and to continually clarify them.

The Green Party

When the Santa Cruz Greens left the national conference in Eugene in 1988, they understood that there was no California Green Party. They missed the next two California state-wide meetings, and were shocked when they went down to L.A. eighteen months ago, and found people already going ahead with it with out any discussion among the members of the CoCs. They were, "still not opposed to a Green Party, but a Green Party doing this?" Nevertheless they decided they indeed wanted to be involved in the formation of a Green Party. At a Green meeting in San Francisco at the beginning of this year Tom Shaver became the official representative of the Santa Cruz Greens to the state-wide Green Party Organizing Committee.

The Santa Cruz Green Party

Tom has taken on the job with a tremendous amount of energy and dedication. He has been the pivot point of the Green Party in Santa Cruz, and has been the one that has held it together. Describing the situation he said, "It's me and then I get some people together." In other words he does the majority of the organizing, and finds people to help him with the specifics of it. That this might happen was not a surprise to him, and he's working on building up an organization that could stand on it's own. He has also been involved in the state-wide Green Party Organizing Committee in the group that is currently working out the by-laws of the California Green Party.

Activities

The activities of the Green Party have been mostly organization and registration. Independently of the group, Tom has also arranged a speaker on volunteer mobilization, and a day long workshop on consensus process which he has asked for help from the rest of the Greens in facilitating because of their experience in the area.

Perhaps the biggest event sponsored by the Green Party was the Green Gathering in Loudon Nelson park. Invitations were sent to all the people in the county who were registered Green, and flyers were put up around town announcing an all afternoon event to get people involved with, or educated about the Greens. While event was organized by the people working toward the creation of a Green Party, most of the Greens were involved. In some ways like a mini Greening of the West Conference. There was music, speakers including Mindi Lorenz, workshops. At the end people gathered together into Neighborhood groups.

The Neighborhood Groups

The creation of these Neighborhood Groups was the greatest product to come out of the Green Gathering. Their purpose is to get people together to help each other begin to make the changes necessary for a Greener world and to create an active constituency with which Green Party electoral candidates can be directly involved. This is Tom's description of his idea.

Tom's Idea

"The neighborhood groups would be organizations of similar minded people supporting each other in making the changes such as carpooling, childcare, and homeschooling. I think a big factor especially here in California is the loss of community, and the loss of a sense of place. Being in isolation is really an issue that has environmental consequences. People are wanting to have their own little citadels in their houses, and wanting to be very secure on their own. That involves working very hard and making a lot of money and having lots of things. That's peoples' security blanket. I'd like to help give people alternatives in terms of community, helping each other out, and mutual support networks.

"These neighborhoods should be ongoing groups where people can know each other, and are able to let go of their feelings, and tell each other what they think about, and what they do. It would be similar to the affinity group process in the Peace Movement. They will be basically affinity groups and come together and talk when there is something that needs to be decided, like endorsing a candidate, or making an initiative. It would be presented to these groups that are already ongoing and active doing other things, and have some sort of relationship already."

The Debate

The relationship of the newly formed Green Party to its parent organization, the Green Movement, has not been clarified on a state, or nationwide level yet, and there are a number of disputes which have yet to be settled, and the Santa Cruz Greens are no exception, although they are actively working on bringing the two . The most common concern I've heard is that people fear the party will take energy away from more grassroots type organizing. People wonder whether electoral politics is the way the Greens can accomplish the changes they are working for. They think that real change will only come from the grassroots up, and we need to focus on changing the people, and the government will respond to that. Some people believe that the time is still not really right for the party. They believe that before there is a party the movement really needs to be more involved in minority issues

Currently in Santa Cruz the movement and the party are on good terms with each other. However, there is a curious distance between the two. For example, the neighborhood groups are more affiliated with the Green Party than the Green Movement, and the Green Party holds events independently of the Green Movement. The Movement people, however plan to use the neighborhood groups and the registration list of the Green Party to send out their newsletter and to get people involved locally. Those of the movement who are not directly involved in the electoral wing Greens are also willing to help staff tables at events. Both aspects of the Greens are currently active and going strong. It did look like a possibility for a while that the two would become their own separate entities, but they are now working together side by side.

The fear I heard come up the most often about the formation of the party is that it will draw energy out of CoCs which focus more directly on local social change. Robin Brooks said, "I think that on the one hand we need a Green Party to get our message out to the public to get a lot of people aware, and on the other hand in many ways it's very disruptive. In many cases the Greens have stopped working, and all they do is try to get signatures." Kathryn Taylor's first reaction to hearing of the formation of the Green Party was, "I thought it was very exciting, but it was frightening at the same time because the reality hit that these people who are all active in the Green Movement are now going to be active in forming the Green Party, and unless you're a superwoman, or a superman with nothing else to do how can you split your time? When you've got energy for a new thing that's what you put your energy into, and that's exactly what happened. A lot of people pulled away from the local groups, and became active in getting the party going, and a lot of groups fell apart." Robin Brooks echoed the same fear when he told a story of how Michigan tried to get onto the ballot. "In Michigan they tried in a much shorter period of time to get on the ballot, they failed, and there was a lot of bitterness, and anger, and now they are trying to put back together bits of a movement. I'm afraid that could happen here in California. In the East Bay and Nevada County, and San Diego, and number of places the Greens were going along very well I thought, people just quit in order to do Green Party stuff." If California doesn't get it's 80,000 signatures it is a possibility that the structure could really fall apart if that has been the one and only goal of many of the people.

Tom Shaver doesn't necessarily see the Green Party registration as accomplishing nothing even if they don't get the 80,000 signatures. "What I see with the Green Party coming is a lot of interest in registering Greens which is a really easy thing to do. Then suddenly, the Green Movement has hundreds more people from which to draw and help educate about the new ideas." Robin Brooks however mentions that, "they have not clarified whether the Green Party

should be what I call 'movement-party,' like the populists, or the communists, or the old socialists. That is you not only run candidates, but you are involved on a day to day thing. You're involved in various campaigns for what ever it is, for example social equality, or toxics, and recycling. But if all you're going to do is get out your card tables, and collect signatures, then chances are very good that you're not going to get the eighty thousand signatures, and then they'll have spent two years not doing anything." This fear is reinforced by other stories I have heard of Green Movement people in Santa Cruz meeting people in the street, and staffing tables at events for the Green Party that are not even aware of the fact that there is such a thing as the Green Movement. If things are going to turn out as Tom hopes, and not as Robin fears there will have to be some increased mutual communication, and acknowledgement.

Another common theme was that while Greens are working to change both the symptoms and the causes of the problems, electoral politics may be trying to make the quick fix rather than address the underlying causes. Robin Brooks said "I think that by looking for connections, and insisting that [the problem's] not just environment, or education, or housing, or social issues we have gotten across that it's. . . It's recycling, and talking about how a growth economy works." Despite the Green commitment to holistic thinking, and helping to heal the underlying forces that cause problems, electoral politics seems to be the same as picking up garbage on the beach and never addressing the people that put the garbage there in the first place.

Kirk Garber mentioned why he thinks the party has become so popular. "The people who are attracted to a party are a bit different than people attracted to the movement. It's more exciting. I think it's how people have grown up. It's what people have learned will really make a change." But others have mentioned that perhaps the real change in society comes only from the grass roots up, and that people in the party are not very interested in local activism. When a newsletter was sent out to 300 local registered Greens asking for some response or organizing, only one person responded. Robin explained, "I think it has to do with the fact that people are still conditioned to American Politics. When you register Democrat that doesn't mean you have to do anything except vote." Even Tom Shaver, local Green Party organizer said, "I have some doubts whether the Green Party is the greatest thing myself. I wonder if we should put energy into electoral politics. Maybe we should just be putting energy into changing society."

The solution they've come up with in Santa Cruz is to treat the Green Party as another of the working groups of the Santa Cruz Greens. Kathryn Taylor said that she thought it's our

responsibility to be involved. "Indeed we want to participate in the forming of the Green Party in this county and state." She was very happy that someone volunteered the time, and energy to do it because she has been highly active in other local issues not directly related to electoral politics. This way if the signatures don't add up people won't in any way be left in the cold with the task of restarting everything. Robin Brooks explained the situation well. "We here in Santa Cruz basically took the position that we would work for the Green Party, but not to the exclusion of the other things. It would be one of the activities of the Greens. Whenever something was going on we'd show up with card tables. But we had two parts, register for the Greens, and then come to our meetings, here's our literature, here's what we're doing. On Earth Day we signed up five hundred people. In the Green Banner I wrote up a page thing about the Green Party, and talked about what we were doing with a check thing, sign up, and mail it back."

The ability of the Santa Cruz Greens to absorb the idea of the Green Party without letting it overtake the group displays a respect for diversity. This in turn reflects one of the Ten Key Values being carried into reality. There is faith that diverse routes to the same goal is what the Party and the Movement are doing. I asked Kirk Garber if he thought the Movement or the Party was more important. He said, "I wouldn't say either one is better. I think it's better not to differentiate the two. They'll attract different types of people, and I think that's great. So I think it's important not to make a split. One of the first things Tom Shaver said to me was, "Some people think that nothing will happen without the Party. Some people think that nothing will happen without the Movement. Really two are inseparable." When I asked Kathryn Taylor if she thought local work is more important since that is what she has been focusing on she said, "I think all bases need to be covered. I don't think it's better to do any one thing. I think the answer is to get all these people who have registered to vote Green to do something. Just one thing."

So although there is debate within Santa Cruz over the presence of a Party, the people here have figured out how to coexist with it. Hopefully this is a lesson that can be carried to some other areas where the tension is still raging.

Conclusion

The Santa Cruz Greens are an impressive group of motivated people. Through all the stories, and interviews the threads that seem to bind these people together are the consistency of motivation, and hope, and the willingness to continue to work. They have certainly had their share of hard times. I hope that the story presented here sheds some light on the reality of some people's struggle, and thus shows others that there are people like them out in the world doing similar work, and if we all work on our own little corners of the world perhaps the Green grassroots will take a firm and permanent hold, and blade by blade we will help in the greening of the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The theme of this bibliography is the movement towards creating alternatives to the current world view. The books and periodicals included, have been selected from our readings as those which were especially important to our growth and the growth of the Green Movement. We chose to use the Ten Key Values of the Green CoCs as the framework of our bibliography. We feel that if you come to understand these values you will come to understand what "green" stands for. Many of the works included touch on several of the values since all the values are interconnected. What we have done is group the books according to the value or values which they most clearly reflect. Several references have been annotated in order to provide you a sense of what material is discussed. We hope that these serve to give you a flavor for the other works.

An Overview of Green

Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak, Green Politics (New Mexico: Bear and Company, 1986).

Sara Parkin, Green Parties: An International Guide (London: Heretic Books Ltd., 1989).

This book was most important to our project because it is the only comprehensive encyclopedia of international Green Parties that we know of.

Jonathon Porritt, Seeing Green: The Politics of Ecology Explained (Oxford, U.K.: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985).

Charlene Spretnak, The Spiritual Dimension of Green Politics (Santa Fe: Bear and Company, 1986).

Brian Tokar, The Green Alternative: Creating an Ecological Future (San Pedro: R. and E. Miles, 1987).

Ecological Wisdom

Dorothy Bryant, The Kin of Ata Are Waiting for You (Berkeley, Calif.: Moon Books, 1971).

Bill Devall, Simple in Means, Rich in Ends: Practicing Deep Ecology (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1988).

Bill Devall and George Sessions, Deep Ecology (Salt Lake City, Utah:

1. Smith, 1985).

Riane Eisler, The Chalice and the Blade (New York: Harper and Row, 1988).

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Donald Hughes, Ecology in Ancient Civilizations (Albuquerque:

University of New Mexico Press, 1975).

This book is helpful in tracing environmental thought back through ancient history.

Christopher Manes, Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the

Unmaking of Civilization (Boston: Little Brown, 1990).

Meinig, ed., The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

David Oates, Earth Rising (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 1989).

In Earth Rising, David Oates discusses myths and images in the modern environmental movement. One example is to consider the earth as it looks viewed from space. It is "a tiny ball of life in a void". Another example is the recycling symbol, which reflects the concept of a life cycle. By linking the Greens with religion, the author emphasizes the comprehensive of ecological thinking.

Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Random House, 1970).

Leslie Marmon Silko, Ceremony (New York: Viking Press, 1977).

Gary Snyder, Turtle Island (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1974).

Starhawk, Dreaming the Dark, (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1982).

Keith Thomas, Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

Respect for Diversity, Social Justice and Personal Responsibility

Robert A. Bellah, Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

Habits of the Heart is a sincere, thoughtful, insightful book that courageously delves into American life and culture. It fervently weaves through America's historical and philosophical roots, and intertwining these entities with the contemporary struggle for community and commitment in a society largely sustained by individualism. This book provides movement's establishment, progression, successes, and failures in American society.

Murray Bookchin, The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy (Palo Alto, Calif.: Cheshire Books, 1987).

This book stems from a "need to explain the emergence of social hierarchy and domination, and to elucidate the means, sensibility, and practice that could yield a truly harmonious ecological society". The Ecology of Freedom was written as a "stimulus to thought", and that was exactly the effect it had on us.

Murray Bookchin, Remaking Society: Pathways to a Green Future (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990).

Paul Erlich and Robert Ornstein, New World New Mind (New York: Simon and Shuster Inc., 1986).

Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1990).

This book discusses, "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality."

Erich Fromm, Escape From Freedom (New York: Avon Books, 1965).

Ken Jones, The Social Face of Buddhism: An Approach to Political and Social Activism (London: Wisdom Publications, 1989).

Michael Linfield, The Dance of Change : An Ecospiritual Approach to Transformation (New York: Arkana, 1986).

New look into personal life and the powers that be.

Lewis Mumford, The Future of Technics and Civilization (London: Freedom Press, 1986).

This book discusses the effects technology had on our civilization and looks towards a positive use of our discoveries , "as a means of human liberation rather than enslavement."

Robert M. Pirsig, Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance (New York: Bantam Books, 1981).

Theodore Roszak, Person/ Planet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Society (Garden City, New Jersey: Anchor Press/ Doubleday, 1978).

Nonviolence and Postpatriarchal Values

Pam, McAllister, ed. Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence (Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1982).

Judith Plant, ed. Healing the Wounds: The Promise of Ecofeminism
(Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1989).

Grassroots Democracy and Decentralization

Van Andruss, ed., Home! A Bioregional Reader (Santa Cruz: New Society Publishers, 1990).

Virginia Coover, et al. Resource Manual for a Living Revolution
(Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1981).

This book is exactly what the title says it is.

Herbert Kitschelt, The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

Robert Theobald, The Rapids of Change: Social Entrepreneurship in Turbulent Times (Indianapolis, Ind.: Knowledge Systems, 1987).

Community Based Economics

Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward the Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

Paul, Ekins, ed., The Living Economy: A New Economics in the Making
(New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).

James Robertson, The Sane Alternative: A Choice of Futures (St. Paul, Minn.: River Basin Pub., 1979).

From a primarily economic viewpoint, The Sane Alternative presents a vision of what a sane, humane and ecological future might be like. This vision of the future is then contrasted with other possible scenarios. This book explores the process of transforming our present society, and suggests various activities that would contribute to the successful achievement of a livable future.

Schumacher, Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered (London: Blond and Briggs, 1973).

Global Responsibility and Sustainable Future Focus

Peter Berg, ed., A Green City Program for San Francisco Bay Area Cities and Towns San Francisco: Planet Drum Books, 1989).

Peter Berg, ed. Reinhabiting a Separate Country: A Bioregional Anthology of Northern California (San Francisco, Calif: Planet Drum Foundation, 1978).

Ernest Callenbach. Ecotopia: The Notebooks and Reports of William Weston (Berkeley, Calif.: Banyan Tree Books, 1975).

Gary J. Coates, ed., Resettling America: Energy, Ecology, and Community (Andover, Mass.: Brick House Pub. Co., 1981).

Warwick Fox, Toward a Transpersonal Ecology: Developing New Foundations for Environmentalism (Boston: Random House, 1990).

Petra Karin Kelly, Fighting for Hope (Boston Mass.: South End Press, 1984).

Periodicals

Elmwood Institute Newsletter

PO Box 5765

Berkeley, CA 94705

845-4595

The Elmwood Newsletter is published at the equinoxes and solstices by the Elmwood Institute. The Institute was founded "to facilitate the cultural shift from a mechanistic and patriarchal world view to a holistic and ecological view. Its purpose is to nurture new ecological visions-based on the awareness of the fundamental interdependence of all phenomena...and to apply these visions to the solution of current social, economic, environmental, and political problems". Through symposia, lectures, gatherings, publications, and other media the Elmwood Institute is involved in an educational campaign spanning the globe. Fritjof Capra, one of the Institute's current Council members says the Institute wanted to be a resource base for the American Green Movement. The newsletters and articles have stimulated and informed my mind, and revitalized my spirit and commitment, all the while reinforcing my faith that there is a community of visionaries and a conspiracy of hope, and that it will make a difference.

Green Letter: In Search of Greener Times

Green Letter P.O. Box 14141

San Francisco, CA 94114

This is an Educational Forum publication which is printed quarterly. It covers the Green Movement, and is a project of the Tides Foundation.

Utne Reader

Box 1974

Marion OH 43306-1974

Worldwatch Paper

Worldwatch Institute

3. Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036 USA

(Item 1)

Distribution of responses to Question 6 which addresses the sexual orientations and relationships of the 153 surveyed.

<u>Relationship Description</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
Single	30
Single Heterosexual	30
Single Celibate	1
Single Monogamous	5
Single Non-Monogamous	2
Single Heterosexual Monogamous	7
Single Heterosexual Non-Monogamous	6
Gay	2
Gay Monogamous	1
Gay Non-Monogamous	1
Gay Committed Relationship	1
Bisexual Committed Relationship	2
Bisexual Committed Relationship Monogamous	1
Lesbian Committed Relationship Non-Monogamous	1
Committed Relationship	7
Committed Relationship Heterosexual	4
Committed Relationship Heterosexual Monogamous	7
Committed Relationship Monogamous	2
Committed Relationship Non-Monogamous	4
Married	14
Married Monogamous	3
Married Heterosexual	7
Married Heterosexual Monogamous	4
Married Heterosexual Non-Monogamous	1

(Item 2)

Representation of responses to Question 7 which addresses the racial and ethnic identifications of the 153 surveyed.

1. Identities with Anglo, Caucasian or White

Amer. Ind./Caucas. Earthperson
Anglo
Anglo/White
Caucasian
Caucasian/Celtic/Scottish
Caucasian/Earthling
Caucasian/European/Middle Eastern
Caucasian/Irish Malcontent
Caucasian/Italian
Caucasian with Nat. Amer. Learning
European/White
Germanic/Caucasian
Jewish/Caucasian
Middle Upper Class White
Normal White Trash
White
White/American
WASP (White Anglo Saxon Protestant)
White/German/Irish
White/Irish
White/Irish/Italian/American
White/Italian
White/Jew
White/Pale?
White/Spanish
Zen California White

2. Identities Excluding Anglo, Caucasian or White

Amer./Euro./Celtic/Jewish (non-white)
British/American
European
European Conglomerate
European American
French/German/Irish/American
German/American
German/Swedish/Irish
Greek/American
Irish/English-Eclectic/Cosmopolitan
Irish/Greek/Jewish/Amurikan
Irish/Native American
Polish/Ukranian
Swedish/Scottish/English
Scottish/Chilean/North American
Western/European

3. Non-European, Non-Anglo Identities

African American
African/Arabian
American Jew
Asian
Asian Indian
Black
Hispanic/Native American
Jewish
Jewish/American/Hippie
Native American
Native American/Filipino

4. Global or Cosmic Identities

All
Galactic
Native Indigenous People
New York City
Woman Pre-patriarchal Society
World Citizen

Item 3

Representation of actual responses to Question 10 which inquires about the spiritual and religious identifications of the 153 surveyed.

Agnostic

Reborn non-Catholic Agnostic
I was raised Southern Baptist,
but I am really agnostic
Spiritual Agnostic

All Present Anima

Atheist Vague. Wholistic Inner
Pretty much atheistic
Religious atheist

Buddhist

Zen -was Catholic
Green Buddhist
Yogi Buddhist
Buddhist ecological
Episcopalian/Buddhist

Catholic

Defected Roman Catholic
Raised Catholic but do not follow the religion
have spiritual devotion to the environment
Catholic in the "Matt Fox Tradition"

Christianity

I am Christian
Christian Science
Individual path with Christ
with Yoganda as Guru
United Church of Christ
Congressional
Protestant Christian

Experienced Centered
Vineyard/Grassroots Christian

Earth Centered

Earth Star Bound
Mother Earth as final arbiter
Mother Earth-don't believe
in structure of spirituality
believe in a biological/
spiritual connection to the
earth and other species
as animals ourselves

Green

Holistic Health

Bud

Humanist

Humanistic

Humanist -no supernatural belief

Judaism

Jewish-not religious

Mystic

Native American

Native American if anything (nothing really)

Native American-the Earth

American Indian, Yogic

Green/Native American Oriented Spirituality

Naturalist

Multi-interest Nature Based

Natural living

New Age

Ex-Bahai, personal vision, new age type stuff

Not religious, interested in many new age spiritualities
and philosophies

None

None (meditator/ex-Rajnish)

None (Christian)

None, perhaps a belief in the right for the environment
to exist without intrusion from humans

Pagan

Rational Pagan

Quasi Pagan

Proud Pagan, Hindu,

Christian

Pagan/Star Child

Pagan-Buddhist

Pan Pagan

Judeo/Christian, Buddhism

Rasto, Pagan

"Proto" Pagan

Pagan/Jewish

Pantheism

Pantheist/Druid

Hindu, Pantheist, ie. Divine Mother

+ Father are flowing
through the Divine
principle

Pantheism (look it up, it
is my true feeling toward
religion

Quakers

Sufi

Tantric

Tantric Hedonist

Taoist

Ecological Taoist

Unidentified

Eclectic Mix: existentialism, Hinduism, Christian:

I have religious studies as my major so I've not yet
a clear identification with any one religion nor am

I likely to

Irreligious and personal spirituality

Theist, no formal affiliation

Personal values no denomination

I have spiritual identification with

life, I come from many different
philosophies and practices

General, non-specific

Personal Unidentifiable

Spiritual not religious

Non-denominational

Unitarian

Eastern Religion, attend a Unitarian
Church

Unitarian ?

Eclectic Christian (Mennonite,
Presbyterian, Unitarian)

Unitarian/Ecumenical

Universal

Universal Spirituality

Redwood/Universe and Christian
background

Universalist

Yoga

(Item 4)

Representation of responses to Question 11 which inquires about the psychological growth experiences of the 153 surveyed.

Negative Response

- No New Age Bullshit Please

Physical Movement

- Running • Swimming • Dance • Backpacking • Tai Chi • Drumming
- Kung Fu

Programmatic Activities

- Outward Bound • 12 Step • EST • Inner Child Group Therapy
- Native American Medicine Wheel Training

Social Movement

- Men's Movement • Feminist Working Group • Women's Spirituality
- Conflict Resolution
- Non-violence • Friends

Spiritual/Physical Movement

- Dream Work • Christian Groups • Meditation
- Reading • Art • Quest Work

Comprehensive Response

- Miracles

(Item 5)

Samples of Green World Visions and Practices

- I don't have clear visions of a "Green World" - I'm trying now to learn about what the Greens believe, etc. I am trying to find a political/social group I can work with (was a Peace and Freedom member during 70's) went back to Demos with Jesse Jackson, but I am disgusted with Demo behavior in connection with the Gulf War.
- I have for a long time lived the Green principles, afterwards I found the Green Movement and support all of the activities and partake of them, ie Earth Day.
- Every decision I make is weighted against Green values of ecological, western and social justice. How I live, what and how I drive, what products I use, how I treat people, communicate, use my time. It is a way of life. It is way of perceiving.

Recycle-Conservation

- Turn off PG&E during peak times.
- Recycle papers, bottles; holistic lifestyle; preventative healthcare, herbs; avoid prepackaged food; climb stairs rather than use elevators
- I have a homestead, 40 acres, solar energy, wood heat, fruit, nuts, veggies, gravity water system.

Alternative Transportation

- I don't have a car-haven't for eight years.
- Take the bus to work.
- I ride my bicycle almost every day for transportation.

Consumption

- Every act in my life is thought out as to how its affects the earth and all living organisms on it - from buying food (organic) to toilet paper.
- No animal tested products.
- I have been practicing and proselytizing vegetarianism for 21 years.

Green Movement or Party Efforts

- Green rituals: hugs, circles, drum ritual, ecofeminist rituals-occasional participant.
- Running for office as a Green and working at local, state and national levels to develop the Green Party Platform.

Education

- I plan to go into teaching after graduate school to help promote alternatives to mainstream-status quo thinking and perception.
- I study extensively in religious, cultural, political history. I try to make my music teaching as non-hierarchical and participatory and creative as possible. I teach my household about facilitation in our meetings and I teach other non-Green meetings about facilitation methods.
- I walk in the woods with children, my nephew and his friends- and enjoy their version of Green Politics.
- Basically, I just read a lot (and drive my car even more). But seriously-I'm not so much into personal lifestyle changes as structural social change.
- Teach people about animal rights.

Community

- I try to be a part of the community that I am in.
- I organize and listen in communities that are non-White.
- Establish community projects for self-reliance.
- Work actively in the community, raise consciousness in my women's studies classes and with friends.

Green World Event

- Reading Thoreau's Walden and the New English New Testament cover to cover in two weeks in 1967 and finding them to be saying the same thing: Reverse material growth to enable spiritual growth.
- The closing ceremonies of the Greening of the West Conference (1988) were emotionally transcendent to me (Starhawk et al.)

Expressions

- I create paintings related to regeneration, creation and hope.
- Support alternative media.
- I decorate my room seasonally, even with my own art work!

Earth Efforts

- Adapt my home to be more gentle on land, native landscaping, help my rich neighbors, quit my computer job.
- Plant Trees
- Organic gardening.
- Working to build a world beyond war so we can devote more resources to saving the earth.
- Buying this 1.5 acres is my current actualization of a vision and my "Green World."

Empowerment

- Demand the thing we want, say the things we are afraid to say. Hug each other a lot.
- I'm in therapy and discuss personal and group relations and dynamics.
- I want to see women and people of color advance in the political arena.
- Work to maintain my health without drugs.
- I am deeply committed to promoting public health issues so that others may not suffer cancer or other debilitating illness if they can be avoided. In my writing I try to encourage to keep trying and to meet adversity head on.

Meditative and Imaginative Efforts

- Try to convert consciousness from ego to heart. Meditate every day for a half hour to help see all in me and me in all (the interconnectedness of humans and sometime non-humans-trees and ocean especially).
- I envision the collapse of corporate-industrial society and the restoration of the ecology of the entire planet.

Green World Locations

- The Bay Area (S.F.-East Bay) is where I envision living Green. It is where I would want to create a Green World.
- Findhorn, Ecotopia, Sun Mountain

(Item 6)

Representation of actual responses to Question 16 which invited Greens to describe how non-Greens stereotype, label, typecast or imagine the Greens.

• In Ventura, they think we're mostly women. In S.F. they think we're mostly men.
In Atlanta they think we're Black. In Santa Monica we're hippies or businessmen.
In Boston we teach University. Depends on who you ask. All think we are utopian naive.

- Non-Greens do not know who they (Greens) are.
- Good intentions but lack power because of money.
- Too weak and too small to have an effect.
- Unrealistic
- Into white dominated politics, not racial justice.
- Naive
- Activists
- Radical
- Anti-establishment
- Environmentalists
- White Middle Class
- Political Fringe
- "Oh Greenpeace"
- 60's Throwbacks
- Not mainstream
- Socialist or even Communist...(but even so seven out of nine voting members of my family have registered Green.)
- Alternative Culture
- Ahead of their times
- Dreamers
- Mush headed emotional
- progressive
- New Agers
- Pot smoking environmentalists
- Disorganized
- World conspirators
- Disgruntled Democrats
- Long hair hippie greenos