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RAIN

ECO-NET

RAIN

William Appleman Williams on Regional Destiny

Scuttling the Law of the Sea

The Future is Abundant

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RAIN Magazine publishes information which can help people lead more simple and satisfying lives, make their communities and regions more economically self-reliant, and build a society that is durable, just, and ecologically sound.

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Penny Fearon

Rain Staff: *Left to right, Bruce Borquist, Laura Stuchinsky, Rob Baird, Ann Borquist, Jim Riker, Rosalind Riker, John Ferrell, Linnea Gilson, Nancy Cosper, Steve Johnson. Not shown, Lee Lancaster, Jim Springer.*

In This Issue . . .

Access Information

RAINDROPS

RAIN is in transition *again*? Not again, exactly; it's a perpetual state with us. But we have been experiencing far more than the usual amount of flux in recent months. My talented co-editors, Mark and Carlotta, have both cleaned out their bulging desks and files (you should have been there!) and departed for new adventures. As is usual with "retired" Rainiacs they'll continue to provide us with quality copy and sage counsel, but their absence from the daily scene leaves us with some large gaps to fill. As we go to press, we're still combing the country for one new editor who embodies the best qualities of the two we have lost — a tall order indeed!

In the midst of staff changes, we've also been moving in some new directions with magazine style and content. We've chosen a new easy-on-the-eye typeface, redesigned our staff box and begun to include a table of contents. We've also been moving toward somewhat longer feature articles, matched up with a good many directly-related access items.

But all of this has just been a warm-up: with our next issue (October/November) we'll launch into our ninth year with some new features, more pages, and a bimonthly (as opposed to 10 issue) publication schedule. By turning out larger RAIN's fewer times during the year we'll be providing ourselves with some much-needed cost-savings in postage and printing. More pages per issue will also mean a chance for us to pursue important themes in greater detail and to introduce some exciting new features — like the Pacific Northwest Bioregion Report, which will regularly explore trends, events and models for change in our own emerging Ecotopia.

That's about all I want to "give away" for now; let's preserve an element of surprise about changes to come. But I *do* want to note that we've finally agreed, after all these years, to begin accepting a limited amount of paid advertising. Presumably I don't need to describe the realities of non-profit publishing in the 80s which led to *that* decision — you've heard it all before! We're still working out the details of our advertising policy and we want to make you, our readers, an important part of that process. Please let us know immediately what kinds of ads you would — or definitely would *not* — like to see in RAIN, and send along your tips on who we might want to approach to run their ads with us.

That's the Magazine Transition Report for this issue. It's an exciting, overly-busy, understaffed time for us, but the best part of working at RAIN is association with an extended family of fine people who are always ready to provide the magazine with "good work" at a moment's notice. Lots of folks have been helping out but Jim Springer, our editorial intern, and Pat Mazza, one of our contributing editors, deserve special thanks, as do all of the members of the Rain Community Resource Center staff.

And it's been an exciting time of transition for the Resource Center, too! Nancy will fill you in on what's been happening under that side of our umbrella.

— John Ferrell

For those of you who didn't know, there is another Rain besides RAIN Magazine: the Rain Community Resource Center, which has been under the Umbrella since the fall of 1980. RCRC allows us to directly involve ourselves, locally and regionally, in many of the same areas of concern we address in each issue of the magazine.

A major project for the RCRC staff has been organizing and cataloguing our massive AT/self-help research library (over 4,000 books and 600 incoming periodicals as well as extensive organization and resource files). Our other projects have included co-management of Oregon's Appropriate Technology Small Grants Program and forums with Bruce Stokes, Mark Satin, Ernest Callenbach and Peter Berg. We have worked with Portland's Futures Project; assisted in a number of conferences including Tilth's "Permaculture in the Northwest," Evergreen State College's "Options Northwest," the Center for Urban Education's "Information and Communication Technology for the Community," and the Portland Alliance for Social Change's "Community Assembly." We have talked about community self-reliance to civic groups, church groups, and high school social studies classes.

Currently, while Rain is still involved in technology promotion for the A.T. Small Grants Program recipients, Ann and Bruce are working with a coalition of groups to provide assistance to an Asian refugee agricultural project; Laura and Rob are putting together a regional agricultural conference; and Ann and I are organizing "Solar 82", our region's annual solar and renewable energy conference. Steve J. continues to refine the information system, as he and Bruce enter increasing amounts of data daily on periodicals, directories, databases, and network people into our trusty computer; we are now up to over 1500 entries. None of this would be done without the aid of Roz and Jim Riker, our summer interns (who wandered in looking for something to do only the day after we had lost our latest addition), and of course our volunteers who put in hours of work, bringing through the door with them fresh enthusiasm and ideas, which help to keep things moving. And as you can see, our motion is perpetual!

— Nancy Cosper

ACCESS

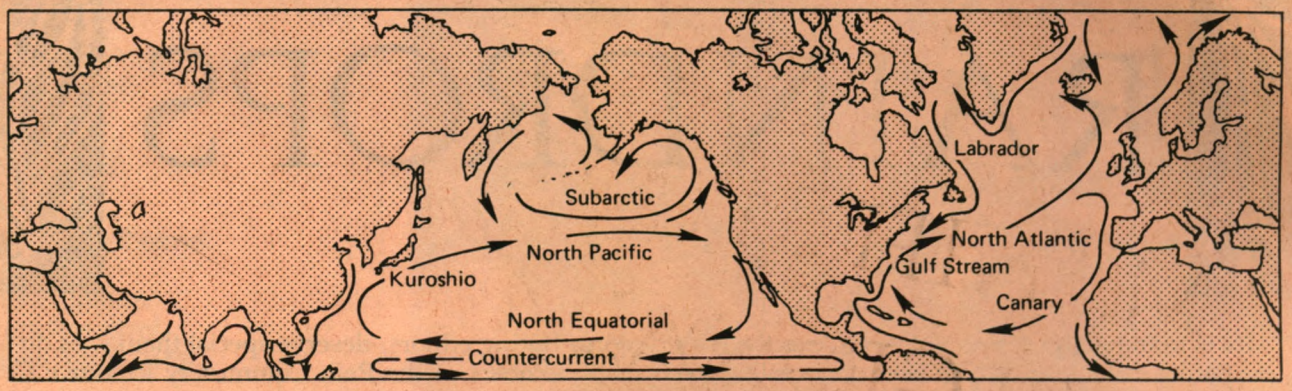


Figure 10-1 Ocean currents of the Northern hemisphere circulate like the winds above. Both serve to transfer heat energy from the tropics to cold northern latitudes.

From: *Weather and Energy*

ENERGY

***Lovins on the Soft Path*, 1982, 36 minutes/color/sound 16 mm film, $550; video, $275; rental (in either format), $75. Distributed by:**
Bullfrog Films
Oley, PA 19547

Amory and Hunter Lovins are in the business of bringing about what Friends of the Earth founder David Brower has called "an energy revolution without fanfare [using information] presented so clearly you wonder why you didn't know it already." Their lucid articulation of the need for a "soft path" energy strategy (improved efficiencies combined with appropriate use of renewables) has drawn serious attention (and often sputtering anger) from the economists, utility executives, and government officials who would take us down the "hard" energy path toward increased fossil fuel and nuclear dependence. In this well-produced film, we follow Amory and Hunter on the lecture circuit, hear their description of our present energy dilemma, and share their vision of an "energy future with a future." The Lovinses center their energy analysis around four crucial questions:

"How much energy do we need?"
"What kinds of energy?"
"Where can we get it?"
"Where do we start?"

Thanks in large part to Amory and Hunter's books and articles (see for example, "Soft Path Hits Hard Times," RAIN VII:8:18), some of us have already improved our ability to answer those questions. Now, with soaring utility rates, wobbling WPPSS bonds, and sobering memories of Three Mile Island, more and more people are ready for the kinds of answers which only recently might have been characterized as "radical." *Lovins on the Soft Path* is not only an excellent program choice for renewable energy organizations, but for labor unions, church discussion groups and the Lions Club. — John Ferrell

***Heat Pumps: An Efficient Heating & Cooling Alternative*, Dermot McGuigan with Amanda McGuigan, 1981, 202 pp., $6.95 from:**
Garden Way Publishing
Charlotte, VT 05445

As energy costs increase, heat pumps are becoming a popular solution to heating and cooling houses and offices. Basically, a heat pump is a refrigerator which uses the heating effect rather than the cooling effect for space conditioning. Heat pumps are like amplifiers: they take energy from air or water at moderate temperatures, add mechanical work, and produce hot air or water for space heating. A heat pump produces one-and-a-half to four units of heat energy per unit of work energy put into the system.

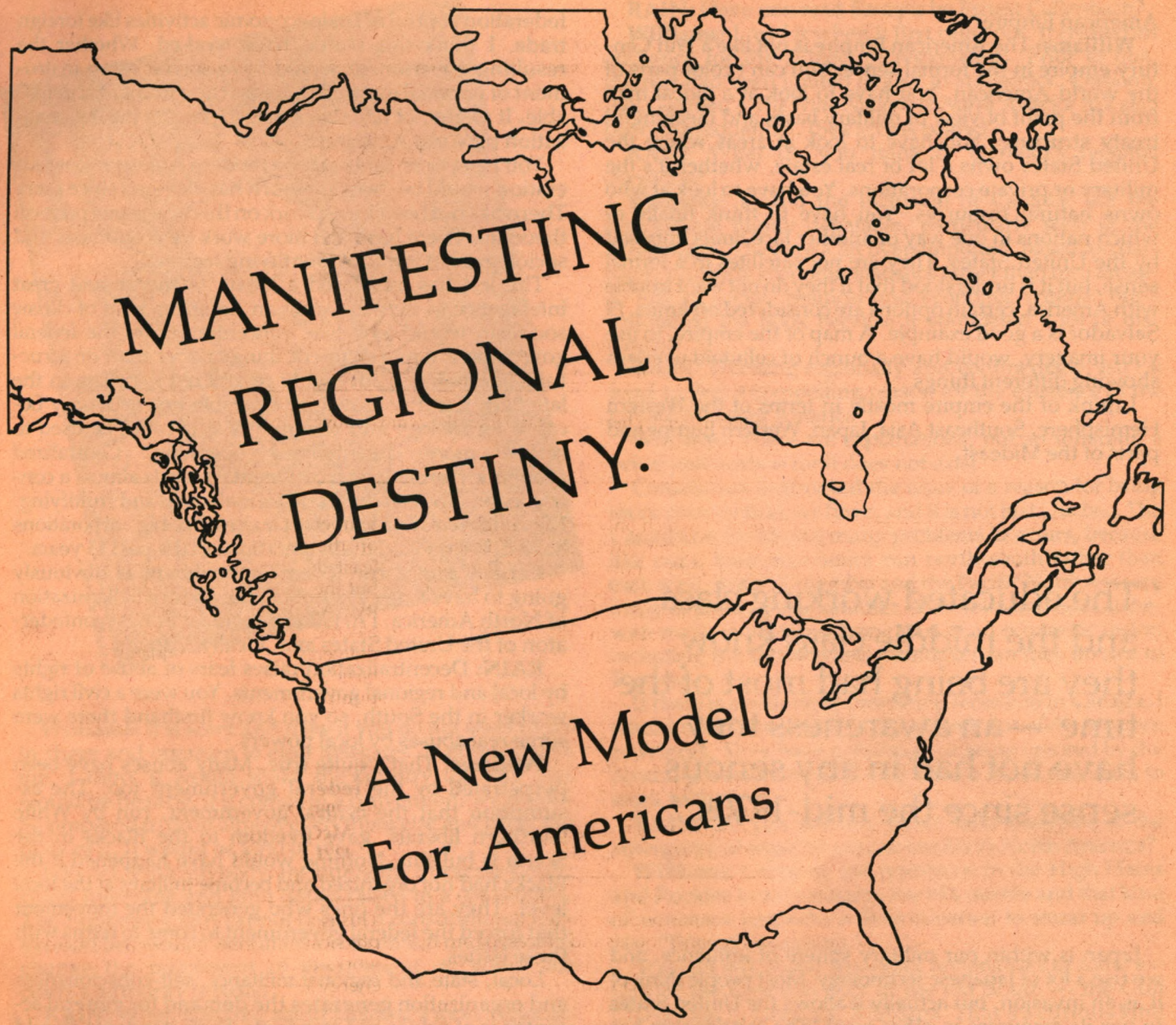
This introductory book does an excellent job of describing the principles of heat pump operation, available equipment, and possible configurations with a backup system. The book is clear and highly readable, but there are three potential problems with the systems which are not fully addressed. First, heat pumps do not readily lend themselves to night setbacks; a special control system is required to use a night setback without energizing the auxiliary heat source. Second, (as the authors do note) air-to-air heat pumps are very inefficient at low temperatures. (In the Pacific Northwest, where we have a "mild" climate, heat pumps are installed with electric resistance heat as the auxiliary, and when the temperature drops, they run primarily on the resistance heater). Last, but not least, heat pumps may amplify energy, but the energy form is generally electricity. A conventional coal- or gas-fired electric power plant has less than 35% delivered efficiency which offsets the basic beneficial effects of using a heat pump. — Gail Katz

***Weather and Energy*, by Bruce Schwoegler, 1981, 230 pages, $22.50 from:**
McGraw-Hill
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

This is a book for people who look at the physical universe and wonder why it works the way it does. Other alternative energy books may provide specifics on insulation needs, average wind speed and hydro potential of various sites around the country. This book starts with the basic cause and effect of weather and from there proceeds to offer information on alternative energy possibilities suggested by weather patterns.

Overall, the portion of the earth near the equator receives more solar energy than it emits back to space, causing a net energy gain and a rise in temperature. Polar areas, on the other hand, are net energy losers. Air masses move across the earth to establish equilibirium between zones of net gain and loss. Add the effects of the earth's rotation, moisture content of the air and topographic features, and the weather becomes understandable.

Weather and Energy not only unfolds the mysteries of rain and wind; it does so in a manner that is so easily read and totally engrossing that I devoured the book in a single sitting. — Gail Katz



MANIFESTING REGIONAL DESTINY:

A New Model For Americans

AN INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS

To understand the present, we must understand the past. The American present, this time of domestic dissolution and international danger, has its roots in a past of continental and global expansion. This imperial road has been well charted by a school of historians that first emerged in the late 1950s, the revisionists. William Appleman Williams might be described as "dean" of the school. In works such as The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, The Roots of the Modern American Empire, America Confronts a Revolutionary World *and* Empire As a Way of Life, *Williams has painstakingly documented the American propensity to avoid dealing with internal conflicts through external expansion. As Williams and others have noted, the era of expansion is over, leaving us with a difficult backlog of problems to solve here at home. From our history, Williams has drawn the outlines of an answer. He has suggested we look back to the years immediately following the American Revolution, years when the United States had a working, decentralized form of government, a confederation. We should think in terms of a new confederation, says Williams, a confederation of self-governing North American regions in which we could begin to build a true continental community. Recently, I visited Williams at Oregon State University, where he currently teaches, to discuss empire, confederation and practical steps toward restructuring American government. He gives us a historical-political framework through which we can reach our dreams of a just and ecologically durable society. His words tell me we can change things if we know where we are going and how to get there.*

— Patrick Mazza

RAIN: How would you summarize the American Empire's current condition and prospects?

Williams: It is obviously in a state of serious transition, and nobody has figured out what next version of the empire is possible or appropriate or rewarding. It's a serious problem for the managers of the empire.

I don't see any precipitous decline in the sense that the British declined after World War I. The empire might blunder into some potentially disastrous mistakes, but I do not see any inherent collapse for the next 10 years or so.

RAIN: When you look at a map, how do you see the

American Empire?

Williams: The American Empire is not like a 19th Century empire in the formal sense. You can't color parts of the world American. You have to look at a global map from the point of view of military bases and meaningful treaty structure. You have to look at areas where the United States owns a lot of real estate, whether it's the military or private corporations. You have to look at who owns natural resources. You have to think finally of which nations in one way or another face limits imposed by the United States. They are not satellites in a formal sense, but it is understood that if they do not want trouble with America, certain options are considered off limits. El Salvador is a good example. A map of the empire, to use your imagery, would have a bunch of celluloid overlays showing different things.

I think of the empire mostly in terms of the Western Hemisphere, Southeast Asia, Japan, Western Europe and parts of the Mideast.

"The educated working class and the middle class know they are being had most of the time — an awareness they have not had in any serious sense since the mid-1930s."

Japan is within our military sphere of influence, and we use a lot of Japanese technology. Most people think of it as an invasion, but actually it allows the United States to use its resources in other ways. The relationship has evolved from one of occupation and major dependency into kind of an equal one, pretty much like with Western Germany and France. But we still exercise enormous influence in all those countries.

RAIN: In your 1969 book, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire*, you wrote, "It is essential for radicals to devise workable plans and procedures for decentralization that will enable us to realize a richer and more creative conception of freedom. We need models of autonomous yet interacting regional political economies that will function as communities." You have also called for a continental confederation to replace the current centralized federal system.

Williams: I use the confederation metaphor because it is part of American history. It actually did exist. It was the first choice of Americans of the revolutionary generation, and had a great deal of support even after the federal constitution was ratified.

The old image of the confederation as weak and almost non-functional has been fundamentally revised over the last 25 years. It did, in fact, work. The original proposal of those who opposed the constitution was to give the confederation control of basic economic activities like foreign trade. I think this would have worked. Whether the resulting government would have served as an instrument of imperial expansion across the continent is debatable. It might not have been able to prevent the regionalization of North America.

You have to re-think what a modern American confederation would be, because much has changed since then. There has not been much work on this by serious political theorists. There has been more work by economists and sociologists in terms of identifying regions.

The left has misplaced a lot of its energy and great intelligence in thinking what an American kind of classic socialism would look like, concentrating on the federal government doing different things rather than on structural alternatives. But highly centralized socialism in the late 20th Century is neither desirable nor necessary because technology and communications could be used to realize more decentralized operation. Centralized economic planning on a continental scale is almost a contradiction. You can do it, but it is inefficient and stultifying. I find it interesting that most successful, big corporations have decentralized their operations in the past 15 years.

Certain things the federal government is obviously going to have to do. I'm not talking about a balkanization of North America. I'm talking about an honest confederaton of the United States and, ideally, Canada.

RAIN: Decentralization raises fears of abuse of rights by local and regional governments. You were a civil rights worker in the South, so you know firsthand there were some real abuses by local powers.

Williams: That's quite true. Many abuses have been perpetrated by the federal government too. The assumption that the central government, run by White Northern liberals, gave freedom to the Blacks in the South is bullshit. Nothing would have happened if the Blacks had not organized and become militant at the local level. They are the ones who generated the movement that forced the federal government to come to terms with these issues.

Local, state and regional militance, self-consciousness and organization generates the demand for general acceptance of values and standards. Such standards should become part of any alternative confederation. Certain rights and responsibilities apply to everybody.

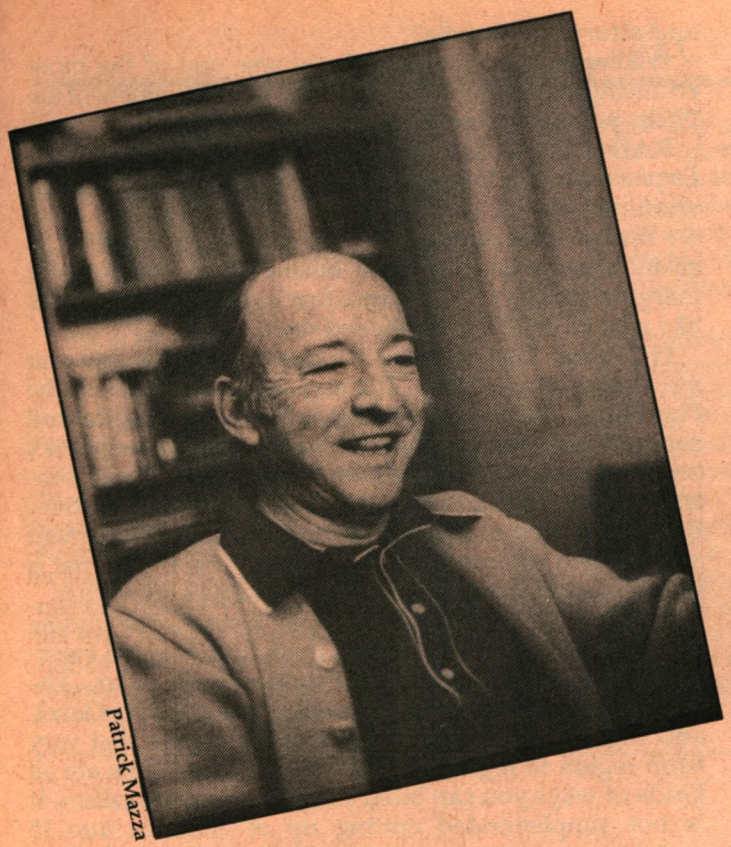
RAIN: What about interregional conflicts in a confederation?

Williams: The central government would have to be the court of last resort for visceral conflicts that could not be negotiated by the regions.

RAIN: Where would you vest that central power?

Williams: I think a parliamentary system is much more immediately responsive than a presidential system. A parliamentary system is much more capable of throwing the ruling government out of power, but you would have to develop a more responsible political party tradition.

RAIN: The potential for major structural change in the American government in the 1980s is greater than most people realize. Thirty states have called for a new constitutional convention to write a balanced budget amendment. If several more states ratify the call, the constitution requires that a convention be held. Many people believe that it could not legally be held to the balanced budget issue. Do we embrace the concept of a convention or do we consider it a very scary and risky thing?


Patrick Mazza

Williams: It is scary and risky if you do not want to get in there and organize to elect delegates. It doesn't scare me. I think it would shake the country up, and that would be healthy. If it comes to a convention, we should be prepared to drop almost everything else and get in the thick of it. It would be kind of fun.

I do not think anybody, including the Supreme Court, could intervene and limit issues raised in a convention. The Supreme Court cannot control a constitutional convention because by definition a convention undertakes to change the instrument of government on which the court's authority is based.

RAIN: When thinking about building a more regionalized society, don't we also have to look at transforming our economy?

Williams: Sure, or at least at a very tough re-mapping of resources and skills, asking tough questions about whether these resources should be used for different purposes. Sometimes it is probably more rational to stay with the kind of mix between human and natural resources that has developed. In other instances it would be the grossest folly to keep on with the status quo. For example, the South has started growing a particular plant from Africa from which you can make newsprint. It is much better, lasts longer, produces clearer images and has a 150-day growing season. Using that makes more sense than cutting down all the trees.

RAIN: The standard idea is that private industry should take the lead on economic change and innovation. Maybe state governments should be doing some of these things themselves.

Williams: Absolutely. The Progressives of the early 20th Century and the Populists of the late 19th Century had lots of proposals for the states to do certain kinds of positive things.

RAIN: Have you read *Ecotopia* by Ernest Callenbach?

Williams: I read it when it first came out. It created an audience for the subject of regionalism. Prior to that, interest had been limited largely to academics. Certainly Joel Garreau's *The Nine Nations of North America* has also been consequential. [See access below].

RAIN: What do you think of Garreau's regional divisions?

Williams: I liked the inclusion of Canada. But the regions are highly debatable, particularly west of the Mississippi. They are a bit oversimplified, based too narrowly on crude economic statistics rather than on a broader mix of social, political and economic criteria. But I welcomed the book because it stimulated a lot of discussion.

RAIN: Thinking regionally and continentally, isn't it hard to find a compelling reason for the existence of the United States of America?

Williams: There are explanations, but an inherent, a priori justification for it does not exist.

Canada has confronted the issue of a reason for being more directly than we have, and it is not just Quebec. The Canadians are having many problems like ours, because like ours, their economics run north-south rather than east-west. British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest are integral parts of one another. Manitoba and Saskatchewan make more sense being part of an economic region including the Dakotas and Montana than they do tied to Toronto.

If there is anything approaching secession in Canada, I would not be surprised to see it come out of the western provinces. They have a tradition of being ignored by the central government, and they have a lot of resources to work with.

RAIN: Do you see any other such examples of the emergence of regional consciousness in North America?

Williams: Certainly the resistance in the High Plains and Rockies to strip mining, the MX missile and that kind of nonsense bespeaks a determination to stand up and say, "Enough is enough."

You can talk about emerging regionalism to some extent in the southern part of the old South — the Gulf Coast Reach, Georgia, Alabama. That's a curious kind of self-consciousness, but it exists. They see themselves as different than the rest of what we speak of loosely as the South.

Every once in a while, I think we are developing an integrated regional consciousness in the Pacific Northwest, but then it seems to peter out. You get a lot of it periodically when the Californians and the Southwest say they are going to get our water whether we like it or not. But that is a pretty negative basis of unity, and I'm sure the Canadians would stop any such plan because most of it is their water.

RAIN: Murray Bookchin has criticized the regionalist approach. He says regions are too big and we should be concentrating on local and municipal levels.

Williams: You have to start out with local politics and then state politics. If in the course of that you build a strong power base in local communities and states, you can create regional structures. As regional communities get more confidence and experience, they might devolve some of their responsibilities.

But you have to create the region first. It is absurd to think local communities can take on a corporation. But a

state with a social movement of some sizable plurality can take on some of these corporations. At that level you can seriously raise the question, "Whose natural resources are these? For what purpose are they going to be used?"

One of the more meaningful criticisms of regional confederation is that it would give the corporations easy pickings. That is a legitimate point. The only answer is that they are getting easy pickings anyway. If you do not want to spend time and energy fighting them, then forget all this rhetoric.

Minnesota managed to control the Mesabi iron ore range, got a royalty out of every ton Carnegie took out of it, and built a great system of education with the money. There is no reason Oregon or the Pacific Northwest region can't do that with a whole bunch of resources.

RAIN: So you think serious electoral efforts should be built at state and local levels?

"The primary responsibility of progressive people is to articulate a different image of reality, a different model of America."

Williams: I do. There is a fundamental feeling in this country that the government has gotten out of hand. I would hope young people would be willing to go into politics in order to articulate an alternative analysis of the system, to make the elementary contribution of spreading the word and building the kind of local and state power that is behind every significant reform movement in this country's history.

RAIN: Do you see potentials for coalition-building with elements regarded as conservative?

Williams: In terms of an overall consensus or a true social movement, no. But I think it is a mistake not to actively support groups like the Mormons in their opposition to the MX.

From my experience, it is counter-productive to come on gung-ho with traditional socialist rhetoric. You would be better off to address specific issues with specific alternatives. If you talk to people in that idiom, they begin to see it is not just the specific issue but part of a whole system.

RAIN: How else can these new political visions be communicated?

Williams: Gaining access to mass media is crucial. When I was working in the civil rights movement in 1945-46, we had a hell of a time running regional or even local means of communication. We put out a weekly newspaper with a mimeograph machine. Today, with technological improvements, it is easier to reach people than it used to be.

RAIN: Through regional communication networks and alternative media?

Williams: Yes. Building those was one of the more enduring achievements of the New Left movement of the 1960s, perhaps its most important achievement.

RAIN: You concluded *Roots of the Modern American Empire* with an admonition "that we be very careful about winning when it requires us to become more like what we find so unacceptable. For those kind of victories can easily change us into small businessmen promoting a marginal product." You wrote that in 1969. It sure sounds like a lot of what has happened since.

Williams: That certainly happened with the anti-war movement of the 1960s. The movement started with the Port Huron Statement, which put the war in a radical and coherent framework. Then it became single-issue politics remarkably quickly. In fact, the movement largely contributed to ending the war. Great, but the alternatives that are explicit or implicit in the Port Huron Statement got shuffled off into just more of the New Deal. That is now a marginal product. The conservatives know that.

Social Security is a good example. Instead of defending the present system, we should push for full social insurance like they have had in Europe for 75 years. The federal government could provide a basic support level, and regions could add to it based on factors that vary from region to region like the cost of heat. There are all kinds of ways you can build solutions on regionalism. It is not simpleminded cutting up of America into 15 countries.

RAIN: In *America Confronts a Revolutionary World*, you said the change to a regional society would come with violence. Could you be more specific?

Williams: I think you will get the kind of violence you had against the civil rights movement in the South. You might have violence in the High Plains if strip mining is not controlled and regulated by state or federal governments. I would not anticipate the kind of centralized takeover that is the classic model of revolutions. I can foresee, although I would not predict where and when, that if you get a real left-liberal-democratic-socialist power base in this country, there probably will be attempts to use state militia. I'm certainly not advocating military confrontation with the federal government. That's foolish.

RAIN: I have this picture of a kind of "normal" American person, not "left" or "progressive" or any of those words. But they don't like the federal government. They don't like the corporations. They know they're getting ripped off. Do you see among these people a potential for a new progressive populism?

Williams: Yes. Living in a nonacademic community, I can see that kind of social awareness and anger has increased remarkably in the last five years. The educated working class and the middle class know they are being had most of the time, an awareness they have not had in any serious sense since the mid-1930s. I do not see any reason to anticipate its decline under current circumstances. People are getting angrier and angrier, and more frustrated. They are paying a lot more attention. I am cautiously optimistic.

The primary responsibility of progressive people is to articulate a different image of reality, a different model for America. If you do that in terms of a different, strong central government, you're going to turn most people off because they have had enough of strong central government. □□

ACCESS

BIOREGIONS

***PROUT*, Special Issue, Summer 1981, 16 pp., 58 cents, from:**
Proutist Universal
228 S. 46th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19139

For the past few years, members of the PROUT movement have been talking with people around the United States to develop an understanding of American regions. The result is a map that reflects the psychic geography of current America as well as any I have seen. Published in a special issue of *PROUT*, the map "shows the areas we have selected as most desirable for producing populist movements," according to the Proutists. "Each area has some common sentiment around which people may unite." For example, the California regions are based on peoples's desires to control their water supplies. The Upper and Lower Rio Grande regions are based on strong Hispanic and Native American influence, the Delta region on a preponderance of African peoples.

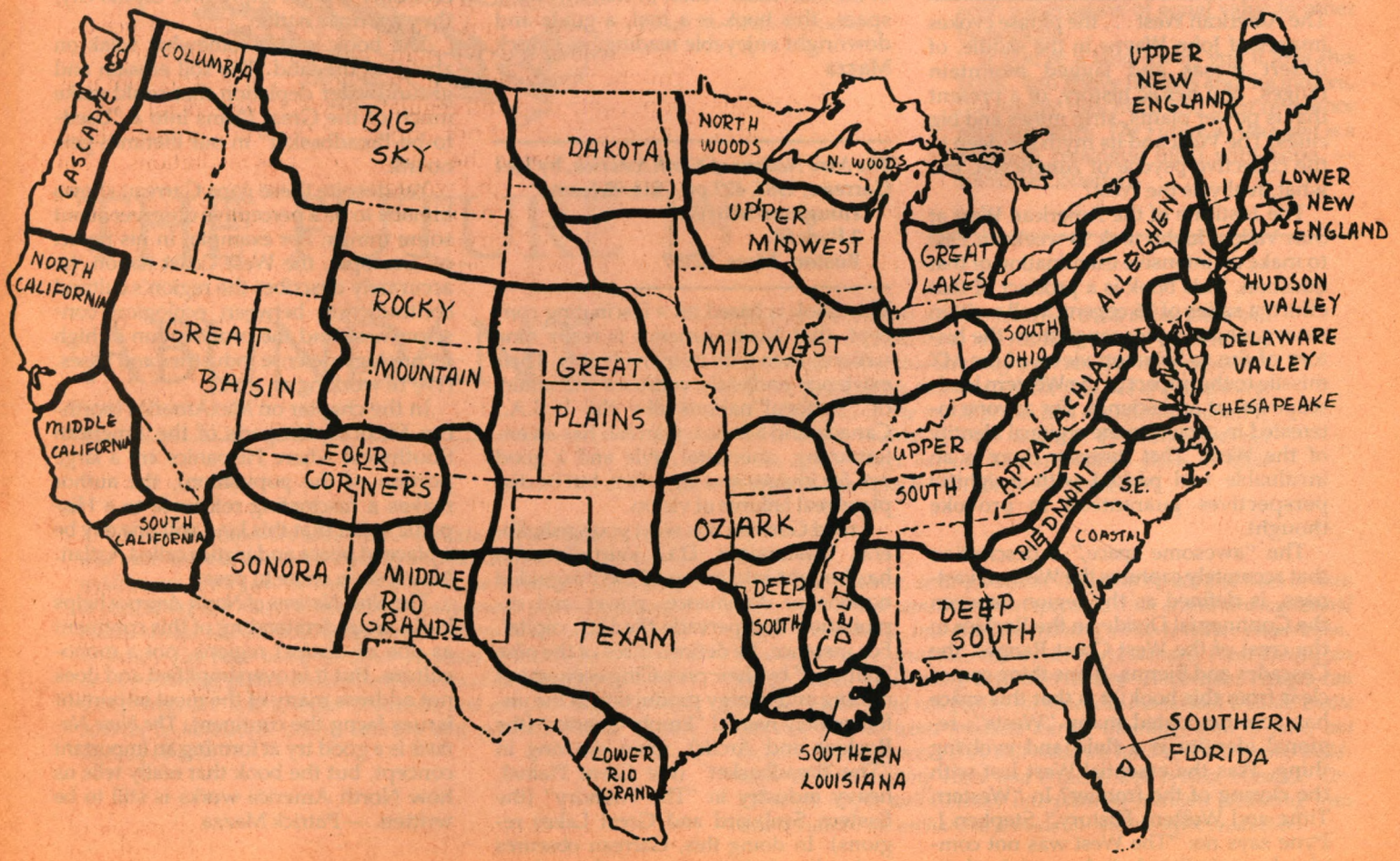
PROUT (Progressive Utilization Theory) is an integration of decentralism, cooperative economics and spiritual humanism. The Proutists seek to build cooperative regional societies self-sufficient in basic necessities. They call these societies "Samajas." A Samaja should guarantee each member a basic level of physical support so people can pursue spiritual development, according to PROUT. Proutists look to the results of past revolutions and conclude that spiritual growth beyond the craving for power is necessary to create a truly free and fulfilling society.

PROUT, which appears to have its roots in India, signifies an interesting merger of various political and philosophical currents. While some of its proposals seem needlessly technocratic ("maximum use of natural resources," "progressively increasing standard of living,") the overall approach of integrating spiritual growth with regional decentralizaton offers a valuable contribution to the movement for a new world. — Patrick Mazza

People of the Earth
c/o Friends of the Earth
1045 Sansome Street
San Francisco, CA 94111

Violation of the land rights, sovereignty and cultural integrity of traditional peoples is a worldwide concern. Both the Sami of northern Norway and the Kalinga

SAMAJAS OF THE UNITED STATES



and Bontoc tribes in the Philippines find their way of life threatened by dam projects. Both Australian aborigines and native Americans face loss of land and loss of health from uranium mining. While a growing network of native and non-native people is fighting to protect indigenous cultures, organizations too frequently operate in isolation from one another, unaware of the potential for cooperative efforts.

The People of the Earth project, sponsored by Friends of the Earth Foundation, is compiling a comprehensive international directory of non-violent, service-oriented groups active in the struggle to strengthen the sovereignty and land rights of native peoples. The project's goal is to help organizations and individuals with a concern in this area to find each other, strengthen bonds of cooperation, and build a global movement with a much greater impact. To learn more about the project, or to offer information or other assistance, contact Randy Hayes at the address above. — John Ferrell

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***That Awesome Space*, edited by E. Richard Hart, 1981, 147 pp., $8.95 from:**
Westwater Press
P.O. Box 6394
Salt Lake City, UT 84106

The American West . . . the phrase evokes images of John Wayne in the saddle, of desert mesas and jagged mountain ranges, of a heroic history, of a present that is power plants, strip mines and big cities. The West and its myth are deep in the collective psyche of Americans, but what, really, is the West?

The Institute of the American West at Sun Valley, Idaho took 10 weeks in 1980 to make an intensive examination of that question. This book is a product of that effort, a series of 26 cogent, well-written essays whose topics range from the history of fire to Mormon views of the MX missile to the impact of the Western landscape on art and science. For anyone interested in exploring the regional identity of the West, *That Awesome Space* is an invaluable tool packed with insightful perspectives guaranteed to provoke thought.

The "awesome space," a description that accurately captures the Western vastness, is defined as the region between the Continental Divide on the Rockies to the crest of the West Coast Ranges, the Cascades and Sierras. If one thing comes clear from this book, it is that this space has accommodated many "Wests"; regional identity is a fluid and evolving thing. Was the essential West lost with the closing of the frontier? In "Western Time and Western History," Stephen J. Pyne says no: "The West was not completely assimilated; it has retained its separate regional identity. Western time did not cease, but merged into a brave new universe of atoms and quasars . . . that awesome space in time did not vanish with the passing of the frontier; it is only being recycled."

The West is undergoing vast changes, this book makes clear, shifting from an agrarian culture to one based on technology and industry. Says Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. in his essay, "Colonialism in Today's West," "The West is still a colony. Decisions affecting most parts of the area . . . are still being made in board rooms . . . all over the world by people who have never been out here and don't know what the West is all about . . . In short, we must recognize that history is still beng made in the West."

For all the development, there is still power in the land that brings forth "the truth of inmost being, that surging and resurgent current of life in us to which the world around us is tributary, pouring forth its influences like water out of a living rock, so long as we keep the source and the stream from defilement and depletion," writes Brewster Ghiselin in his essay, "The Altered Landscape."

The book gives no final answer to the question, "What is the West?" and suggests there is no final answer. We each create our own West. In the creation of that understanding, in the development of an individual vision of that awesome space, this book is a tool, a guide and downright enjoyable reading. — Patrick Mazza

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***The Nine Nations of North America*, by Joel Garreau, 1981, 427 pp., $14.95 from:**
Houghton Mifflin
2 Park St.
Boston, Mass. 02107

This book is based on a fascinating concept, that North America is really nine nations, each with its own identity. Their existence endlessly confuses the affairs of "fictional"nations like the U.S.A., Canada and Mexico. Garreau has an entertaining, anecdotal style and a good eye for images and vignettes, but he displays real failures of vision.

I read Garreau this way: youngish, liberal, Washington, D.C. journalist who has bought into many of the misguided notions of dominance, power and exploitation that pervade the U.S. capital. For instance, he defines three of the nine "nations" by their prevailing economies: mining and energy production in the unfortunately named "Empty Quarter" (the Rockies and Arctic), grain growing in "The Breadbasket" (the Great Plains), heavy industry in "The Foundry" (the Eastern Seaboard and Great Lakes regions). In doing this, Garreau obscures real cultural distinctions such as those between the conservative Southern Plains and the more progressive Northern Plains, between high rolling Coloradans and the traditionalist Mormons of the Deseret Kingdom (the Mormons would have called Utah "Deseret" if the U.S. government had let them), and between the intensity of the Middle Atlantic regions and the more stolid approach of Great Lakes dwellers. A nation is more than a crop or industry. It is a shared set of values, perceptions and cultural patterns. Garreau does not appear to fully recognize this. Perhaps nine nations are easier to comprehend than the 20, 30, 50 or more that actually exist in North America.

The author also fails to ask the hard questions about the exploitative relationships that underlie many of his "nations." A glaring example of this is the scanty attention he gives to the desperate poverty of "The Islands" (South Florida plus islands of the Caribbean). Garreau is more interested in telling tales of gunrunners and drug smugglers. In a similar vein, he includes the native peoples of the Arctic in the "Empty Quarter," even though they have their own culture and languages and have asked for recognition as a separate nation known as Nunuvik. Garreau seems to display the standard American attitude toward traditional peoples — if they don't have a developed, modern economy and an impressive capital city, they are not a nation.

The book is also somewhat weak on abuse of the land. The soil erosion and groundwater depletion that could make much of the Great Plains into a "Used-to-be-Breadbasket" in our lifetimes gets no ink.

Yet despite these gaps Garreau shows himself to be a perceptive observer about some things. For example, in his report on Ecotopia, the West Coast nation, he accurately describes the region's cultural contradiction between ecological consciousness and the proliferation of high technology defense industries and bases. (We're working on that.)

In the chapter on MexAmerica (northern Mexico plus parts of the American Southwest where Hispanics are a large portion of the population), the author makes a fascinating reference to a Hispanic belief that this land will one day be a place of peace and justice called Aztlan. May it soon come to pass.

The Nine Nations of North America helps build an understanding of this continent as one of distinct regions, not a monoculture. But it is oversimplified and does not address many of the most important issues facng the continent. *The Nine Nations* is a good try at forming an important concept, but the book that really tells us how North America works is still to be written. — Patrick Mazza

From: *The Future is Abundant*

***The Future is Abundant*, edited by Larry Korn, Barbara Snyder and Mark Musick, 1982, 192 pp., $11.95 plus $1.00 p & h (Washington residents add $.70 for sales tax) from:**

Tilth
13217 Mattson Rd.
Arlington, WA 98223

In the midst of the present agricultural crisis, unmatched since the Dust Bowl years, the notion of an abundant farming future may seem naive. What could our friends at Tilth be thinking of to stride so far into tomorrow?

They are thinking of restoration and resiliency on land overworked and out of balance. Of hedgerow habitats and bat, bee and butterfly sheltering. Perennial grains and urban forests and tomorrow's yields entrusted to us today.

When we've finally begun to understand this goal of sustainability; of keeping all of the parts working together because they are connected and it matters, where can we turn for the specifics? We need to know which plants, and where, and why. What grains are indeed perennial? How do we interplant to cut down on costly maintenance? *The Future is Abundant* is the most carefully detailed and timely guide to sustainable agriculture available. While it is designed for the Pacific Northwest bioregion, it is *filled* with information of equal value to other bioregions.

If you're a land lover, you'll love this book. You'll love the lists and the indices, the people described and their reverence for their work. *The Future is Abundant* is a practical catalogue filled with hope. — Carlotta Collette

THE FUTURE IS ABUNDANT

The resiliency of any given city to a food/fuel crisis in the 1980s will depend largely upon its capacity to meet at least some of its own basic food and fuel needs. While this idea may seem novel or even preposterous to some, the fact remains that through the first half of this century, most urban areas around the world produced a significant amount of food and other items required by local residents. Production was not limited to the urban fringe but included substantial yields in home gardens and market gardens within the cities themselves.

The best beescapes are composed of a mixture of farmland, meadows and open woodlands which contain an abundance of legumes, herbs, wildflowers, fruits and berries. People who have studied the economics of beescaping say that it is not economically sound to plant farmland to plants whose sole purpose is bee forage. Many of the best bee plants, however, also have value for other purposes. For example, fruit and berry producing plants are excellent sources of nectar and pollen. Black locust trees are heavy nectar producers and are potentially valuable sources of hardwood. Many culinary and medicinal herbs . . . are favored by bees.

The use of dense, semi-permeable hedges of shrubs and trees in rows surrounding and sometimes interspersed within an orchard has several important benefits, including diversion of winds to reduce evaporation, blossom damage, fruit fall, and winter freeze damage. Frost control can be facilitated by blocking and diversionary windbreaks. Hedges can provide feeding and refuge sites for beneficial insects and wildlife, create privacy, provide wood products during thinning, and, in time, can become effective fences. They will moderate heating loads around buildings, control drifting snow and erosion, and protect livestock. Orchardists might well consider interplanting nitrogen producing trees and shrubs in the orchard to provide on-site nitrogen production.

***Eco-Decentralist Design*, 3 volume set, including *Figures of Regulation: Guides for Re-Balancing Society with the Biosphere*, by Peter Berg; *Toward a Bioregional Model: Clearing Ground for Watershed Planning*, by George Tukel; and *Reinhabiting Cities and Towns: Designing for Sustainability*, by John Todd with George Tukel. Entire set $10.00 ppd.; free with a $15.00 annual Planet Drum Foundation membership which also includes a subscription to the tri-annual publication *Raise the Stakes*, from:**

Planet Drum Foundation
P.O. Box 31251
San Francisco, CA 94131

Planet Drum publications have appeared in a variety of forms over the years: a special issue of the Berkeley Barb *on reinhabitation; a planning document for the California Solar Business Office called* Renewable Energy and Bioregions: A New Context for Public Policy; *a couple of issues of* Co-Evolution Quarterly; *and their excellent periodical,* Raise The Stakes. *One of the Drum's favorite mediums of publication has been the bundle, packages of materials from networks of bioregional correspondents, including the writings of poet Gary Snyder.*

So here is a new bundle of material from Planet Drum, artful and wise as always, an introduction to the ideas of bioregional planning.

Reinhabiting Cities and Towns *is mostly John Todd's writing, with ideas that may be familiar to followers of New Alchemy experiments, such as bioshelters, set in the context of bio-regional planning and community-wide/region-wide strategies. Part I deals with the ecological and biological basis for design of human services and Part II describes, with New York City as a primary example, the biogeography and history of a region as a perspective for appropriate habitation of the land. The third section deals with specific strategies for development of local life support systems: water, housing, food production, transportation and energy.*

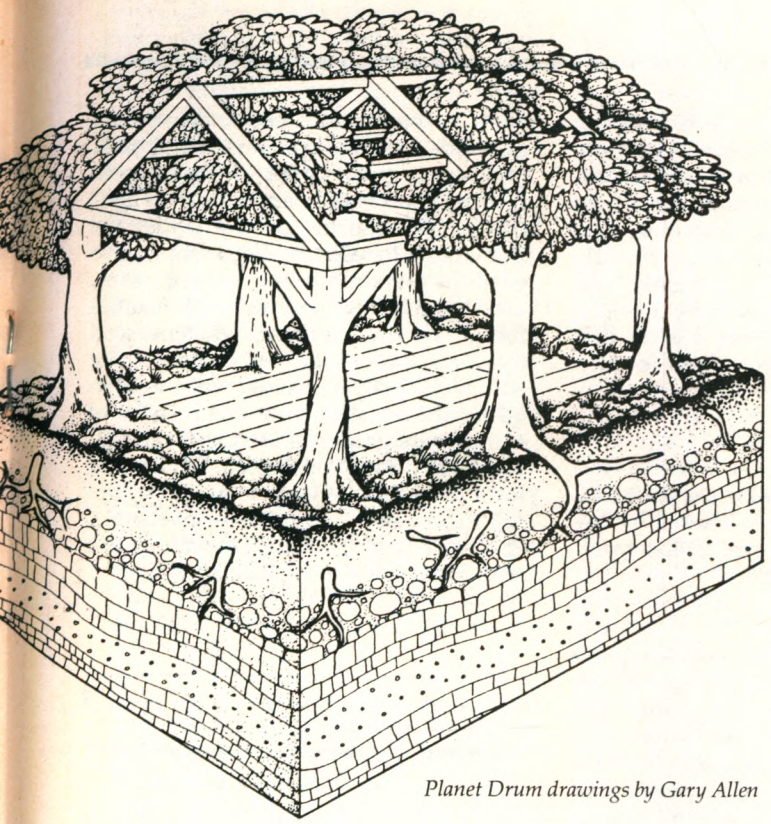
Toward a Bioregional Model, *by George Tukel, provides the groundwork for development of bioregional planning models. It is a good introduction, defining such terms as "energetics" and "carrying capacity." It also makes evident that we need more detailed real watershed and bioregional plans that come from inhabitants in different areas of the country with real data, real problems.*

Peter Berg takes on the single most difficult, and perhaps the most powerful idea in the series in Figures of Regulation: Guides for Re-Balancing Society with the Biosphere. *Figures of regulation is a term derived from anthropology to describe the common sense rules, rituals and traditions used by native cultures to regulate their relationshps with their immediate natural environment. In* Figures of Regulation *and throughout the bundle it is clear that Planet Drum is not just attempting to define a type of environmental management; bioregional planning may start from a firm sense of the environment but it also takes into account the present state of, and possible futures for, cities and towns. And there is probably no more critical issue facing us today than bridging the gaps between city, town, suburb, country and wilderness. If we continue to conceptually isolate our forms of inhabitation all the singular wise goals of environmental management, sustainable agriculture and community economic development may be for naught. The Planet Drum package presents us with some beginning working tools to repair the broken fabric. — Steve Johnson*

DESIGNING FOR

"**Figures of regulation** is a workable phrase for the new equivalents to customs that we need to learn. Late Industrial society with its misplaced faith in technological solutions (to problems caused by unlimited applications of technology in the first place) is out of control. Our social organism is like an embryo that is suffering damage but there are no internal checks on our activities to re-establish a balance with the capacities of natural systems. The point of figures of regulation is that they would incorporate the concept that individual requirements and those of society are tied to the life processes of a bioregion. A bioregional model can identify balance points in our interactions with natural systems, and figures of regulation can operate to direct or limit activities to achieve balance.

The idea of a figure as a series of movements in a dance is useful for understanding the multi-layered nature of figures of regulation. The performance of a dance follows a distinct sense of rightness that would otherwise exist only as an idea, and it suggests connectedness with many other activities and ideas. It is a process that makes the invisible visible. As a dance unfolds it implies further action that is self-referenced by what has gone before. Figures of regulation are assemblages of values and ideas that can similarly become ingrained in patterns of ac-



Planet Drum drawings by Gary Allen

"According to the classical model, production and prices are determined by the economic choices of consumers and producers who inevitably act in accord with some timeless human nature: to maximize utility and profit, respectively. This description of consistent economic behavior enables theorists to justify their conclusion and prescription: that "social benefit" is maximized by the natural outcome of simplistic economic choices, notwithstanding any irreparable damage to the biosphere. This rapid translation from "what is" to "what should be" says more about the premises of industrial society (that is, maximizing consumption and profit) than it does about the reality of humankind's diverse ways of interacting within equally diverse societies and ecosystems. Exploring or rediscovering these myriad pathways of endeavor means, first of all, abandoning the "value-free" description of the human species as "rational economic animal." As a map, rather than a blueprint, a bioregional model, while retaining the devices of the scientific method, looks past its "impartial observer" status to maintaining the health and diversity of the life-place. The result is confirmation of our membership in the wider life-community. This new cultural identity as reinhabitants also mitigates against the exploitation and destruction of natural life-forms and processes wrought by their objectification."

from *Toward a Bioregional Model*

SUSTAINABILITY

tivity. . . .

An abundance of natural life in an unscarred environment is a consequence of restoring and maintaining a bioregion, and will provide evidence that figures of regulation are working. Social success or progress would also be measured by increased quality of life such as providing diverse work opportunities for individuals to interact with natural systems. Rather than feeling alienated from society and the life-community as many do currently, people would be able to view themselves as belonging to both.

Individuals, society and the bioregion would be interconnected rather than existing as separate entities. A political manifestation of this connectedness could be in the establishment of small-scale bioregional governments with watershed-bounded units. Smaller, more naturally defined political entities would present many more opportunities for participation in the political process than currently exist, and decisions resulting from direct democracy would be more prevalent. The spirit of these governments could be mutualistic and nonhierarchical as a reflection of the operation of the biosphere itself."

— from *Figures of Regulation*

"For 99.9 percent or several million years of (our) history, *Homo sapiens* lived in the wild, often very well. This association with the wild, both secular and sacred, has left its mark on our psyches and on our behavior. Vestiges linger in hunting, fishing, birdwatching, nature photography and gardening. Caged in skyscrapers and in box architecture we sense a loss, yet we know not what.

My thesis is that the loss we feel is the loss of balance between culture and the living world. No western culture has achieved this balance in historic times. But it yet may happen, through the mysterious workings of science and technologies, that for the first time in millenia, the polar opposites of culture and wilderness can now be fused. It is time for nature again to enter culture and become part of the fabric of our lives. It is more than a metaphor to think of a future city block built in the image of the forest. Such a block or neighborhood could have architectural forms, structural relationships and support elements designed after the forest and could be a beautiful, healing and inviting place to live."

from *Reinhabiting Cities and Towns*

ACCESS

FOOD

***Food Share Support Handbook* by Larry G. Raff, 1982, looseleaf notebook, 68pp. $6.00 ppd. from:**
Oregon Food Share
718 W. Burnside
Portland, OR 97209

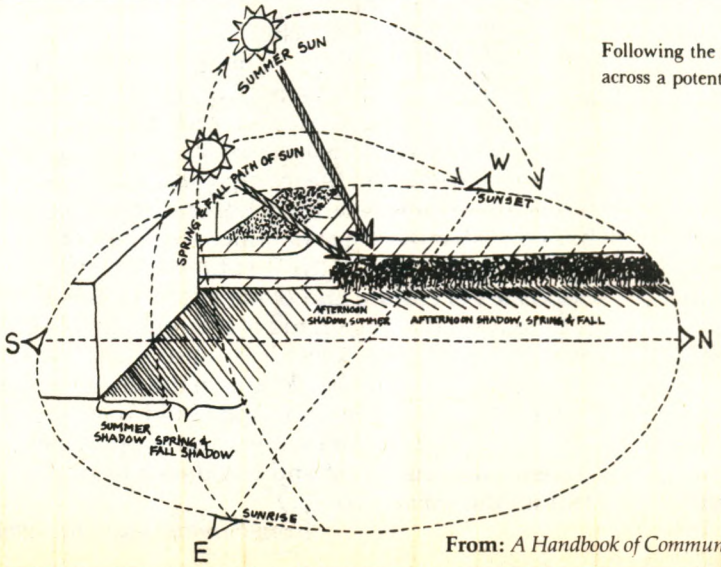
Food is wasted in the United States in tremendous amounts; the U.S. General Accounting Office recently estimated that $37 billion worth of food is annually lost or wasted. Food banks have been established all over the country in attempts to channel some of this good food to needy people. Banks solicit "deposits," such as surplus products or dented cans, from wholesalers and retailers who may receive a tax break for their donation. The food is then distributed to emergency helping agencies, such as church and community food pantries. In these times of high unemployment and cuts in food assistance programs, the demand on food banks is high. Seattle's King County food bank, for instance, now serves four times the number of people it served two years ago.

Considering the increased demand on food banks, the *Food Share Support Handbook* is especially timely. The handbook, produced by Oregon Food Share, a statewide food distribution network, is well done and should be a valuable reference for food banks and related emergency helping agencies. Although a few pages are specific to Oregon, the handbook can be used by similar organizations anywhere in the country. It covers volunteer coordination, tax incentives for donating businesses, fundraising, recordkeeping and food solicitation — topics essential to food bank administration. The book concludes with a list of organizations, books and periodicals to lead readers beyond emergency food to larger issues of world hunger. This is a thorough, clearly written book and it provides many good examples. To my knowledge it is the best source of "how-to" information for food bankers in existence. — Rob Baird

***A Handbook of Community Gardening* by Boston Urban Gardeners, edited by Susan Naimark, 1982, 170 pp., $14.95 from:**
Charles Scribner's Sons
597 Fifth Ave.
New York, NY 10017

A Handbook of Community Gardening, an extensive guide to establishing community gardens, is written by the people who know. Boston Urban Gardeners (BUG) is an organization of city gardeners and garden organizations dedicated to starting and supporting gardens throughout the Boston metropolitan area. BUG concentrates its work in central city neighborhoods where the need is great and the resources are scarce.

The *Handbook* begins with a brief history of and ideological perspective on community gardens, and from there it quickly moves into the how-to steps of getting started. The wealth of experience from which BUG draws is apparent in the work. Hints on selecting the site, establishing the plots, working cooperatively, and tapping the resources of the community, as well as the government, can ease the way for would-be gardeners. The *Handbook* does not attempt to present a book on specific gardening methods or planting techniques, though mention is made of such things as cold frames, composting, and perennial agriculture. Instead the book provides the framework for establishing a cooperative garden, ownership and management, direct marketing, and more. Difficulties faced by many community gardens, such as vandalism or high lead content in the soil, are directly addressed with suggested remedies. The numerous benefits of community gardens in terms of rebuilding urban neighborhoods, improving local food self-sufficiency, and developing a sense of community are invaluable. *A Handbook of Community Gardening* can help show the way. — Rosalind Riker



Following the sun's path across a potential garden site.

From: *A Handbook of Community Gardening*

AGRICULTURE

***Empty Breadbasket? The Coming Challenge to America's Food Supply and What We Can Do About It* by the Cornucopia Project 1981, 170pp., $4.00 from:**
Rodale Press
33 East Minor Street
Emmaus, PA 18049

In an era of apparent food abundance, *Empty Breadbasket?* asks some startling questions about the process of American food production and its future implications. *Empty Breadbasket?* is one of several publications of the Cornucopia Project which was set up by the Rodale Press in 1980 to analyze the structure of the U.S. food system, to determine its strengths and weaknesses, and to develop strategies to make the system more equitable, sustainable and productive.

Empty Breadbasket? examines the complex concept of "food systems." For many Americans, who have been removed from personal involvement in the production and distribution of their food, the system appears to be successfully providing an abundance at reasonable cost. These people are not likely to see any reason for change. But the Cornucopia Project staff, drawing on many years of personal involvement with food, and armed with the U.S. Department of Agriculture's own reports and statistics, challenges such complacency. As the food system has grown increasingly specialized, mechanized and monopolized over the past 50 years, problems with diminishing resources and environmental destruction have grown increasingly important. The heavy dependence on limited fuel and mineral sources, the

ecological degradation due to erosion and petro-chemicals, the mismanagement of water, the loss of land to urban sprawl, and the negative impact on human health overshadow the present "success" of our food system and bring into sharp question its future capabilties.

The Cornucopia Project is providing the vital services of public education and communication networking for people who want to reverse these destructive trends and guide the food system towards sustainability, equity, and abundance. *Empty Breadbasket?* presents the information and the framework to begin such a change. It offers a common language and an inspiring vision for consumers, farmers, food business people and legislators.

An 11 page summary report of *Empty Breadbasket?* and a slide show are now available, along with a dozen other reasonably priced papers and a free Cornucopia Project newsletter. Write to the Project for details. — Eileen Trudeau.

***The Path Not Taken* by the Center for Rural Affairs, 1982, 60pp., $5.00 from:**
Center for Rural Affairs
P.O. Box 405
Walthill, NE 68067

Over the past ten years a range of critics from public interest advocates to distinguished scientists of the National Academy of Sciences have raised objections to the US agricultural research system. Some cite shortcomings in agricultural research quality as well as in its fulfillment of the basic research mission — to improve agricultural production. Others note instead the failure of the research establishment to serve public interests which it considers peripheral to its primary objectives, such as farm structure, environmental impact of farm technology, economic opportunity and consumer interests. Private funding, providing a mere four percent of the total budget for agricultural research, has been cited as having a disproportionate influence on agricultural research, contributing to many of the aforementiond concerns.

In researching *The Path Not Taken*, the Center for Rural Affairs has moved beyond a critique of *what* researchers do to examine *how* they decide what they do — what are the factors that shape individual research decisions.

The book is a case study of agricultural research decision-making at the University of Nebraska's animal science department. Working with the Department Head and the Dean of the School, the authors, some of them university students, examined two broad themes influencing the direction of research in the department: private financing through grants and public accountability. The former includes the fund-raising burden on scientists and its impact on research problem choice, the latter implies the entire framework within which the use of public research funds are determined.

Financial reports, interviews with scientists, meetings with all levels of university accounting and finance personnel and animal research reports provided the raw material for this report. Each chapter analyzes some segment of the research system: how animal science research is funded, the role of private funding (both "industry" money and farm group grants), funding mixes and internal allocation of research funds. Numerous examples and excerpts from interviews are woven in. A concluding chapter summarizes issues in research decision-making, the major criticism of which is the narrowness of the decision-making process: " . . . what we have described is not a system of decision-making that is sinister or corrupt, but one that is insular, and in some important ways, unaccountable." The system, they suggest, is largely determined by internal factors such as the pecking order, career decisions, and economic and political pressures which make it difficult to turn down research contracts.

The Path Not Taken is an excellent resource both for the process it represents and for the information it offers. Outlining the constraints and influences that prevail upon the university scientist the authors have produced a responsible critique of agricultural research.

Marty Strange, the Center for Rural Affairs' co-director and one of the authors of this study, has also prepared an excellent article under the title "Who Pays for Agricultural Research?" which was printed in the Center's new periodical, *Prairie Sentinel* (Vol. 1, No. 2, available for $2.00 from the address above). The article traces some of the insidious trends unfolding in agricultural research — particularly through the influence of private grants. The *Sentinel* covers a wide range of topics, from agricultural politics to farm financing, from ecological concerns to technical aspects of farming. Published bimonthly at $10.00/yr., the *Sentinel* is a good buy for the money. — Laura Stuchinsky

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***Farmland or Wasteland: A Time to Choose*, by Neil Sampson, 1981, 422 pp., $16.95 from:**
Rodale Press
33 East Minor Street
Emmaus, PA 18049

Farmers are different, for their business does not exist within four man-made walls that can be as easily used for another purpose or rebuilt at another place or time. If a farmer fails because he has ruined the land, the ability of many other persons to succeed has also been lost. If too many farmers fail, the ability of society to succeed has been lost. That means the success of the farmer's business is, in part, everybody's concern.

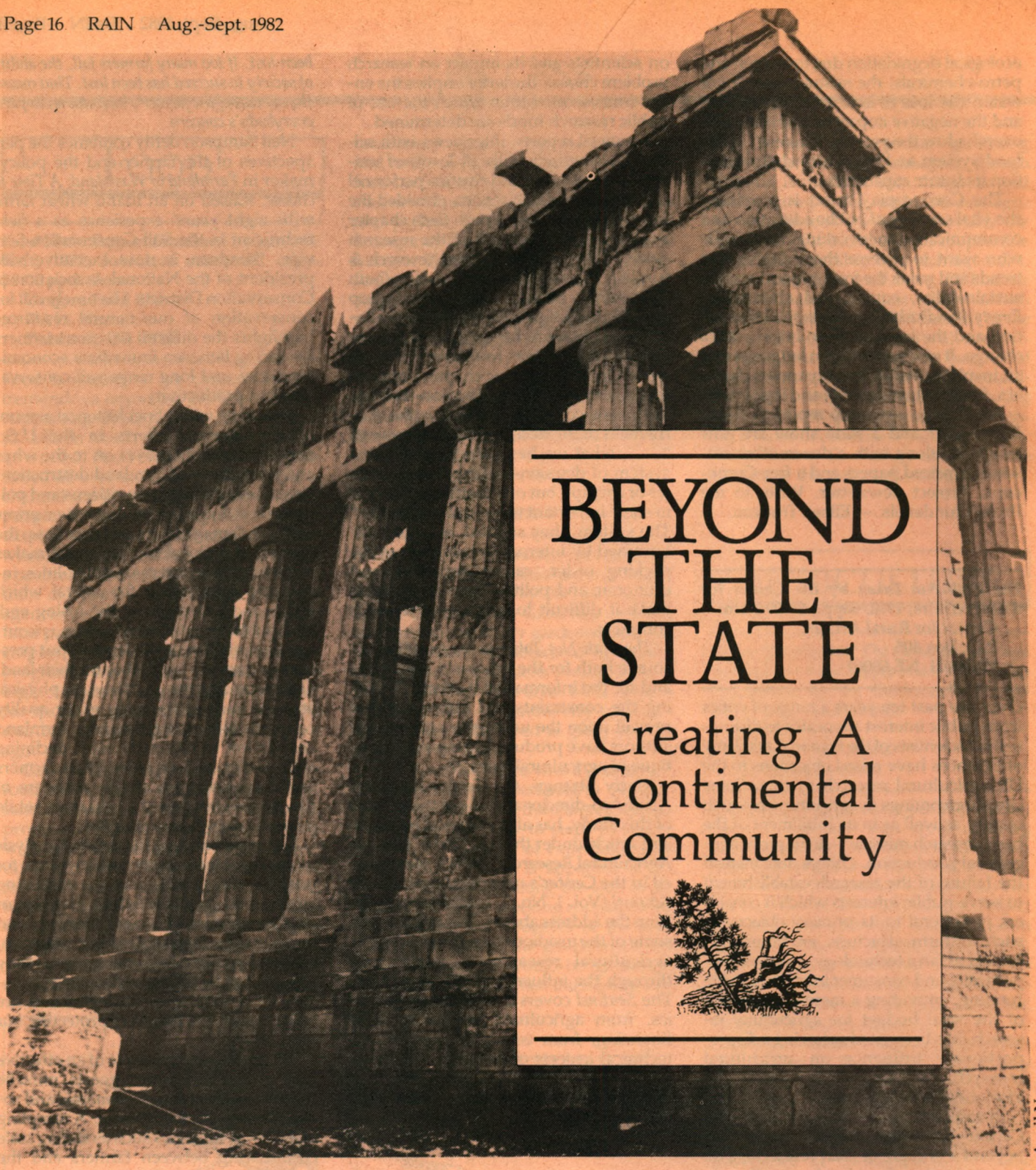
Neil Sampson deftly combines the perspectives of the farmer and the policymaker in *Farmland or Wasteland: A Time to choose*. Raised on an Idaho wheat farm, with eight years' experience as a field technician in the Soil Conservation Service, Sampson is now executive vice president of the National Association of Conservation Districts. His timely call for conservation of our natural resources highlights the difficult decisions farmers are facing between immediate economic pressures and long range soil conservation and productivity.

Beginning with a brief historical account of conservation efforts in the U.S., Sampson quickly moves on to the whys and wherefores of farmland destruction. Unrealistic demands by citizens and policymakers for more food at lower prices without damage to the resource base; the growth of a global market which makes farmers prey to international politics; increasing competition for capital which leaves most farmers on the losing end; and public policies which often encourage exploitation of the land all put pressure on farmers and hence on their land. Compounding the problems are physical stresses such as declining water quality coupled with rising demand, farmland conversion to non-farm uses, declining soil quality and erosion. Most farmers and consumers are simply unaware of the seriousness of the situation while professionals debate statistics.

Sampson balances his detailed analysis of the problems with prescriptions for positive action. Chapters on protecting agricultural land (including mention of organic gardening, no-till farming, and contour strip-cropping); public programs, past and present; and new crops — many with the potential to replace imports — present a variety of strategies that are being tested as a means of protecting our land base.

An underlying principle of an effective farm policy, Sampson suggests, must be the assurance of future economic and social stability for the farmers. A sampling of practical strategies such as sliding scale cost-sharing between farmers and the public for conservation programs, cross-compliance requiring USDA program participants to protect their soil, and reduced penalities in government programs for farmers who voluntarily practice soil conservation are outlined under "New Strategies for Action."

Farmland or Wasteland concludes with a call to business and industry to "forego the quick profits of farmland waste and design products that will earn the steady long term profits of a permanent society." Sage advice. — Laura Stuchinsky



BEYOND THE STATE

Creating A Continental Community

Ancil Nance

by Patrick Mazza

War. Its tidings shout at us from the newspaper headline and the television tube. The fearful potential of greater wars, final wars, fills us with a sense that the most significant decisions in human history will be made within the next 20 years. Growing numbers of us realize we stand at the junction of two roads — real peace or absolute destruction. The choices narrow. The likelihood of some form of fundamental change grows. What will it be?

If the change is to be positive, we must look back to the very roots of civilization. We must understand that a course set 6,000 years ago in the Tigris-Euphrates River Basin has culminated in our own century. Our choice now is to either follow that course to desolation or set a new bearing, one that is our own.

What began in Mesopotamia, very simply, was a new form of social organization — the state. In contrast to the diffuse patterns of authority that had existed before —

tribes, villages and such — the state was a hierarchical structure centered in cities and backed by military force. It exacted tribute from its subjects, especially in the countryside, and used that concentration of resources to fortify and extend its own power.

The human race has travelled a far journey since the days of Babylon, Nippur and Ur of the Chaldees. Empires and kingdoms, dictatorships and "democracies," republics and reichs have risen and fallen. They have reflected a diversity of cultures and approaches to life. Yet, in a very real way, they have all been the same empire, the same state. For they all have shared the same basic principle: hierarchical integration around points of domination and power.

The 20th Century has seen the climax of that old empire. With the conquest of tribal peoples by European powers over the past few centuries, the state rules virtually the entire world. Even the former colonies organize themselves by the principles of the state. And the leading states gather godlike powers to themselves. They can muster awesome concentrations of resources and human ingenuity, concentrations that gain them the ability to penetrate the heavens and lay waste to the earth.

The power of the state is such that most people cannot conceive of life without it. Within the context of the state are met the most basic of human needs: physical security, sustenance for the body, and that sense of belonging and community that is so vital to our emotional wholeness. The war fever, the rallying to common effort that swept both Britain and Argentina during the recent Falklands War, makes clear the degree to which people identify with their nation-state, almost submerging their personal identity into that of the state. The emotional potency of loyalty to the nation-state, rooting as it does in human needs, cannot be ignored or dismissed by those who seek peace. Instead, patriotism must be understood and real alternatives developed which can channel it in positive directions.

The key is to find new grounds of human unity. New structures must be created, structures that provide us with physical abundance and a positive sense of identity and common effort. The old paradigm of the state must give way to a new paradigm, one that is rooted in cooperation as much as the state is rooted in command. The vertical model of power must be replaced by a horizontal model. The pyramid must become the web. The entity known as the state must be given its deserved burial. A new entity, one that might be called "the interaction," must be born. As states have their identity in power, the new structures must have their identity in place and the creation of beauty.

Furthest along in the development of the new paradigm are the bioregionists. The bioregional synthesis points the way to many of the answers we seek. For physical sustenance, the bioregionist looks to the incredible, untapped abundance of nature. Food, warmth, light, shelter, movement, clothing, all that is needed for survival and comfort is at our feet if we are willing to exercise wisdom and to share with our neighbors. Sun, water, wind and soil combined with our own skills and understandings can create bounty. Scarcity is an illusion, an artificial situation perpetuated through the hierarchical control of resources. If truth be seen, there is more than enough for all.

The bioregional vision transcends the purely physical. It looks back to the days before Babylon when humans drew their inner sense of being from the place in which they lived. Humans were not set apart from nature. They were participants. They understood the care that existed in nature for all beings, a care manifested in the physical abundance it supplied. The old peoples knew that their identity flowed from being part of a band or tribe that was part of nature, and not some remote and abstract system of power and rules. Though their lives were often difficult, they knew the reality of their existence, the reality of people living on and with the earth. They had a sense of belonging.

In North America, we do not have to look back 6,000 years to find those kind of people. They roamed free upon this continent as recently as a century ago. What happened to the First Americans when they came in contact with state power reveals truths obscured in parts of the world where the state has prevailed longer. In a very real way, the entire history of civilization was compressed into a few centuries in North America. People who lived free of hierarchical control were brutally oppressed by hierarchy. That hierarchy rose to become the most powerful state in history.

As states have their identity in power, the new structures must have their identity in place and the creation of beauty.

The starkness of the contrast between what was and what is offers North Americans a special opportunity. We can see back to the time when this continent was one, not artificially divided into several spheres of state power. Seeing that, we can look ahead to a time past the state. We can begin to envision a different order on this continent, a new model for world peace. America can be transformed from a kind of nuclear-tipped Mega-Rome into a peaceful interaction of diverse cultures. By working for and establishing new structures of unity and new patterns of belonging, we can create a real continental community.

Practically, this means building a new structure of government, one in which authority is vastly decentralized. In tandem, a new economy must be developed in which production is similarly dispersed. This new political economy must root in the physical reality of the biosphere if it is not to become just one more form of abstracted state power. Its models must be biological, rather than mechanical.

In such a North America, a sense of belonging would root in self-governing places. The most powerful governing structures would be the smallest. Larger structures would have their existence as voluntary confederations of the smaller. Boundaries would be based on watershed divisions, and the image of boundaries would shift. They

This new political economy must root in the physical reality of the biosphere if it is not to become just one more form of abstracted state power.

would not be brick walls of separation, but permeable tissues of interaction much like the walls of a living cell.

Each individual would have multiple levels of belonging. I see a seven-level model:

— Neighborhood — The immediate place you live, under 5,000 people. For example, my neighborhood is the Thurman-Vaughn section of Northwest Portland.

— Community — A larger area, easily accessible, that perhaps has no more than 25,000 people. For me, this is Northwest Portland.

— Region — Something on the level of current cities or counties. My region is Portland.

— Watershed — The basic biological support area for the smaller levels, the level of basic food and energy self-sufficiency. I live in the Willamette Valley Watershed.

— Basin — The major river drainage on which you live. At this level, larger matters regarding water, resources and production could be coordinated. I live in the Columbia River Basin.

— Conference — A council of river basins that would work out cooperative arrangements and coordinate relations in a section of the continent. My conference would be The West.

— Continent — North America. At this level would be provision for common defense (real continental defense, not messing around everywhere in the world). Also at this level would be some means to channel income from richer places to poorer ones, so divisions of wealth and poverty would not be perpetuated. A continental compact of human rights would provide basic protection to all peoples.

Past these seven levels, one might wish to add an eighth — Planet Earth. Some form of planetary order is necessary. A decentralized confederation of self-governing continental communities is much preferable to a highly centralized world government, and much more likely to happen. Values of respect for diversity and sharing of natural abundance could form the basis of a peaceful North America and a peaceful world.

In my own musings, I see a North America where many cultures and races live side by side in harmony, no longer an overgrown European country, but something completely its own, an interaction of Hispanic, African, Asian, native and Caucasian peoples, a richness of synergy and creation. In this North America, difference would not be regarded as a threat to be resolved through submergence into some monolithic melting pot. Instead, it would be seen as evolutionary growth expression of the diversity of nature.

A new North America would seek a new kind of greatness and different forms of common endeavor and achievement. In our time, greatness and achievement is almost always defined by abstract economic statistics or displays of power (aircraft carriers, space shuttles). Yet the accumulation of power and wealth is an empty, soul-deadening game. The threat of war that hangs over us tells us that it is worse than empty. It is destructive and contrary to reason, wisdom and common sense. We need more sustainable and more joyful criteria for success, more satisfying and real modes of common effort. We need criteria and commonalities that derive from nurture rather than competition for power. The greatness of a new North America would not be measured by the size of its military or the growth of the gross national product, but the level of human growth and development and the quality of care for the land. We would seek to create beauty rather than accrue fortunes. The success of one would not mean the failure of another for all could succeed alike, and all would benefit from the blossoming loveliness around them.

The distance between this vision and our reality should not discourage us. We travel the road in many small and sometimes mundane steps. Some of us run for office. Some plant gardens. Some write magazine articles. Some simply love their neighbors. It is all part of something we feel, a direction sensed but not completely understood. Let us realize that this work, this creation of a peaceful world, is a lifetime project, a purpose that can inform and give vitality to living. Let our visions be broad enough, high enough, deep enough and long enough to see us through and give us the strength to face the vast challenge of the years ahead, the challenge of making peace. □□

Ancil Nance

ACCESS

GOOD THINGS

***Marijuana as Medicine* by Roger A. Roffman, 1982, 156 pp., $5.95 from:**
Madrona Publishers, Inc.
2116 Western Avenue
Seattle, WA 98121

Trying to find out the "truth" about marijuana is a frustrating task. Between decriminalization efforts, street information, and government attempts to destroy millions of American lungs with paraquat, it's hard to get a straight, reliable answer to the most basic questions: What effects does marijuana have on the nervous system? on chromosomes and sex hormones? the lungs? behavior? Is it addictive? Does it cure glaucoma or cancer? What are the actual legal risks involved in its use? Why is the right wing so neurotic about it?

Even the *Wall Street Journal* acknowledges that tens of thousands of Americans use marijuana for medical purposes alone. Yet, there has been no accessible, readable, accurate guide to what is known — and not known — about the medical uses and effects of marijuana. So it is quite encouraging to finally see a thorough, scientific assessment of marijuana's potential.

In addition to hardcore information about research studies on marijuana and THC as medicines, Roffman also includes an interesting discussion of the legal debate surrounding pot (it's legal to grow your own in Alaska — in Nevada a first offender over age 21 possessing *any* amount can get up to six years and a $5000 fine). He also devotes a chapter to the fascinating, flip-flop history of the drug (cannabis was planted against the wishes of the colonists in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1611, by order of the King).

One chapter, "The Effects of Marijuana on Health and Behavior," deserves to be read by all those who use pot for medicine or recreation. While there are still many unanswered questions in marijuana research, anyone who uses the stuff without at least trying to find out what *is* known has their head in the sand.

One really nice thing about this book is that it is written for medical patients and families of patients who might benefit from marijuana use. The last chapter, on how to use cannabis, even includes some candy recipes. If you or anyone you know is suffering the side effects of cancer chemotherapy — or watching a loved one do so — this book may give some comfort. — Mark Roseland

***Man Woman Double You*, a Reversible Book by Sandra Haefker, 1982, 80pp., $13.00 from:**
Sandra Haefker
4812 N. Princeton
Porltand, OR 97203

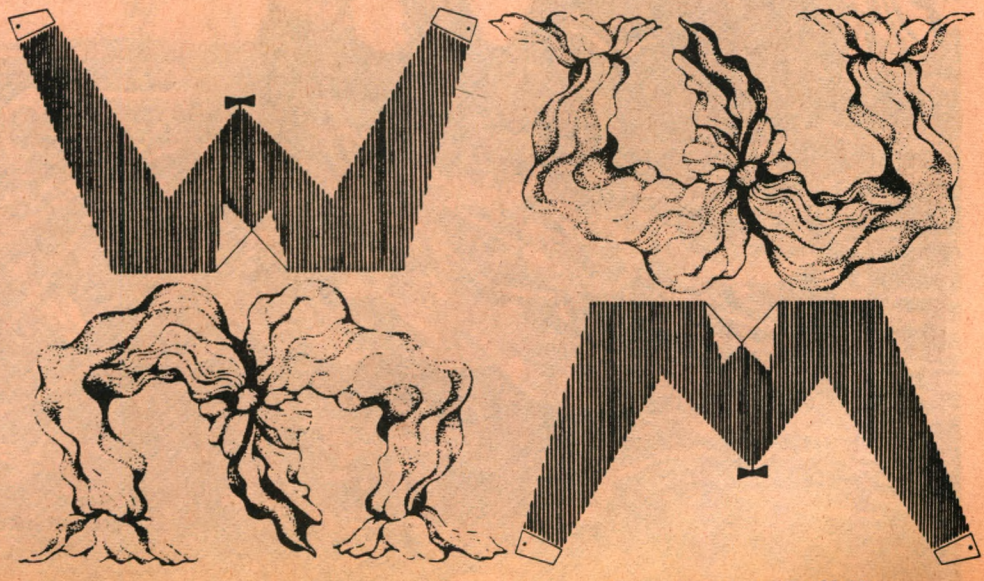
The drawings in this book are a series of visual puns, not only to be laughed at, but also to be viewed as a mirror of your own archetypical images of male and female, in their polarities and their struggle to merge. In this unusual and high

quality production, Oregon artist Sandra Haefker reveals her own interpretations of relationship as art, artfully rendered with combinations of the letters M and W as symbols of our masculine and feminine selves.

John Laursen, the book designer and fine printer, has run Press-22 in Portland for the past twelve years, working with artists and poets to produce a variety of quality books and broadsides. *Man Woman Double You* is a fine collaborative work of artist and printer. — Nancy Cosper

***Editing Your Newsletter: A Guide to Writing, Design and Production*, 2nd edition, by Mark Beach, 1982, 122 pp., $12.00 from:**
RAIN
2270 NW Irving
Portland, OR 97210

Last year we gave the first edition of this book a somewhat glorious review. Now the second edition is out, and it's even better than the original — which poses a problem. Is the second edition so much better than the first that you should trade in your old one for this year's model? As the Germans say so definitively, *Es kommt darauf an* — it all depends. On you, of course. The new sections on graphics and layout are SO good you just might find it worth your while. As for the rest of you, silly creatures, trying to edit a newsletter without this manual, it's time you get on the stick and get ahold of a copy — either edition. You're really missing out on something good! — Mark Roseland



From: *Man Woman Double You*

The "first come, first served" principle is often used to allocate scarce commodities. It is really allocation by default; when goods cannot be distributed fairly, or to those who most need them, the practice is to supply them to those who are first in line. For eight years at the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference, delegations from 150 nations strove to create a more equitable system for distributing the wealth of the sea while protecting the marine environment. In 1970, when the UN General Assembly called for the creation of the LOS Conference, it declared, in a nearly unanimous vote, that the resources of the sea beyond national jurisdiction are "the common heritage of mankind." The assembly embraced the notion that the oceans are a global commons, to be used for the benefit of all countries.

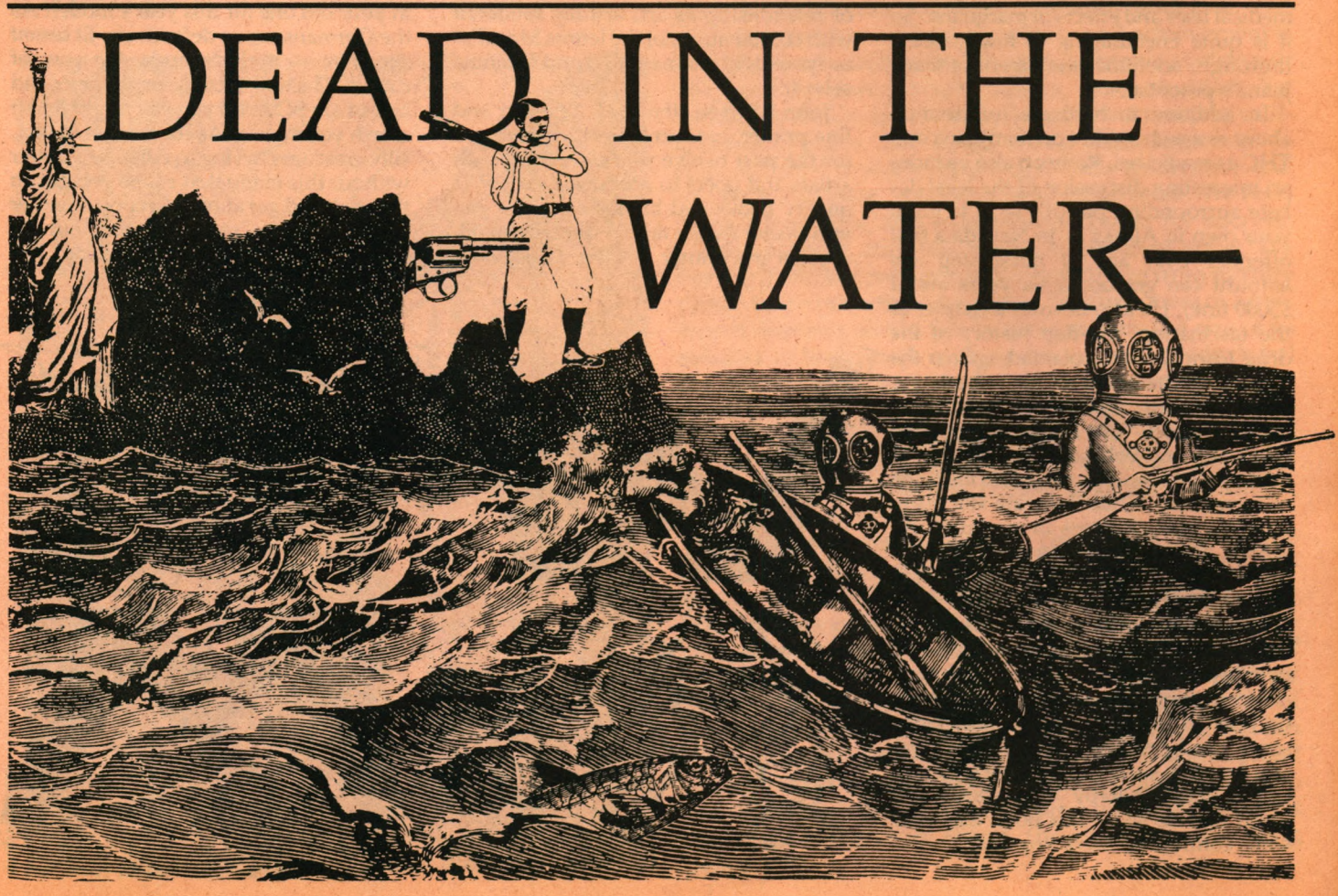
When the conference voted on adoption of the LOS Treaty on April 30, 1982, 130 nations, primarily from the Third World, accepted it. France and Japan, both having seabed mining capability, joined in affirming it. Seventeen nations from the Soviet bloc and the European Economic Community abstained. The United States, along with Israel, Venezuela and Turkey, rejected it. President Reagan said the treaty would not give the U.S. "a role that fairly reflects and protects" its interests. More specifically, he said "the deep-seabed mining part of the convention does not meet United States objectives." The U.S., as it happens, is among the countries first in line with the technology to exploit deep-seabed minerals.

The LOS Conference was an ambitious attempt to address and resolve complex questions regarding territorial claims and the legal status of seabed minerals in international waters. The conference, which first met in 1973, completed a draft treaty in 1980. The treaty proposed many innovative solutions to international problems. Among other things, it called for the creation of an International Seabed Authority to govern seabed mining, it stated that each nation's sovereign territory extends 12 miles beyond its coast, but that all foreign vessels must be allowed the right of innocent passage within that territory, and it gave all ships a right of "transit passage" through 100 straits or choke-points around the world.

The United States had been an active supporter of the treaty concept under the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations. But when Reagan took office, the administration backed away from an August 1981 signing date and indicated it was conducting a broad review of the draft convention.

"The State Department made known that its main objections were to the parts of the treaty dealing specifically with conditions for deep-sea mining, and this seemed to confirm press reports that the Administration was responding primarily to pressure from mining companies," wrote David Dickson in *The Nation* (May 30, 1981).

In March 1982, the U.S. joined the last conference session proposing major changes in the treaty provisions for seabed mining. One of the most intensely debated matters during the session concerned protection for "pioneer" seabed miners —those who had invested heavily in seabed mining before the treaty entered into force. During the last round of negotiations, a scheme was devised whereby each pioneer investor would have



exclusive prospecting rights in a specific seabed area. Though this was an important concession to American interests, it was not enough to bring about an American affirmation of the treaty. The treaty did not guarantee that still other U.S. companies could go after the seabed minerals, complained U.S. delegate James L. Malone.

The major deep-seabed mineral of commercial interest is nickel. It, along with manganese, copper and cobalt, is located within manganese nodules that, in certain areas, are bounteously strewn about the ocean floor. The nodules, often two or three miles below the ocean surface, have been difficult and expensive to retrieve. There is still considerable doubt whether revenues from mining the nodules will be very substantial. Author Wesley Marx, in *The Oceans: Our Last Resource*, (RAIN VIII: 6,2) says of the excitement over a mineral bonanza, "Once again, human expectations of the ocean far exceed its potential. The 120 developing nations applying for development grants from the Authority may be in for a rude awakening on the largesse available from the vaunted marine treasure chest."

In difficult negotiations with 150 partners no one can expect to get everything he wants; everyone has to compromise. It is regrettable that the U.S. did not compromise and vote "yes" on the LOS Treaty in the interest of suporting diplomatic forums as a means of resolving global conflicts. By compromising we would have lost little. The treaty would not have deprived American companies of access to seabed minerals; it would only have allowed poor and landlocked nations to benefit too from a resource that is theirs as much as ours. But the treaty is not so much a financial issue, considering the questionable economics of nodule mining, as it is a matter of principle. It provided a chance to reject the "first come, first served" formula in favor of one that accounts for unequal circumstances and recognizes the high seas as no one's and everyone's at the same time. This idea has implications not only for the seas, but for Antarctica and outer space.

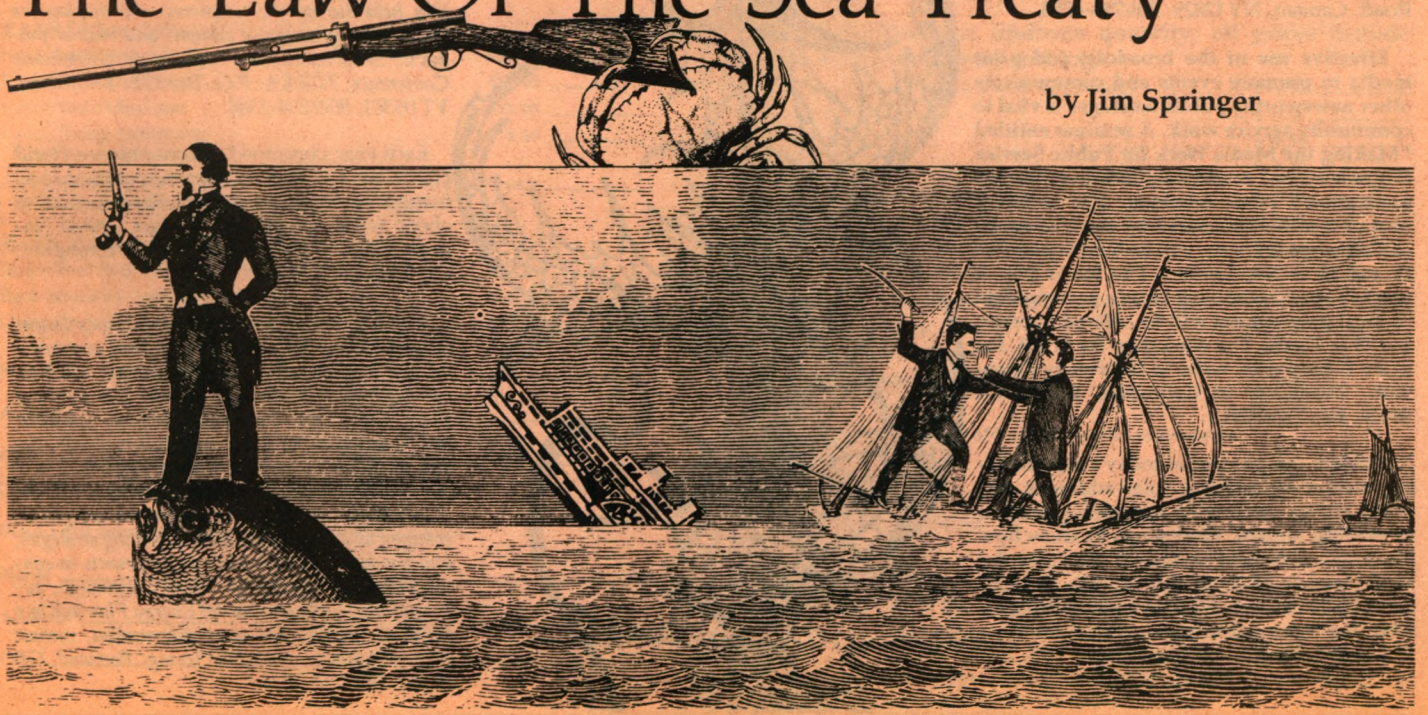
Disagreements over the allocation of global resources will arise again and again, and may lead to significant disputes. If wise and equitable means of resolving such disputes are not fostered we are prone to indefinite conflicts over use of the global commons. In an increasingly complex world society it is narrowminded to consider only short-term national advantage in international negotiations. We have a stake in promoting long-term world harmony; it is our only hope for survival.

The future of the treaty is uncertain. It will come into force one year after it is ratified by 60 nations, but no one knows how effective it will be without the participation of the U.S. and other mining countries. Some of the non-signatories may negotiate their own mini-treaty to govern their claims, thereby excluding developing countries from any benefits. Congressional hearings on the treaty are being conducted and there is still the possibility that the U.S., with a change of administration, will change its position and support the treaty. The matter is not closed.

For more information on the Law of the Sea Treaty, write to United Methodist LOS Project, 100 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002. □□

Reagan And The Law Of The Sea Treaty

by Jim Springer



RUSH

The 5th Miami International Conference on Alternative Energy Sources, December 13-15, will provide the latest information on alternative energy. The primary emphasis at the conference will be on the technological aspects of the various sources, but discussions of economic, social, and environmental effects will also be included. The conference will be open to all energy scientists, engineers, educators, architects, economists, and planners from industry, universities, research organizations, and government agencies. Three days of invited lecture and paper presentations, poster sessions, and discussions are planned. Miami International Energy Exposition will accompany the conference with displays of new alternative energy products, publications, and services. For information about the conference or the exposition, write to Clean Energy Research Institute, University of Miami, P.O. Box 248294, Coral Gables, FL 33124.

The Rural Conservation Short Course, September 19-25, will offer a comprehensive approach to protecting the cultural, natural, scenic, and agricultural resources of rural communities through actions of both local government and private, nonprofit organizations. The program, cosponsored by the Rural Project of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the State University of New York, will consist of lectures, tours, group projects, and intensive study of the host towns, Cazenovia and Pompey, New York. Tuition is $110 and enrollment is limited to 35. If you're interested, write to Rural Project, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1600 H Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006.

A series of seminars on "Superinsulation Retrofit Techniques for Building and Insulation Professionals" and "Super Energy Efficient Building Techniques for New Construction" are being planned by Energy Design Associates, Inc. Both seminars will be held in Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Chicago in October and November. The fee for each, which includes textbook and notes, is $235. The person to contact is Ned Nisson, Energy Design Associates, Inc., Vandenberg Hill Road, Canaan, NY 12029, 518/781-4750.

Effective use of the broadcast and print media to promote events and communicate other newsworthy public messages is vital to community service work. A seminar entitled "Making the Media Work for Public Service Organizations" might help improve your organization's press relations. The seminar, part of a series sponsored by the University of California at Davis, will be held September 11 and 18 in Sacramento. The fee is $70. A workshop on increasing citizen participation in local government will be offered September 13 in Davis. The workshop fee is $25. For more information write to University Extension, University of California, Davis, CA 95616, 916/752-0880.

Builders can prosper in today's tight housing market by building solar additions and doing energy-conserving remodeling projects to existing houses. Workshops to show how it's done will be held October 17-18 in Lincoln, MA; October 25-26 in Fairlee, VT; and October 28-29 in Clark, NJ. The registration fee is $180. For more information contact the New England Solar Energy Association, P.O. Box 541, Brattleboro, VT 05301, 802/2540-2386.

The New Alchemy Institute is offering some day-long courses you might like to attend: "State of the Art Bioshelter Design" (Sept. 11), "Food, Flowers and Insects: Horticultural Tips for the Home Solar Greenhouse" (Sept. 18), "Educational Approaches to Appropriate Technology" (Sept. 25), and "Permaculture Weekend" (Oct. 22-24). For details contact Merryl Alber, New Alchemy Institute, 237 Hatchville Rd., East Falmouth, MA 02536.

Is Minnesota really the earth shelter capital of the U.S.? Kathleen Vadnais says it is. Kathleen, who has been writing and lecturing on residential and commercial earth shelter construction for the past four years, will conduct tours of earth-sheltered, passive solar homes in Minneapolis and St. Paul, as well as public and commercial buildings in the area. The tour fee is $25, or $45 for couples. Group rates are available. The half-day bus tours will be held September 25 and October 2, from 12:30 to 5 pm. Contact Earth Shel-TOURS, 902 Grand Ave., Suite 105, St. Paul, MN 55105, 612/788-9248.

Rodale Press is gathering material for a project book on handmade shelves, closets and cabinets. Owner-builders, custom builders, and craftspeople who have designed and built unusual and beautiful details are invited to contribute. The emphasis is on natural materials, and projects to be included are built-in shelving units and window seats (with trunk-like lids, sliding doors, drawers, or as round room seating), closets (pantry, sewing, clothes, office alcove, drop-down bed), and bathroom and kitchen cabinets. Rodale Press will pay for photographs and manuscript copy or for interview time if your project is selected to be included in the book. As a first step, send a snapshot of the detail you used to Rodale Press, Inc., 33 East Minor Street, Emmaus, PA 18049 to the attention of Marge Wieder. For more information, call 215/967-5171, extension 1416.

It may have to be pried from the fingers of Big Business, but that won't deter National People's Action from setting out to "Reclaim America." NPA, a grassroots coalition of citizens groups, will try to reclaim America for neighborhood and community interests by rallying in Chicago (Sept. 10), Cleveland (Sept. 11), Philadelphia (Sept. 12), Washington, DC (Sept. 13) and New York City (Sept. 14). NPA members will meet with corporate and government leaders and demand jobs, lower interest rates, low-cost energy, affordable housing and a stop to federal program cutbacks. While in Philadelphia, the NPA will hold its 11th Annual Conference. You're invited to join them as they confront those in power with their message. Contact NPA, 1123 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, IL 60607.

Hyannis, Massachusetts, on Cape Cod, will be the site for the Third Energy-Conserving Greenhouse Conference and Exhibition sponsored by the New England Solar Energy Association. The past two conferences have proven to be important forums for the exchange of information on all aspects of energy-conserving greenhouses. A major emphasis in this year's conference, November 19, 20 and 21, will be on dialogue between technologists and horticulturists to explore the most promising areas for cooperative research and development. An exhibition held during the conference will display the latest solar greenhouse systems and related products. Send information requests to: Greenhouse Conference, NESEA, P.O. Box 778, Brattleboro, VT 05301, 802/254-2386.

Each year, concerned citizens observe World Food Day, October 16, by participating in local hunger awareness programs. For information about what you can do, contact United Nations FAO, 1776 F Street NW, Washington, DC 20437, 202/376-2306.

Not to ignore our own endeavors, Nancy Cosper is coordinating SOLAR '82, a regional conference on conservation, and renewable energy. It'll happen September 30 through October 2 at Portland State University, Portland, Oregon. Speakers, panels and workshops will cover future possibilities and problems with the Northwest Regional Power Act; marketing programs of the Bonneville Power Administration; economic incentive programs; commercial and small business marketing strategies; and the latest technological developments in conservation and renewables. Ralph Cavanaugh, author of the Northwest Model Energy Plan will be a featured speaker. For more information, contact Nancy at RAIN, 2270 NW Irving, Portland, OR 97210, 503/224-7238.

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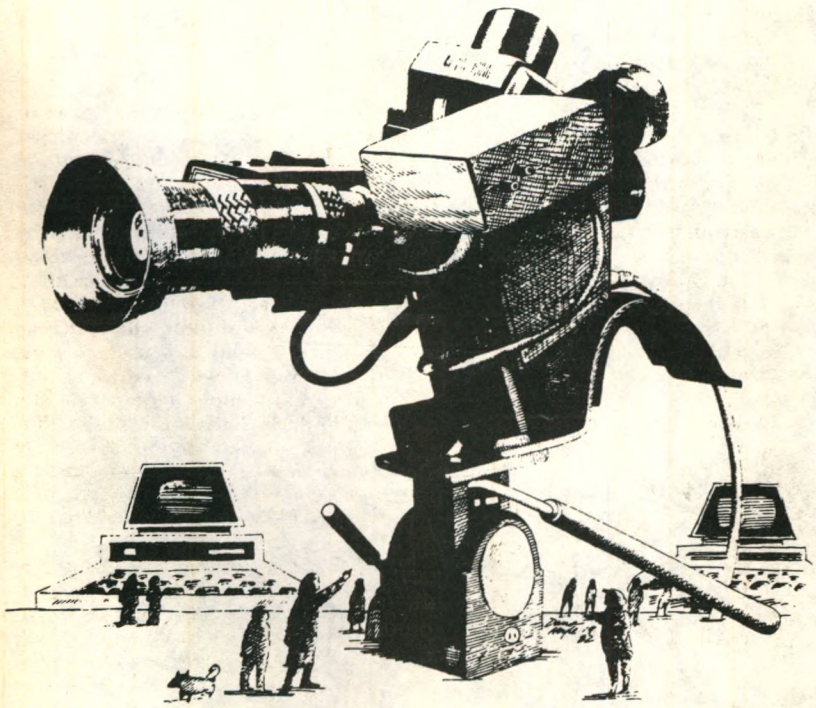
INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY FOR THE COMMUNITY

by

Steve Johnson



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***Cocopeli Stories* by Solala Towler, 1982, 88 pp., $4.95 from:**
Cyote Press
Box 101
Deadwood, OR 97430

So much of the art of story telling has been lost to television. It being "high time to resurrect that fine art," author Solala Towler gives us *Cocopeli Stories*. Set down in an oral style with the lines broken where the breath or thought is broken, the stories are written to encourage the reader to share with others.

Cocopeli, usually depicted as humpbacked, is a flute player found on pottery, jewelry, and walls all over North and South America. Kokopilau is a Hopi Kachina who helped the Hopi people on their ancient migration. He appears nowadays in the poems of Gary Snyder and Peter Blue Cloud.

The stories are divided into seasons when traditionally certain stories are told. The reader is brought through the year beginning with and returning to spring, the rebirth of the year and all that grows. Cocopeli's adventures with Bear, Weasel, Stone Pipe Man, Coyote, Old Man Winter, Spider Old Woman, the Sun and Grandmother Moon describe a world in which the earth is alive and all living beings are interrelated. In each story Cocopeli faces adversity with courage; in overcoming difficulty he helps his people and becomes wiser for the struggle.

In sharing these stories aloud, we continue to pass on this wisdom as has been done for centuries in the oral tradition. "And if, when you are done," says author Towler," you feel like making up your own . . . go ahead. Cocopeli is for everyone." — Nancy Cosper

From: *Cocopeli Stories*