Summary 2002

Another world is possible

yes!

a journal of positive futures

art and commUnity

new myths for our culture

everybody say "Hallelujah!"

who's afraid of music?

grassroots art

up from the ruins

the sound of bombs NOT exploding • families of 9/11 victims call for peace • Islamic peacemaker • Ashcroft's expensive cover-up • the new American majority

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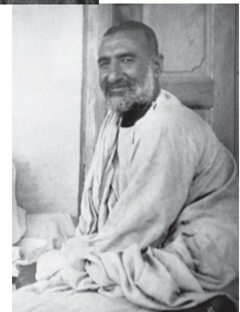

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READERS' FORUM

Tell us what you think of the ideas, possibilities, approaches you find in YES! Or, tell us your own story of making change (see box below). If you'd like a discussion guide, send us a self-addressed stamped envelope or visit our website

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We Are Not Alone

I absolutely love the insightful, well-researched, intelligent and diverse perspectives and information offered in *Yes!* I for so long have needed to know I am not alone in my passion and commitment to improvement, with awareness, humanity, spirituality, and sustainability as my guiding principles.

ELIZABETH MAYNARD
San Francisco, CA

Reclaim Democracy

May I suggest an additional item for Rik Langendoen's *Resources for Patriots* list? ReclaimDemocracy.org is an organization dedicated to restoring democratic authority over corporations, reviving grassroots democracy, and revoking the power of money and corporations to control government and civil society. Their *Insurgent* is an outstanding and eye-opening newsletter with thoughtful perspectives on current events and trends. Website: www.reclaimdemocracy.org

DAN MURRAY
via e-mail

The Original Ugly American

The title page blurb for Walden Bello's excellent article, *In the Eyes of the World* [And for John Mohawk's *The Sometimes Beautiful American*, issue #21—Eds.] refers to "the ugly American." This phrase refers to the hero, not the villain, of Eugene Burdick and William Lederer's book *The Ugly American*. Although he had red hair and freckles and was considered a funny-looking fellow by the villagers he worked with in southeast Asia, the point of the book was that he *wasn't* arrogant and presumptuous, as were too many of his fellow Americans in similar situations, but loved by the local people for his gentle and humane presence . The appellation was meant ironically—the real ugly American was anything but.

KAREN HAVNAER
via e-mail

Economic Vision

After seeing the first of a series of the PBS program "Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy" by Daniel Yergin and Joseph A. Stanislaw, I thought it would be a great service to the public in this time of crisis to present a more nuanced and subtle view of economic history rather than the simplistic socialist vs capitalist polarization.

I believe PBS is going to generalize this framework to international trade and globilization and paint anyone who is against unfettered corporate libertarianism as hopelessly wrong. I am confident that there are foundations and many individuals who would be willing to contribute financially to such an effort.

BRUCE L. GIBB, PH.D.
Ann Arbor, MI

Quaker Roots

In the article on American women, it was not mentioned that Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and others who spoke out for women's rights, including the right to vote, were members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). George Fox, the founder, believed and taught that there was that of God in every human and that all (women, blacks, Indians, etc.) were endowed with an inner light and were equal. All Friends meetings have always been conducted by consensus.

YES! Readers Take Action

How are you and others you know taking action to create a more positive future? Send us stories of your accomplishments, frustrations, joyous outcomes, setbacks, and progress.

We will print selected letters that are 500 words or shorter. We may edit pieces heavily, but we will ask you to review editorial changes. We are relying on you to be completely accurate with facts, including names of people or places. If you change anyone's name to protect privacy, please let us know.

Send your typed or clearly printed double-spaced submission to the address at left or via email to "editors@futurenet.org" with "Readers Take Action" as the subject heading. Include your name, address, and an email address or telephone number.

Because we have a small staff, we cannot respond to or return your work, so please don't send your only copy. As we may be making a last- minute selection, we regret that we will be unable to answer questions regarding the status of submissions.

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I can imagine that there was a happy recognition between the Friends and the Indians on these points, but the Quaker women did not learn it from the Indians. They were taught these principles from their cradles.

MARY ELLEN CAMPBELL
Eureka, MT

What Works

Walter Wink's arguments do not apply to the situation the US found itself in after 9/11. We were not a weak people suffering under the oppression of a powerful aggressor nation. Rather, we are a powerful nation being attacked by a weaker but violent foe. So the advice Jesus gave—to turn the other cheek, etc.—does not apply.

Mr. Wink's argument rests on the premise that "nonviolence has been about the only thing that has been working of late."

I presume he is referring to the end of communism in Eastern Europe. I remember those "nonviolent revolutions" differently. Not only did China, with its 1 billion people, end its rebellion violently, the overthrow of the communist government of Romania was accompanied by a bloodbath, and we are still engaged in separating the combatants in the former Yugoslavia. A number of "peoples' revolutions" were successful, but Eastern Europe remains a dangerous place. The violence is far from over.

Mr. Wink also asserts that, "We should quit propping up anti-democratic dictatorships." His statement suggests that there are democratic forces in the Islamic world that if allowed to flourish would replace their undemocratic governments. The evidence suggests otherwise. If the current governments of Egypt, Jordan, or Saudi Arabia fell, they would be replaced by governments that were even more repressive and less democratic.

America's problem is that we would really prefer that the world go away and leave us alone. But the world looks to the US to uphold some ideas and ideals, and the world keeps pulling us back into its problems. Like it or not, we are the world power. Perhaps we need to accept that fact and deal with the world on those terms. "We'll give you peace, if you will have it, but we will impose peace if you insist on it."

PRESTON ENRIGHT
Denver, CO

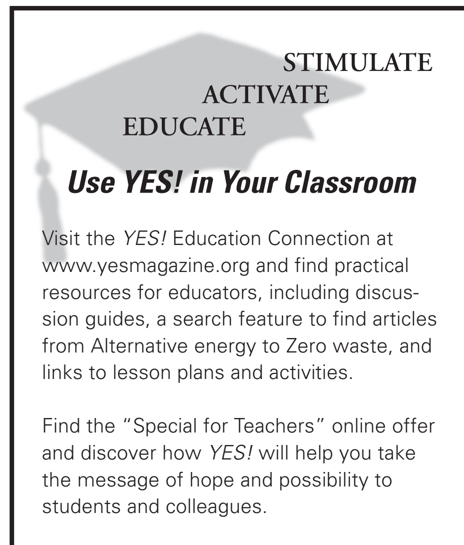
Walter Wink Answers:

I am trying to convince Americans that nonviolence offers them hope in trying to stop our government's unjust policies at home and abroad. I want to see nonviolent discipline maintained by demonstrators at the World Trade Organization or the World Bank. Mr. Enright's last line sends shudders down my spine: "We will impose peace if you insist upon it." He seems comfortable with US hegemony; I regard it as the greatest single danger to the world today.

Perhaps I should have given more examples of the success of nonviolence in the 20th century. Poland, East Germany, the former Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, Mongolia, Brazil, Chile, and the Soviet Union had nearly completely nonviolent revolutions. Vaclav Havel called the Czech liberation "the velvet revolution," in which not a single window was broken. Yugoslavia was a mixed bag; Romania had a violent battle between the secret police and the army, with the civilian public maintaining a nonviolent resistence. And in China, the students maintained nonviolent discipline even as they were being killed. Since then a dozen nations have moved toward multiparty democracy including Nepal, Latvia, Gabon, Bangladesh, Benin, and Algeria. That is a phenomenal list of successes.

If we add the nonviolent struggles in India and Ghana for independence, the first and second Philippine nonviolent campaigns, struggles in Madagascar, the largely nonviolent effort in Chiapas, the democratizing of South America, and the US civil rights movement, the United Farmworkers, the anti-Vietnam, anti-nuke, and anti-apartheid struggles (again, largely nonviolent), you have an enormous number of nations, comprising 3,337,400,000 people, engaged in nonviolent efforts—two thirds of the people in the world.

WALTER WINK
Sandisfield, MA



Only Connect

In 'Dear reader" (issue #20), Sheldon Ito writes:"... this love will necessarily mean loving people I disagree vehemently with..." Why love? Why not just make an effort to connect, find some common ground. Love may or may not come out of this but connection is the first step.

Thanks for a great magazine.

STEVE CAPPER
via e-mail

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Dissent Within Israeli Military Grows

AFP Photo/Thomas Coex

A Palestinian woman argues with an Israeli soldier in the Jenin refugee camp in the northern West Bank

A movement of dissent within the Israeli army is gaining momentum. By April, over 400 reservists had signed a statement refusing to serve in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The movement began on January 28, when 53 soldiers published a statement in *Yedioth Abronoth*, Israel's best-selling daily newspaper: "We, who sensed how the commands issued to us in the Territories destroy all the values we had absorbed while growing up in this country, will no longer fight beyond the 1967 borders for the purpose of occupying, deporting, destroying, blockading, killing, starving and humiliating an entire people."

Others immediately began adding their names to the statement, despite the risk of punishment. Thirty-six refuseniks are in jail, including two of the 62 high school seniors who announced that they would refuse to serve when called for compulsory military service. This is the first time dissent has ever come publicly from within Israel's army.

Most Israelis are required to serve in the military for two years and then join the army reserve until they are 45 years old.

Assaf Oron, a sergeant major in the Giv'ati Brigade and one of the original signers, explained in a statement circulated on the internet that he came to his refusal gradually, first by asking privately to be posted to non-combat positions in the Occupied Territories. But he soon found this inadequate: "This was the easy way out. I did 'save my own soul.' I was not directly engaged in wrongdoing—which only made it possible for others to do so while I kept guard."

By refusing publicly, he said, "We want to remind you all that there is a moral code above and inside each and every one of you. We believe that our tribal code has strayed too far, and now it has become nothing more than idolatry in disguise. *There is no room for cooperation with this idolatry.*"

The movement has sparked fierce debate in Israel, at a time when Ariel Sharon's hawkish policies have raised his popularity among Israelis.

—Carolyn McConnell

To read the statement and the list of signers, visit www.seruv.org. The Shefa Fund, www.shefafund.org, and Yesh Gvul (There is a limit), www.yeshgvul.org, support soldiers who refuse service for reasons of conscience. For information on refusenik visits to the US, see www.couragetorefuse.org.

Grim Times at the EPA

Frustration has exploded into crisis at the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), with two top officials claiming the Bush administration has undermined their ability to do their jobs.

On April 22, EPA ombudsman Robert Martin resigned over a transfer that, he argued, would have stripped his office of its independence. This marked the latest salvo in a growing feud between EPA Administrator Christine Todd Whitman and Martin, who went to court to block the transfer. Martin won a temporary restraining order,

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but in April a judge struck the order down. Martin continues to press his case through the Office of Special Counsel.

The ombudsman office was created as a watchdog on the EPA, and Martin became popular in several communities near Superfund cleanup sites, but wrangled with senior EPA officials. Martin recently raised conflict of interest questions about Whitman and her husband's financial ties to Citigroup. Citigroup owns the Shattuck Superfund site in Denver, and last fall reached an agreement with the EPA to pay just one fifth of the estimated $35 million cleanup costs. Martin has also voiced suspicions of Whitman's announcement that "the air is safe to breathe" at the World Trade Center site after 9/11, although respiratory illnesses were widely reported in the following months. Citigroup owns Traveler's Insurance, which stood to gain if there were fewer claims.

Martin was the second senior official at the EPA to step down under protest so far this year. In late February, Eric Schaeffer, director of the Office of Regulatory Enforcement, resigned after growing tired of "fighting a White House that seems determined to weaken the rules we are trying to enforce." Schaeffer's main beef was the administration's meddling with "New Source Review" regulations that require plants to install modern pollution controls if they expand operations. Dick Cheney ordered a 90-day review of the policy in May 2001 that has yet to be concluded. According to Schaeffer this has undermined enforcement by encouraging violators to put off installing pollution-control equipment.

—Dan Bertolet

Argentines Create Street Democracy

Argentina's economic collapse brought thousands onto the street in mass protests last December and is now birthing an experiment in popular democracy.

Known as the Neighborhood Assemblies, this network of citizens meets in clusters of 20-200 on streetcorners throughout Buenos Aires and other cities in Argentina. They meet to find solutions to the day-to-day problems that plague this recession-wracked country, to discuss democratic alternatives, and to change the way the Argentines think and feel about each other. Last year, the collapse of the Argentine peso pulled the rug from under the country's status as poster child for International Monetary Fund and World Bank policies.

"Yo Argentino" has long been a favorite expression of the individualistic Argentines that loosely translates as "I'm an Argentine, I don't get involved." The years of the "Dirty War" of 1976-82, in which the military dictatorship "disappeared" 30,000 Argentines, left a feeling that it was better—and safer—not to get involved.

On December 19 of last year, this attitude abruptly reversed. More than 100,000 people took to the streets in Buenos Aires after President de la Rua declared a nationwide state of siege in an attempt to control food rioting. Frustrated by a bank freeze, years of economic crisis, and government corruption, crowds spontaneously filled the streets, waving Argentine flags, banging pots, and demanding the ouster of President de la Rua. The next day, after a brutal battle between police and demonstrators left five dead, de la Rua fled the country in a helicopter.

At the early meetings of the Neighborhood Assemblies, people talked about the fear that had kept them silent for so many years. They talked about creating a "politics without politicians" that would incorporate the values of direct democracy and neighborhood involvement.

Since then, the Assemblies have created a network that includes weekly inter-neighborhood assemblies and commissions on politics, press, culture, food, health and unemployment. Neighbors have put together Web sites, email lists, publications, cultural events, community gardens, workshops, and sidewalk tables. Ongoing *cacerolazos*—potbanging demonstrations—have kept up the pressure on corrupt officials, and on banks and multinational businesses such as the power and phone companies.

Juan Biederman

Argentines vote in a Neighborhood Assembly on a Buenos Aires street

Assembly members struggle with a lack of organizing experience as well as with hunger, unemployment, inflation, and physical attacks by pro-government forces.

Nonetheless, the assemblies are not only becoming a political force to be reckoned with, they are changing the old ways of big city living. These days, in Buenos Aires, neighbors actually recognize each other and stop and talk on the sidewalk , something that didn't happen before. "We are creating a community in the desert," said assembly member and sociologist Pablo Berger, "the desert of the big city where no one looks each other in the eye."

—Lisa Garrigues

Librarians Save "Stupid White Men"

Filmmaker Michael Moore's new book*, Stupid White Men and Other Sorry Excuses for the State of the Nation*, had a near brush with cancellation and pulping in December. Shortly after September 11, Moore's publisher, HarperCollins, informed him that they would be cancelling the book tour and putting the book on hold for a short time. The publisher also requested he

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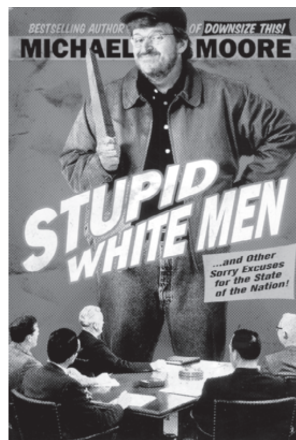
change the title and add material about the September attacks. To all these requests, Moore agreed. But then the Rupert Murdoch-owned HarperCollins informed him he'd have to rewrite entire sections of the book—even though it was sitting, already printed, in a warehouse in Pennsylvania—and contribute $100,000 from his royalties to defray the cost of pulping the old edition and reprinting the new one.

In December, Moore described this state of affairs to a New Jersey Citizen Action meeting at which he was keynote speaker. He requested they take no action, saying he was pursuing as many avenues as possible to resolve the situation, but one member of the audience—a librarian—decided to speak out anyway. Ann Sparanese from the Englewood Public Library in New Jersey wrote an angry letter and posted it on several library listserves. "As librarians," she wrote, "it seems we are obligated to follow this up, find out some more, and make a response."

Within days, the publisher began receiving e-mails from Sparanese's outraged colleagues. Though they deny the e-mails had anything to do with their decision, HarperCollins soon reinstated the book.

"This is a fascinating story because it shows what a free society does when confronted with a crisis," Moore told Salon. "Do we maintain our sense of freedom and liberty and dissent and open discussion of the issues? Or do we start putting the clamp down?"

—Kristie Reilly



"Librarians are one group of terrorists you don't want to mess with," says author Michael Moore

Reprinted from *In These Times* Online at www.inthesetimes.com. Editorial note: *Stupid White Men* hit number one on *The New York Times* bestseller list in March.

Reform Votes

Voters in San Francisco have passed a $100 million revenue bond for renewable energy. The bond pays for solar panels, wind turbines and energy efficiency measures for public buildings— a landmark step forward since emissions from traditional energy sources are among the largest contributors to global warming. Dollars previously earmarked for power plant energy purchases will pay down the bond. Solar power's dramatic increase in cost efficiency in recent years now make it economically viable, especially when bundled with money-saving efficiency measures.

San Franciscans also voted in March to adopt instant runoff voting (IRV), a process by which voters rank candidates in order of preference. If no candidate receives a majority of number one votes, the candidate with the least total of number one votes is eliminated, and second choice votes from these ballots are transferred to the other candidates.

IRV is used for major elections in Australia, Ireland and Great Britain. IRV gives voters broader choices by making room for third-party candidates to bring their issues to voters without becoming spoilers, and saves taxpayer dollars by eliminating the need for separate run-off elections. It decreases negative campaigning since candidates have an incentive to focus on issues in order to win second choice votes from voters.

In Vermont's annual town meetings on March 5, IRV won 95 percent support. The nonbinding vote advises state legislators that residents support the IRV bill currently under consideration in the state senate.

Residents of 28 Vermont towns voted to oppose genetically engineered food and crops. Most town resolutions pointed to the toll GE foods exact from the environment, the integrity of rural family farm economies, and human health. Resolutions called upon state legislators and the Vermont congressional delegation to support labeling of GE foods and seeds and to place a moratorium on the cultivation of GE crops. Eight towns declared a town moratorium on GE crops or urged that planting of GE seeds be discouraged.

—Anna McClain

The Vote Solar Initiative, which designed the San Francisco energy measure, aims to replicate the model around the country and dramatically accelerate the nation's transition to renewable energy. Visit www.votesolar.org.

Feds Target Immigrant Stores

The post-September 11 federal crackdown on immigrants has broadened from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and Justice Department to other agencies, and it is reaching to the heart of immigrant communities—to the food they eat.

A US Department of Agriculture (USDA) decision threatens to drive out of business stores selling meat processed according to Muslim beliefs for East African communities in Washington, Ohio, and Oregon. In April, a number of Somali businesses were informed that they were permanently disqualified from the federal food-stamp program. Most of these stores' customers rely on food stamps.

At Seattle's Towsiq Market, over 90 percent of customers use food stamps. According to the letter sent by the USDA to the Somali groceries in Seattle, a number of unusual transaction patterns suggested fraud. Yet store owners

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and community activists say that all of these transactions can be explained in terms of cultural patterns among Somali immigrants.

Two other Somali grocery stores in Seattle were also targeted by the USDA. One of these, the Maka Mini Mart, had already been stripped bare in November by FBI agents when they closed another Somali business in the same building, the Barakat Wire Transfer. The FBI claimed Barakat was funneling money to terrorists, but in April the government reported it had little evidence of any connection. In any case, the Maka Mini Mart had no connection to the wire transfer company. It just happened to share a building, and when agents raided Barakat, they also removed everything from the store's shelves.

The owner eventually was able to re-open and reclaim some of his goods, but not the perishable meats—specially prepared and stocked for Ramadan—nor his lost business. The American Civil Liberties Union has filed suit on behalf of Maka, demanding compensation for the losses.

Pramila Jayapal, director of Hate Free Zone Campaign, a Seattle-based watchdog group that organized a "shop-in" at the Seattle Somali stores to protest the USDA decision, calls it part of an ominous campaign to target immigrant communities after September 11. She cites the new INS practice of summarily jailing and deporting those who have visa violations and the law that now bars non-citizens from work in airports. Because many US airports are staffed largely by immigrants, the move threatens to throw thousands out of work.

"This shows the danger of taking an anything-goes approach to anti-terrorism. Real, innocent people are harmed," argued Doug Honig, public education director for the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington state.

—Carolyn McConnell

photos by Anthony Browell

Glenn Murcutt on a tractor for his other activity, farming (above). Murcutt's Magney House (left)

Acclaim for Ordinary Architecture

Australian Glenn Murcutt, who designs environmentally sensitive modernist houses that respond to their surroundings, will receive the 2002 Pritzker Architecture Prize on May 29. Murcutt's selection is a landmark decision by a jury that has more often chosen to honor "star-chitect" designers of world-famous buildings.

The Pritzker Prize is regarded as the Nobel Prize of architecture. Past recipients include Americans I. M. Pei, famous for the East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, and the glass pyramid entry to the Louvre in Paris; Frank Gehry, designer of the Guggenheim Bilbao Museum; and Britain's Sir Norman Foster, whose firm designed the Hong Kong airport, one of the world's largest.

Announcing the jury's selection, Thomas Pritzker said, "Glenn Murcutt is a stark contrast to most of the highly visible architects of the day—his works are not large scale, the materials he works with, such as corrugated iron, are quite ordinary, certainly not luxurious, and he works alone." Murcutt himself says, "I am not interested in designing large-scale projects. Doing many smaller works provides me with many more opportunities for experimentation." He also turns down projects outside of Australia.

Murcutt is exquisitely attuned to his Australian environment. "When I consider the magic of our landscape, I am continually struck by the genius of the place, the sunlight, shadows, wind, heat and cold, the scents from our flowering trees and plants, and especially the vastness," he says. "We need to become friends with the landscape."

When he works on a project, he takes time to get to know his clients, their needs, desires, and lifestyles, and the site, its climate, shading, humidity, and wind patterns. He uses materials that consume as little energy as possible in their manufacture and his houses are designed to respond to climatic conditions with minimal energy use. His buildings have adjustable exterior and interior blinds and movable panels of glass and insect netting.

He says, "A building should be able to open up and say, 'I am alive and looking after my people.' That is part of architecture for me, the resolution of levels of light that we desire, the resolution of the wind that we wish for, the modification of the climate as we want it. All this makes a building live."

One of Murcutt's favorite quotations is "Since most of us spend our lives doing ordinary tasks, the most important thing is to carry them out extraordinarily well." By honoring Murcutt, the Pritzker Prize acknowledges the value of ordinary buildings designed to harmonize with their surroundings extraordinarily well.

—Pam Chang

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Karen Dickey

Jim Hightower wants to put the party back into politics with the rollicking Chatauqua-style Rolling Thunder tour

Party On

Who knew Jim Hightower was such a party animal? The former Commissioner of Agriculture for the state of Texas and current columnist has dreamed up a traveling bash known as the Rolling Thunder Down Home Democracy Tour. Part progressive politics, part rock-and-roll revival, and part county fair, the Tour is a modern day take on the Chatauqua movement meant to bring communities together to celebrate their own power.

"It's time to sing and work and build a new community dedicated to hope and real change. And good beer," says Hightower.

To that end, he hopes towns across the nation will host his "democracy organizing festivals," bringing together their own diverse groups to "foster collaborative efforts that benefit us all, especially at the local level." He tells local groups that the first step is to form a genuine coalition—"not the same six or so groups you're used to working with. Stretch out a bit," Hightower says. He envisions everyone from Teamsters to farmers to bowling league members to churches, the young, the old, and the poor forming "a movement of populist awakening." And each coalition should target a longer-term political objective, such as a living wage ordinance, instant run-off voting, or a corporate-free classroom policy in public schools.

At the tour's opener in Austin, thousands heard Representative Jesse Jackson Jr. and rocker Michele Shocked, following an earlier kick-off rally featuring a giant wood chipper labeled "Enron Democracy Shredder." Events are in the works in Chicago, Tucson, Seattle, and Minneapolis.

—Mary Guterson

Visit www.rollingthundertour.org to learn more about how to "put the party back into politics" in your town.

Fightin' Whites

Nothing like a little blatant racial stereotyping to draw attention to your cause. At least, that's what the Fighting Whites of the University of Northern Colorado found out, soon after bestowing the moniker on their men's intramural basketball team in February. Since first being covered in the campus newspaper, the team has been inundated with calls from the media, including television biggies CNN and MSNBC, as well as *The Washington Times*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, and many others.

According to the team's official website (www.fightingwhites.org), their objective was to make a straightforward statement using humor; to promote cultural awareness through satire. The decision to make a middle-aged white man their mascot, and "Every thang's gonna be all white!" their slogan, came after team members became fed up with the unwillingness of a local high school to drop its "Fightin' Reds" moniker and mascot from its sports teams. The school, as of this writing, continues to resist a change in name.

Solomon Little Owl, director of Native American Services at the university and a Fighting Whites team member, told the *Greeley Tribune*, "The message is, let's do something that will let people see the other side of what it's like to be a mascot."

The team, made up of both Native American and non-Indian students, hopes the national attention they have received will help foster discussion regarding the use of racist mascots in sports. Racial, spiritual and cultural stereotypes in the sports world continue, despite the efforts of such groups as The National Coalition on Racism in Sports and Media to bring an end to their anachronistic use. Teams including major league baseball's Cleveland Indians and the Atlanta Braves still cling to their identifications as though it were only so much harmless entertainment. The stereotyping is so instilled that even Jane Fonda was known to make the hand gesture known as the "tomahawk chop" at the ballpark before her split from Braves owner Ted Turner.

One encouraging development, according to team member Jeff Vanlwarden: A couple of schools in Wyoming are considering changing their mascots in light of the recent publicity.

With the sudden popularity of their logo, the team opened an online store with all proceeds to profit the Fighting Whites Scholarship Fund, Inc. that supports the education of Native American students. According to Vanlwarden, more than 9,000 logo-laden items have flown off the shelves, including t-shirts, mugs, caps and boxer shorts. While the team hopes all of the attention will help promote cultural awareness through satire, they also acknowledge the unintended support of some whites who embrace the logo unironically. "Some people don't realize what we're trying to do," Little Owl told *The Washington Times*.

Jay Leno isn't among those who missed the joke. As he quipped on a recent *Tonight Show*: "The Fighting Whites—wasn't that the name of the Republican Party?"

—Mary Guterson

For more information on the Fighting Whites, visit their website: www.fightingwhites.org/

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Cost of 7.9 liters of oxygen: $29
Value of a 50-year-old red cedar's oxygen output per year: $3 million
Value of a 50-year-old red cedar for timber: $2,700[1]

Number of women out of 4,341 top corporate executives in the United States: 171[2]
Percentage of top female executives in corporate America who have children: 22
Percentage of top male executives who have children: 70[3]

Number of hot dogs eaten annually at US major league baseball games: 26,500,000
Number of hot dogs that Americans will eat during the fourth of July weekend: 155,000,000
That Americans eat annually: 20,000,000,000 (about 69 per person)[4]

Approximate population worldwide: 6 billion
Years it would take to reduce the population to one billion through a one-child-per-family plan: 100[5]

Number of computers that become obsolete each year in the US: 14-20 million
Equivalent amount of gold ore and waste needed to match the gold extracted from US electronic scrap in 1998: 2 million metric tons
Estimated value of precious metal recovered from US electronic scrap in 1998: $3,600,000[6]

Number of eyes per worker honeybee: 3 simple and 2 compound
Number of lenses in a bee's compound eye: 6,900
Focal range for a bee: 1-1/2 feet[7]

Percent increase from 1990-2000 in the average American worker's wages: 37
In corporate profits: 114
In the S&P 500: 300
In CEO pay (salary, bonuses, cashed-in stock options, long-term compensation, and perks): 571[8]

US aid to Israel in 2001: $3,200 million
US annual aid to Egypt: $2,000 million
To the Palestinian Authority: $100 million[9]

Percent of US budget that goes to foreign aid: 1
Rank of US in aid giving as percent of GNP among top 21 developed nations: 21[10]

Letters in the longest one-syllable English words: 9 (screeched, scratched, scrounged, etc.)
In the longest English word containing no letter more than once: 15 (uncopyrightable)
In the longest word currently listed in Oxford dictionaries: 45
(pneumonoultramicroscopicsilicovolcanoconiosis)[11]

1. Kooragang Wetlands Rehabilitation Project, www.newcastle.edu.au/discipline/biology/birjt/kooragang/mr_treevalue.html (AUS$1=US$0.54) 2. Too Much, Vol. 7, No.2, Fall 2001, p11, citing *Business Week* 3. *Business Week Online*, www.businessweek.com/careers/content/apr2001/ca2001046_659.htm 4. National Hot Dog and Sausage Council, www.hot-dog.org/pr_memorialday2000.html 5. BC Naturalist, Spring 2001, p7 6. US Geological Survey, pubs.usgs.gov/factsheet/fs060-01 7. http://gears.tucson.ars.ag.gov/ic/vision/bee-vision.html and www.microscopy-uk.org.uk/mag/artapr00/inseye.html 8. United for a Fair Economy, www.ufenet.org/press/ufenews/2001/Exec_Excess_CSM.html 9. Washington Report on Mideast Affairs, www.Washington-report.org/backissues/010201/0101015.html 10. "The US should be more generous," by Kevin Danaher and Jason Mink, Progressive Media Project, 3/19/02, http://www.progressive.org/Media%20Project%202/mpdm1902.html. Also Washington Post, 2/12/02, "US urged to double overseas aid," by Peter Slevin, pA06 11. www.askoxford.com/asktheexperts/faq/aboutwords/

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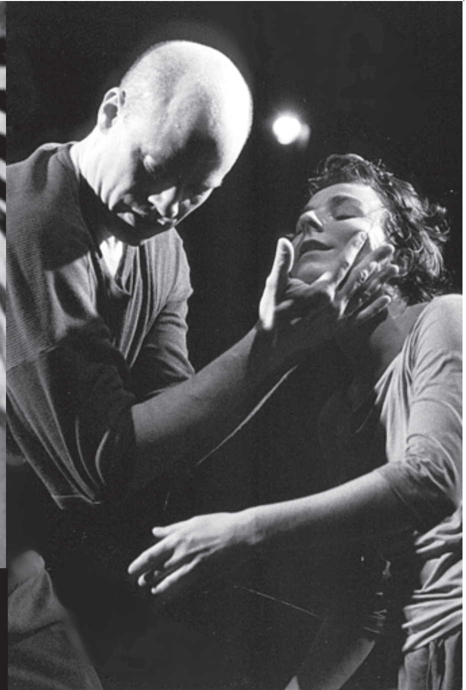
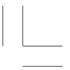
art and commUnity





Is art for museums and collectors, or does it belong in the streets? Could art help us turn away from mass–produced violence and ugliness, and give each of us ways to forge an imaginative and beautiful future?

turning the sword

Milenko Matanovic

From the time I worked as an experimental artist in the late 1960s and early 1970s in my native Slovenia, I have been passionate about the idea of pushing art out of studios, galleries, and museums and into the street, the workplace, the market square.

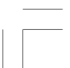
Upon my arrival in the United States, I instantly fell in love with this country's respect for individual initiative and entrepreneurial spirit, its strong democratic foundations, and tolerance of differences. At the same time, I was appalled by the nonchalant and wasteful lifestyle, and was—and am still— taken aback to see cities and neighborhoods designed for cars, not people.

I see a suspicious relationship between swelling homes and shrinking community. We seem satisfied to have beauty in certain places and absent in our lives at large. We place art in museums, galleries, and the homes of the wealthy in much the same way we keep animals in zoos. The uglier human creations become, the more we repent by erecting another museum or monument. We've created a culture that is undeniably successful in establishing and promoting consumer society, but in so doing we have frayed the social and environmental fabric. Museums and monuments might distract us from the damage but they will never mend it.

My good friend and artist James Hubbell has pointed out that artists are like raw nerves; they deal with collective concerns with more intensity. Ideally they respond to world issues not by simply mirroring or magnifying the challenges, but by demonstrating solutions. What begins with an exasperating speck of dust can end up with a beautiful pearl. Artists are willing to do the hard work of turning ugliness and fragmentation into beauty and meaning. Hopefully they've learned a thing or two about how this process works, and their skills have relevance outside the narrow artistic world.

Images of the future are essential to the health of all cultures, for a society's vitality is lost once its capacity to imagine is gone. The work of artists, then, represents culture's way of imagining beyond its linear and predictable patterns

Clockwise from upper left: Carl Cook, Pomegranate Center, Thomas Haentzschel, The Sun Newspaper, Pomegranate Center, Scott Chernis. Center: K. Ruby



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Beginning with silence: Imagine hearing a symphony in your mind: full orchestral score, a large choir, and majestic Mahler-like sustained progressions. Now imagine that all you have to play it on is a banjo. Plunkety-plunk-plunk. The gap between what you imagine and what you actually produce is vast. You then have a choice. You can toss the banjo furiously out the window or you can trust that something true and essential of the big music can still live in the tiny sound. Artists choose the second path. They believe that small things done well have power. As Lewis Hyde so wonderfully described in his book *The Gift*, artists know that on the deepest level the work does not originate with the self, rather it is an offering, a blessing. Their work begins with silence, with fierce listening for subtleties that come from within and without to seed moments powerful enough to sustain the entire length of the project. Sometimes the work lasts minutes, often years, and sometimes a lifetime.

Seeing with fresh eyes: To become receptive to these seed moments, artists labor to free themselves from the consensus reality that daily routine requires. The artist endeavors to perceive directly, without filters or notions. Henri Matisse wrote, "To see is itself a creative operation. Everything that we see in our daily lives is more or less distorted by acquired habits ... and ready-made images which are to the eye what prejudice is to the mind." It takes courage to discern one's own thoughts. But in the process the artist becomes more aware of the assumptions and myths that govern the world and so gains the ability to discard the obsolete, empower the appropriate, and create the new.

Liberating the familiar: In recycling, we take an old, discarded object with no apparent value and re-identify it by placing it in a new context. An artist is trained to look at objects from many angles and, like a child at play, use those objects for numerous unorthodox purposes. In a culture where things are reduced to one-dimensional uses—a bridge is just a bridge, a bus stop is merely a bus stop—this playful creativity is a magical rejuvenation. A bridge can become a beautiful passage, and a bus stop a friendly oasis. Just as a gardener uses the compost of one season to stimulate the growth of the next, the artist takes parts of the old disintegrating world and uses them as fertilizer for cultural change. Out of the chaos of the old, new order is created.

Playing with perspectives: Sometimes the artist must sit for a while on the new inspiration like a hen hatching an egg. Then, when the timing is just right, she takes out her tools, be they brushes, chisels, computer or banjo, and begins to rough out what until then existed only in the mind. Birthing a symphony on four strings can be frustrating, or funny, or delightfully revelatory, depending on the attitude. Without playfulness and flexibility, without humor and self-forgiveness, the artist fights an uphill battle trying to shape outer reality into a replica of the inner one. So the Zen potter commits an intentional flaw out of deference to the perfection achieved only in Buddha nature. Quilters include a square that deviates from the design. Some crafting traditions suggest that deliberate flaws allow spirits living in the materials to escape from the object—or get in. It's not hard to see that they also help contemporary artists keep a healthy perspective on their own limitations.

Crafting the form: To honor the muse, artists will try to infuse their message through all the parts of the work. True art does not carry the message, it *is* the message. When the work is crafted well, the memo becomes transparent. The artist feels an ever-present imperative to choose exactly the right word for the poem, the right stone for the wall, the right structure for the land. He can't help but consider the smallest details, attentively harmonizing inspiration with available materials. These materials are not just the means to an end. They possess qualities the artist must perceive to create work with resonance and beauty. In this sense, crafting is always a co-creative process. The artist partakes of abundant existent creations, whether natural, such as wood or stone or a piece of land, manufactured, such as words or instrument sounds, or with colleagues who have their own unique sensibilities and talents. The artist will take all these ingredients and synthesize something new.

Honoring boundaries: Materials, not to mention collaborators, have limitations that can irritate instead of inspire. The successful artist learns to see limitations as assets, as nothing less than the nature of the resource. Once free of precious agendas, she can see that materials carry their own intent, their own direction. It is wise to dance rather than wrestle with it. In a Chinese Taoist tale, a master woodworker walks in the forests looking for just the right tree for his project. He calls out, "What do I have for you, and what do you have for me?" Too often we leave the first part of that equation out and simply exploit materials for our own purpose. Beauty and power emerge from reverent mutuality between artist and materials.

Becoming: The artist knows that the primary level of communication is with his or her own being and that art is only an extension of "beingness" into form. The first and greatest task, then, is to "art" oneself.

Turning the sword: Through the skills of more direct, less distorted perception, the artist can become aware of the assumptions and guiding myths that govern the world. If these myths have outgrown their

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purpose—as indeed many of our current ones have—then it behooves the artist to take on the job of discarding the obsolete, empowering the appropriate, and creating the new. Guided by their "owned" truths, they can formulate these myths in their art works and disseminate them to their community.

Fred Polak, a Dutch futurist st,ated that the rise and fall of images of the future precedes or accompanies the rise and fall of cultures. Images of the future generated through the power of imagination are essential to the health of all cultures, for a society's vitality is lost once its capacity to imagine is gone. The work of artists, then, represents culture's way of imagining beyond its linear and predicable patterns. Artists can be a culture's scouts, forging paths into the future and their works, at their best, are prophetic.

Some years ago I had a dream in which I saw a person about to be beheaded by a descending sword. Just before the sword reached the neck, the blade turned slowly to its flat side and descended onto the shoulders as in the ceremony of knighting. What had begun as an execution turned into an initiation. This dream suggested to me that the issues that most confront us can become—if we are willing to learn—passages into a more humane and compassionate society. I believe that art is one of the forces that can help in the turning of the sword.

Presenting the work: When the work is fully realized, the artist presents it as a gift to others. It began as a gift so it only makes sense to return the favor. In our culture, art is mostly seen as a commodity. But just as the sale of one's work is necessary for the livelihood of the worker, so a spiritual giving of the product of work is necessary for growth and creativity. In so doing the artist acknowledges that the created thing acquires a new layer of meaning as it is received by others. This completes the cycle by enriching the community and clearing space within the artist for a new beginning. In the end, there should be three results: competled artwork, a wiser person who grew within the creative process, and an enhanced community gifted with a new way of seeing, hearing, or thinking.

The process described thus far is, of course, idealized. Reality hardly ever works this way. Reality is a banjo. Artists try things out, fail, pick themselves up, work fiercely, and in the end, the work may still fall short. There are no guarantees. Still, the idiosyncratic gifts of the artist, with all their uncertainties, may be exactly what we need to create a more humane, sustainable, and beautiful world.

Milenko Matanovic, founding director of Pomegranate Center, has led the creation of 14 community gathering places, including collaborations with artist James Hubbell on friendship parks in Russia, China, and the US. Contact him at milenko@pomegranate.org or 425/557-6412. Portions of this article were adapted from *LightWorks* (Lorian Press).

Children's Gateway

Issaquah, Washington, 1998

Built adjacent to a public elementary school, this park consists of an outdoor classroom constructed of cedar, and sculptural gateway made of reused brick, local river-rock and iron. The gateway allows children living in neighborhood apartments to use the playground after school hours. The project was built with 1200 volunteer hours, and materials and donations from local businesses and individuals.

photos courtesy of Pomegranate Center

Kelkari Amphitheater

Issaquah, Washington, 2000

This 80-seat amenity was built from local river rock at the heart of a condominium complex, adjacent to the community center. The amphitheater is designed for intimate performances, weddings, and other social events.

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photos by Scot McElvany

Sonja Kuftinec

bridging balkan rapids

Of all the things a war-ravaged country needs, theater isn't high on many lists. But in a Bosnian town, theater is re-forging links, re-membering a dismembered community, and helping youth play again

Top: Teens rehearsing "We've lost the war," part of the 20th annual International Youth Theater Festival in Mostar. Top right: Bojana Pavic working on a theater exercise. Right: Hajdi Hudic performing in Podrum *(Basement)*

Uli Loshot

In the Bosnian city of Mostar, the Stari Most (old bridge), a 500-year-old stone structure arching over the Neretva River, once united the older, Muslim east side and the newer, more ethnically mixed western areas of the city, and the people who inhabited both. This union ended 10 years ago. After fighting together against the Bosnian Serb army in 1992, the Croatian Defense Council turned against Bosnian Muslims, beginning a campaign to divide the city through eviction, deportation, and murder that was completed in late 1993 with the destruction of the Stari Most.

As the bridge collapsed, so too did marriages, friendships, and families. Teenagers in particular suffered difficult choices, sometimes having to move in with one parent or another, fight on the front line against former friends, and witness death. In this desperately intimate war, violent divisions between neighbors were suddenly erected upon distorted history. These divisions had particular personal resonance for me. I had grown up visiting my father's family in Croatia, but had not returned to the country since 1986 because of the

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increasing conflict in the region. I stepped back into the Balkans in 1995, back into my grandparents' musty apartment in Croatia, forging a link to my past through a dismembered present.

Standing in the decaying backyard of my recently deceased grandfather's home, amongst the rotting plum and cherry trees, so much seemed suddenly past in the suddenly former Yugoslavia. As I walked across the new make-shift wooden bridge swaying high over the rushing Neretva River, the ruins created by a multi-fronted war seemed beyond reconstruction. Yet I returned again and again, drawn by a possibility and a question: could theater help to re-member the Balkans? The country had been so rapidly dismembered, its people cut off from each other and from the recollection of a more unified past. Could performance suture this past, unsupress history, even stitch together people's memories?

The idea seemed ludicrous to my father, who—though he had lived in the United States since 1960—maintained a bluff authority about what Balkan people did and did not need. Topping the list of Things Balkan Youth Clearly Did Not Need was theater. But I had a different view. I had just completed a residency in Watts, Los Angeles, with the community-based Cornerstone Theater, a company dedicated to the art of bridge building. I had seen the ludicrous succeed in a city riven by economic divisions, where African-American and Latino residents overcame their suspicions of each other to create theater together.

Theater of Reconciliation

As in Watts, theater in Bosnia offered a site of reconciliation and bridge building, a place to overcome fears of what had so recently been named "the other side." In 1995 Cornerstone's choreographer Sabrina Peck and I developed a collaborative piece with Bosnian and Croatian youth in a refugee camp. I grew obsessed with the Balkans, attending lectures, joining Students Against Genocide, and roaming the web for resources or information about theater in the region. That's how I met Scot McElvany, who became my artistic partner.

McElvany had arrived in Mostar as a volunteer youth worker in 1996, only a few years after the city's disastrous division. Over the course of the year, he developed a series of theater projects, many supported by the youth center where he worked, aptly named Mladi Most (Youth Bridge). The center tried to bridge differences among youth of various religious affiliations within the city. Mladi Most functioned as a safe house for youth who had been friends until the war had suddenly placed them on opposite sides of a violent divide. That summer of 1996, Mladi Most collaborated with a German youth organization to create a theater camp outside of the city, designed to provide further opportunities for Mostarians to intermingle in a safe space and to expose German teens to the reality of the Balkan war.

Unlike the Mostarians, the German youth had paid to attend the camp. Most had heard of the war only through newspapers and television, and a rift between the groups emerged. (Both sides complained that the other was completely incapable of making decent coffee.) Some of the Mostarian participants were initially skeptical about the theater project, and stood with arms crossed as they watched an early performance, developed mostly with the German youth in the camp.

Then McElvany initiated a second performance with visiting UN peacekeeping soldiers on the theme of waiting. The refugee camps and the peacekeeping forces had this in common: both spent most of their time in lengthy and tedious waiting. Waiting for the war to end. Waiting to return home. As the work delved into complex issues of the past several years, the skeptical Mostarians' arms began to uncross; then a few Mostar teens approached McElvany about creating a project of their own. One of the first was Supa, a Bosnian Serb who had wanted nothing to do with theater-making.

"We like what you're doing, and we want to show we're involved too," he said, after watching the performance. "We want you to help us make something of our experiences in the war."

It was McElvany's turn for skepticism. Having worked for several months at Mladi Most, watching teens surfeit on pirated Sylvester Stallone movies, he worried about creating a testosterone-fueled action theater that ignored the complex impacts of the war. Typically, youth at the center would either avoid memories of the war or transform moments of violence into scenarios featuring themselves as braggart heroes. So McElvany proceeded cautiously, with exercises that approached the war through daily experience rather than moments of intense threat.

> "One of my friends took out a guitar and started to play, and we sang so loud that we did not hear the noise, grenades, screams."

McElvany invited participants to think of questions they had asked themselves during the war. Participants combined the questions with an exercise in which they used water to mime simple daily activities.

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Supa crouched down over the water bowl and slapped water to his face in the gesture of smoking. He looked up, paused, and asked, "Why did I lose my brother . . . do you know why?" No one moved for several moments. Then Ersan, a Bosnian Croat now living on the west side of Mostar, rose, threw water in the air as a soccer ball, kicking it angrily, and bellowed, "Why do I live here?" A charged stillness reigned as Ersan sat down and murmured that he couldn't continue. Here suddenly the teens were asking explosive questions, closing in on the pain and rage of the war.

McElvany stopped the workshop. In a reversal of the common rhetoric of community–based theater, the participants had to empower the facilitator. Ersan looked to Supa, the acknowledged leader of the group. With a nod from Supa, and reflection amongst themselves, the youth decided they wanted to continue. "This is the only way we're going to do this together," insisted Supa.

In the Basement

Over the course of several days, the group developed their performance. Called Podrum (Basement), the piece depicted the dual senses of confinement and comfort offered by the basements to which Mostarians retreated during the shelling of their city. In a final scene, Hajdi, a Bosnian Muslim living on the city's west side, told of her time in the basement:

"During the shelling of the town, we had been sitting in the basement and we hadn't seen a single spot of light in the dark of the war. We heard only screams, grenades, and crying. One of my friends took out a guitar and started to play, and we sang so loud that we did not hear the noise, grenades, screams." She then turned to the rest of the actors, huddled together in a circle, and together they sang a song popular during the war, *Volim Te* (I Love You), just as the frightened teenagers had done in that crowded basement.

After the group performed the piece, the German youth stood in stunned silence, feeling for the first time something of the Mostarians' experience of the war. Then Supa gathered the spectators and participants together for a group "howl" in peace. Something had broken through. The Germans and Mostarians stayed up late into the evening, sharing songs and talking far into the evening, even drinking each other's coffee.

The Podrum cast's next challenge arrived quickly, in the form of an invitation to perform the piece back in Mostar at an international youth theater festival. Within the camp, far away from Mostar, Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim), Serb, and Croatian youth could work together as Mostarians. But the city itself had no neutral space. The festival would take place on Mostar's east, "Muslim" side. The non-Muslims in the group, who rarely crossed into this side of the city, were afraid to traverse the bridge from the West. The group pondered together their fears. Many had been beaten up or verbally abused for crossing sides. After the war, when a group of Muslims marched to a west-side graveyard in a parade of mourning, Croatian soldiers shot marchers in the back and riots broke out in the city. Even venturing next door could be dangerous; one Mladi Most worker, a Muslim woman, was attacked and dragged by the hair when she entered her neighbor's yard to retrieve a soccer ball. But Ersan announced that he would perform, and most of the others followed.

The group returned to Mostar to present Podrum in the broken remains of the bombed-out Hotel Ruza. Once an opulent tourist destination, its shell stood as a reminder of the city's devastation. Podrum played inside this broken shell, subverting its symbolism of decay and fragmentation, turning it instead into a site of unity. For the first time in four years, a group from both east and west Mostar performed together publicly.

What did it mean for these traumatized youth to create these performances together? For Arijana, it was a chance to turn away from fear. But the strongest testimonial came from Mesha Begic, a self-described Bosnian Muslim atheist who performed with us in several shows and who risked his life to participate in a workshop with us in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia. After participating in workshops throughout Bosnia, Mesha reflected, "You wanted us to improvise and be free. I didn't get it until the very end. I was too much in the borders. You wanted us to play with the people around us. I guess that's theatre."

Back in Mostar, which remains divided despite plans to rebuild the Stari Most, youth continue to reconstruct their personal relationships and to perform together. Towards the end of one play, the Bosnian Croat and Bosniak performers turned to the audience to repeat a line introduced earlier in the play. "It's true that the city is being reconstructed. But bridges, buildings, and parks never made a city. What made it was the people living in it." Ludicrous though the task may initially have seemed, the art of bridge building in Mostar succeeded in part because of its *ludic* nature, its playfulness. It is an art that continues to help re-member Bosnia.

Sonja Kuftinec, an assistant professor of theater at the University of Minnesota, also works as a professional director and conflict resolution facilitator with youth from the Middle East and Balkans. A version of this article appears in *Performing Democracy,* edited by Tobin Nelhaus and Susan Haedicke.

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dancing in praise of ...

Linda Frye Burnham

photos by Linda Frye Burnham

Everybody say "hallelujah!" A dance company brings the community onto the stage. Together, reverends, rabbis, gospel choirs, same-sex couples, young and old, black and white create a hymn of praise

When the news broke Tuesday morning, September 11, 2001, I was in a Liz Lerman Dance Exchange workshop at Detroit's Hannan House senior center. In spite of the crisis, in an upper room at the center, four dancers and a half-dozen older African-American women were deeply engaged in a sweet and personal exchange of stories and movement that expressed their ideas about Paradise.

As we went around the circle, people conjured up sharply remembered images: peace of mind, a sunny window, a kiss in the morning, good work. Each story came with gestures. Lerman gathered the gestures and five minutes later we had a dance: thumbs came up and traveled in a circle, arms rose, fingers touched cheeks. Some of these women and these gestures were to appear in a performance four weeks later in Ann Arbor called "Hallelujah: In Praise of Paradise Lost and Found."

Every half-hour, an emissary from downstairs arrived to update us on the news: the crash into the Pentagon, the collapse of the twin towers. With the group's permission, Lerman held our focus on the project at hand. The women told stories about being forced in the 1960s to move from Paradise Valley, a vibrant African-American Detroit district obliterated by a new highway. Stories were told about the lively Black Bottom neighborhood and its 24-hour-a-day party: Billy Eckstine and Sara Vaughn, Hastings Street and Adams Street, the Joe Louis Chicken Shack and the 606 Barn. They talked about growing up black in Detroit in the 1940s, about being "raised on discrimination," where "after the war we couldn't get jobs, they took the light-skinned first, and you just did the best you could."

Finally, one of the women looked directly at Lerman and said, "We wouldn't share these stories with just anybody, you know. Not unless we feel comfortable. We trust these dance people." All the people hugged and we went downstairs and out into a new world of trouble. But for a little while, Liz Lerman had us dancing in Paradise.

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That is one of my sweetest memories from an odyssey that has so far taken me from Los Angeles to Burlington, Vermont, to the Twin Cities of Minnesota to southern Michigan. I had been following the Dance Exchange's three-year *Hallelujah* project all over America so I could write something comprehensive about this remarkable arts initiative. I have been lucky enough to sit in on dozens of workshops with all kinds of people and watch them make art together about what they cherish in common. Then I have seen them take the stage, 100 of them in each performance, and give audiences the opportunity to see everyday people celebrate their lives in art.

In 1998, the Liz Lerman Dance Exchange began the *Hallelujah* initiative, creating new performance works with 15 communities all across the US. The initiative is intended to "celebrate edge-of-the-millennium America in all of its vividness, beauty, strength and quirkiness."

Every piece offers up a feast of imagery and movement. The Burlington performance featured a trio of dancing dogs, a brace of same-sex couples lovingly reciting the Song of Solomon to each other, and a group of older women who have been playing cards together every Monday night for 40 years. The Los Angeles piece included the "Rabbis and Reverends," faith leaders from congregations all over the city dancing and telling stories.

In Minneapolis, the performance took place on Father's Day in the city's Sculpture Garden, with 80 citizens of the Twin Cities, aged 8-80, performing dances they had created in and about the massive modern art works. In Michigan, a local gospel choir and a liturgical dance team smoked the stage with their ebullient style.

Early in the initiative, Liz Lerman and the company realized they wanted the projects to celebrate these communities, not point out their shortcomings and problems. "After projects in which we examined some of the painful issues in our shared histories," says choreographer Lerman, "we became aware that people are ready to celebrate." But all is not sunshine and roses. What the Dance Exchange has discovered is that celebration inevitably involves a commemoration of hard times endured and requires the telling of tales of suffering, disaster, and injustice.

University of Michigan dance students help create a Hallelujah performance

In Praise of ...

In each community, the Dance Exchange has been meeting with presenters and community organizations to gather people from all walks of life. Together, they produce a series of evening-length performances that brings the professional dance company onstage with local people, some of whom have never danced before. Each project generates an array of new dance works called "In Praise of ...," intended to reflect the community's issues, ideas and aspirations. Each event also features a sampling of work from previous *Hallelujahs, thread*ing all the projects together, and showcases the Dance Exchange as professional artists in a piece from their own repertoire.

Each of these community projects calls for years of expert organizing, teaching, workshop leadership, co-creation, staging, and intense interaction among people and groups of all kinds. Countless workshops, dinners, coffees, conversations, soul-searches, and late-night bull sessions produce a focus for each new *Hallelujah*. The trick, say Lerman and the company members, is to "keep the funnel open" as long as possible, so that many people, issues, and ideas can be included. For instance, the Vermont project, "In Praise of Harmony in the Midst of Change," required the Dance Exchange to make periodic visits over four years, getting acquainted with the people of Burlington, St. Albans, Montpelier, and Vergennes, gaining their trust and calling forth their voices, hopes, and dreams—and their willingness to dance in public.

The hallmark of this work is the appearance on stage of so many first-time performers. Liz Lerman has always felt "dance is for everybody," and is well known for creating and nurturing a dance company comprising people of all ages and physical ability. She does not see this precept as an excuse for lax performance standards, but rather as an opportunity for re-imagining what excellence is. Turn the dance hierarchy on its side, she says, and "the cutting edge is enormous. There is this extraordinary spectrum of artistic activity that we can live along." That means Lerman has developed a method for inclusion that can put any number of first-time performers on the stage with the company, ask the best of everyone, and craft a work of balance and beauty — all the more beautiful for its incorporation of many body types, energy levels, physical capabilities, emotional sensibilities, life stories, and viewpoints.

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Dance Exchange performs on steps of Walker Art Center in Minneapolis

At the end of each *Hallelujah* residency, the participants gather for a farewell party, and every time their joy is palpable. The dancers and the local performers wind up in tears in each other's arms, celebrating the completion of something difficult, unique, and satisfying. Even after the company leaves town, *Hallelujah* is still doing its work. There is always something interesting left behind.

The Los Angeles piece built a lasting bridge between religious communities and sparked a close friendship between Reverend Noriaki Ito of Higashi Hongwanji Temple in Little Tokyo and Rabbi Ed Feinstein of Valley Beth Shalom Temple in the San Fernando Valley.

In Tucson, Daniel Preston, medicine man of the Tohono O'odham nation, claims that the prayerful force of the performance brought rain to the desert after a three-month drought. In Minneapolis, part of *Hallelujah* had a new life when some of the performers took their dance to the Parade of Arts, celebrating a new greenbelt stretching citywide from the Mississippi River to the Chain of Lakes. In Vermont, *Hallelujah* participants were inspired to regenerate a local art council. And at every site there are new partnerships among artists, social-service agencies, schools, churches, and art spaces.

Hallelujah finishes this summer with a bang—a finale at the University of Maryland to which all past participants are invited. Expected to attend are Folklorico dancers and a teen mariachi band from Arizona; the Border Collies that performed in Massachusetts; Taiko drummers and Navajo flutists accompanying the Buddhist obun dance circle from California; the card players from Vermont; Hmong teen dancers from Minnesota; the Gwen Wyatt Chorale from Los Angeles; and Rudy Hawkins' Choir from Detroit. These and other *Hallelujah* alumni will collaborate on a final performance piece. The multiweek event will also include a National Teen Dance Institute, workshops for people of all levels of dance experience, and videos of all 15 *Hallelujahs*.

This nationwide artwork is unique in its breadth and depth. Thousands of people created *Hallelujah's* enormous tapestry, and each person contributed an intensely personal moment — a story, a gesture, a tangible fragment of life. *Hallelujahs struc*ture proved both durable and flexible, strong and pliable enough to survive and embrace a national disaster like 9/11 and bring art directly into the lives of so many.

Linda Frye Burnham founded *High Performance* magazine and cofounded the 18th St. Arts Complex, Highways Performance Space, Art in the Public Interest and the Community Arts Network. She lives in Saxapahaw, North Carolina. For more about the "Hallelujah" project, see Linda Frye Burnham's, "Everybody Say Hallelujah," on the Community Arts Network, www.communityarts.net. Liz Lerman Dance Exchange is at www.danceexchange.org.

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going forward full circle

Connie Kim

Like indigenous peoples everywhere, the Suquamish of the Pacific Northwest were fast losing their culture. Years of anti-Indian laws, the forced removal of children to boarding schools, and an influx of outsiders, disease, and poverty had all taken their toll. But a canoe carving project may help restore an essential part of Suquamish culture

The Sun Newspaper / Jesse Beals

The sky was overcast on the Port Madison Reservation, home of the Suquamish people of Northwest Washington, as seven young men and their supervisor said their good-byes to a crowd of well-wishers and boarded a van stuffed with duffle bags. Their 180-mile drive would bring them to the Eslahan village in British Columbia, Canada, where they would learn the craft of canoe carving. "Here were the boys thinking they were leaving to have fun," said tribal member Barbara Lawrence, "but we knew they would be forever changed."

The Full Circle Canoe Project was started in October 2001 to restore the lost craft of hand carving sea-worthy canoes. For thousands of years, the Suquamish had depended on canoes for subsistence fishing, traveling, and trade. But for decades, from the late 1800s to the early 1900s, their children were forcibly removed to boarding schools, where they were prohibited from practicing their culture. Without contact with their elders during the critical winter months when traditions were normally taught to the young, much of the language, stories, and skills, such as canoe carving, were lost. Moreover, the tribe lost control of much of the reservation's waterfront land as wealthy people from Seattle began acquiring it for beach cabins. Later, when the Suquamish and other canoe tribes began exploring how they might bring back the canoe carving tradition, they realized much of the knowledge was lost. Throughout the inland saltwater cultures of the Pacific Northwest, canoe culture nearly disappeared.

Bringing back skills and ceremonies

Across the border in British Columbia, the Suquamish boys began the long process of bringing back the canoe tradition. Under the tutelage of master carver Ray Natrell, they would learn the skills and ceremonies, and bring them back to their people. Natrell, a fifth-generation carver from British Columbia's Squamish Nation, had kept the tradition alive in his family by carving the

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smaller racing canoes. Though Natrell is a skilled carver, he wasn't chosen for his technical skills alone. He was chosen because he knew the sacred teachings and rituals that accompany canoe carving, cultural traditions shared by the Squamish and Suquamish as descendents of the same Coast Salish family.

Under Natrell's guidance, the boys, aged 15 to 19, followed three months of rigorous training. Each morning by 7 a.m., they'd head to the outdoor carving area. If it was raining, they'd go home during their half-hour lunch break to change out of soaked long johns. The carving continued well into the evening. Instead of visiting home, they worked through the weekends to meet the three-month deadline their tribe had set. *Siam Ahoalts* (meaning honorable canoe) was taking shape. The boys were finishing something that their parents' generation had started in the 1980s.

Paddle to Seattle

In the early 1980s, Washington state was planning its 1989 centennial celebration. The festivities would recognize historic towns, landmark achievements, and people of interest—but hardly any proposals included the state's original inhabitants. It wasn't until a young Suquamish woman, Barbara Lawrence, asked, "What about the Indians?"—and wouldn't stop asking—that the state granted her a seat on the planning committee.

When Lawrence asked Washington tribes what they wanted to see come out of the centennial, all of the western tribes unanimously answered "cedar for canoes." The tribes were allowed to cut trees from protected forests with the National Guard on hand to aid delivery.

In the months that followed, however, only a handful of canoes were carved out of the cedar logs. Locating someone who still knew how to carve a canoe proved difficult. Tribes shared any remaining knowledge. Some exchanged carvers who, like Natrell, had continued to carve smaller vessels. The Suquamish also attempted to carve their own piece of cedar, but the skills had not existed on the reservation for about 80 years. They hired members from other tribes, but all lacked the skill to carve a larger seagoing vessel.

Though they weren't able to carve their own canoe, the Suquamish, as part of the centennial celebrations in 1989, hosted the Paddle to Seattle, the first traditional canoe journey in nearly a century. Tribes would have a chance to exhibit and use their newly carved canoes, paddling to the Port Madison reservation on the Kitsap Peninsula and then together to Golden Gardens Park in Seattle. The hosts, the Suquamish, paddled in a borrowed canoe.

Over 30 canoes participated in the paddle and numerous more tribes attended the celebrations. It was the

The carvers paddle their canoe to the Suquamish Tribal Center (far left) where tribal members and visitors celebrate their achievement

The Sun Newspaper / Jesse Beals

how to be part of a canoe journey—a guide for paddlers

When you join the Canoe Nation, you are learning the traditions, protocol, and disciplines that kept the ancient canoe travelers together.

This is a drug- and alcohol-free journey. The energy of the saltwater and the power of the canoe are greater than any man-made potions. This is an anger- and violence-free journey. Wash bad attitude overboard and let the sea clean us so we can enjoy traveling together. By pulling together, we develop respect and trust for ourselves and other people.

We journey in harmony with nature. We do not throw anything over the canoe gunnels. We pack out our garbage. We put out our fires. We bring only what we need, and we leave only footprints.

Sharing is the heart of the journey. Ask for what you want. Listen to what others need. Pay attention to the elders (both for what they have to teach and for what they need—a drink of water, a blanket, a good joke).

We are learning together so we need patience to work things out. If there is a problem, deal with it immediately and then move on. If there is an accomplishment, honor it and let people know who shares credit. Call "council" at one of the circles. Help us all know how to do this right. Take responsibility. If something isn't happening, make it happen.

Listen! Listen to each other. Listen to the Earth and water. Listen to yourself. Listen to dreams. Listen for the secret story that is being told. Listen!

Tom Heidlebaugh

Created by participating tribes and excerpted from Oceanedge Journal

Erik Alexander

Carving is not simply a matter of chopping away but is an act that balances the mental, spiritual, and physical being

first time in decades that neighboring tribes rode the waters together. "The paddle was an incredibly big deal," said Lawrence. "We were re-establishing something that was almost gone. It was breathtaking."

Canoe resurgence might have taken longer had it not been for a young Heiltsuk man, Frank Brown. He traveled over 600 miles by canoe from Bella Bella, British Columbia, to Suquamish to participate in the Paddle. At the celebrations, Brown stood up and challenged all of the attending canoe nations to paddle to his reservation in four years time, each tribe in its own hand-carved canoe. His challenge sparked the beginning of the long-distance canoe journeys that have occurred every year since the successful 1993 voyage to Bella Bella. The Suquamish have participated every year, and each year the journey becomes more popular. Each voyage crosses international borders, reuniting tribes whose culture once stretched unbroken along the coastal waterways of the Pacific Northwest.

Still, the Suquamish had yet to paddle in a canoe that they had carved. After the 2000 journey, a large swath of the community, from elders to youth, agreed that it was time to bring the knowledge of carving back to the people.

Historically, the canoe has been seen by outsiders as simply a means of transportation. But for the Coast Salish, carving is rich with history and culture.

The Full Circle participants began their apprenticeship long before they picked up an adze tool. At a cedar ceremony, Natrell broke fragrant cedar boughs off the log, showing the boys the ritual of cleansing the tree spiritually. The boys heard the stories of the family ties that link the Squamish and Suquamish nations. They learned the meaning behind the creation of the canoe: It is not the death of a 1,000-year-old cedar, but a transformation, a way of bringing something sacred back to life. As they picked up their adzes, Natrell explained that carving is not simply a matter of chopping away but is an act that balances the mental, spiritual, and physical being. The young people learned how to avoid wasting any part of the tree, using bark to make baskets and clothing, boughs for cleansing, and the remainder to make paddles, boxes, bowls, and spoons. They learned traditional songs in their native language.

"It's all interrelated," states Peg Deam, Suquamish's Cultural Development Specialist. "You can't learn one aspect [of canoe carving] without learning about the others"—cultural aspects such as traditional clothing, songs, language, regalia, and food.

The young men berthed *Siam Ah-oalts* at a celebration and feast on the Port Madison reservation in January 2002. Bennie Armstrong, the tribal chair, remembered the first unsuccessful carving attempt as he reflected on the success of the Full Circle Project. "This was a great accomplishment," he said. "It was more significant to [the older generation] than some of the youngsters who made it. It was the culmination of many years of effort."

Each of the boys agreed that the project changed their lives. "A lot of our youth are at-risk, and in a canoe, they aren't at risk," said Nic Armstrong, the boys' supervisor and co-carver. "They're pulling and learning songs and strengthening." Deam said the canoe has "affected the spirit of the Suquamish." The project took two years in the planning, two months in the carving, and $28,000 in funding, but the Suquamish finally have their hand-crafted canoe.

Pulling Ahead

The success of the Full Circle Canoe Project is just the beginning. The tribe is making plans for phase two of the project; the second half of the original cedar log awaits its transformation on the Port Madison Reservation. This time, the apprentices will serve as teachers, passing on what they have learned to other youth. Although no girls chose to participate in the first carving, the Suquamish are also making plans for a Suquamish ladies racing canoe team, encouraging girls and women to get out on the water and compete with other tribes.

And this summer, more than 120 tribal members will join other Coast Salish tribes as they leave the calm waters of the Puget Sound and head out to the Quinault Reservation, on the rugged Pacific coast. The Suquamish will paddle their own tribal canoe, accompanied by two fiberglass canoes and a private family canoe. Some will be paddling and others setting up camps and helping in preparations. And all along the way, they will be stopping to celebrate their cultural heritage with the other tribes that line the coast.

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Thomas Haentzschel

the time of your life

Rolling on the floor, flying through the air, and leaning on your partner—an experimental dance form offers insights into living leisurely

Martin Keogh

The heart is a leisurely muscle. It differs from all other muscles. How many push-ups can you make before the muscles in your arms and stomach get so tired that you have to stop? But your heart muscle goes on working for as long as you live. It does not get tired, because there is a phase of rest built into every single heartbeat. Our physical heart works leisurely.

And when we speak of the heart in a wider sense, the idea that life-giving leisure lies at the very center is implied. Never to lose sight of that central place of leisure in our life would keep us youthful. Seen in this light, leisure is not a privilege but a virtue. Leisure is not the privilege of a few who can afford to take time, but the virtue of all who are willing to give time to what takes time–to give as much time as a task rightly takes.

—Brother David Steindl-Rast

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I often start my classes by saying "There is no rush. There is nowhere to get to. Today, during this workshop, we have plenty of time." Then I often hear sighs exhaled through the room and watch shoulders drop a centimeter or two. We tend to brace against time, trying to pack so much into it, that simply hearing that there is enough for right now lets us begin to relax.

I've always been interested in time. I spent six formative years in Mexico and returned there as an adult to live for a three-year spell. Time in Mexico is different. It's slower, as if it moves in a big unhurried arc. In the United States it seems there is rarely enough time. People complain of too much to do, of being drawn thin and overwhelmed. As though in a high altitude, people gasp for time. In a land wealthy with paraphernalia and stimulation, we are time paupers.

I teach a dance form called Contact Improvisation. In this dance two or more people improvise together following a shifting point of physical contact. Sometimes the dance is slow and meditative and sometimes athletic and acrobatic to the point of getting airborne in leaps and lifts. Every person brings to the dance their particular history, limitations, and abilities. They bring their personal pieces of a movement puzzle. When one person fits their piece of the puzzle with someone else's, they discover a map of how they can move together.

The dance form grew out of an experiment with athletes in 1972 that developed into a radical new dance aesthetic. Being completely improvisational by nature, the form couldn't have a choreographer's name on it; every person who came to the dance was creating it anew. Though the pure form is rarely seen on stage, much of modern choreography has been influenced by its discoveries of what bodies can do when interacting dynamically with one another. Because this dance has no steps and is about how we relate to others, Contact can also be a startling mirror that reflects all our relationships, including our relationship to the passage of time.

Thomas Haentzschel

Elusive quiet

What seems like lifetimes ago, when I was in my 20s, I lived for several years at Zen centers and spent time in monasteries in the Far East. My life centered on a daily meditation practice and monthly retreats. I was attempting to quiet my chattering mind to inhabit the present moment more fully. But I found that my mind loves to move and is not fond of sitting still.

When I discovered Contact Improvisation I felt as if I had walked into a house and knew where the furniture was—I felt like I had come home. I resigned as director of the Empty Gate Zen Center in Berkeley, gave up my robes and bowls, and committed to a life of dance. I found it easier to become quiet while in motion than while trying to sit still.

Since then I have performed with many groups and companies and I teach on several continents each year. In my ongoing investigation of this improvisational form, I've dedicated classes to investigating our relationship to time. With games, sweat, and the unique physicality of the Contact form, I ask how we relate to having only a finite amount of time. What does it mean to have "enough" time? I want to see if we can feel time passing kinesthetically rather than conceptually. I want to see if time will seem to slow down when we dilate our attention to notice the details of each moment.

My research into what helps quiet a busy mind led me to simple meditations grounded in the body. I often begin workshops with a finger-holding meditation: Wrap one hand around the thumb of the other hand. Letting the hands rest in the lap, feel for the pulse in the thumb. When you find the pulse, count backwards from ten to one and then listen to a few more beats. Then change to the other thumb. Going back and forth, do every finger down to the pinkies. I have found that this awareness of an interior rhythm allows something at the core to settle and the mind begin to quiet.

Most people see time as moving in a direction. In front is the future; behind is the past. This view of time makes our movement linear and symmetrical. In class I suggest that time comes at us from every direction, from the entire sphere around us, and disappears into the past inside us. We are receptacles of time, we ingest time.

We use this image to meditate on the threshold where time crosses over from the future—from the out-

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side, to the past on the inside. We 'sit' at the cusp of time. This change in our view of time from linear to spherical changes our perception of time from visual to kinesthetic. From this awareness—feeling time in motion—we begin to move our bodies. We let the velocity of time move us. We fill our sails with time, looking for the place where movement is effortless.

If you yell into a canyon, you'll find that each gorge has its own pitch at which an echo comes back the clearest. In the same way, each person has a rhythm in which they can move with lucidity and clarity. They do not *will* the movement along, but *allow* the velocity to move them. Finding that rhythm lets us move easily for a long time.

Working with time in Contact has led me into a fascination with waiting. The people who seem to bring the broadest palette of colors to the Contact dance bring a quiet thread at their core, a stillness. There is a sense that amidst the velocity and action, amidst the hurricane of activity, there is a quiet eye. There is a place in these dancers that is waiting.

The dictionary says that to wait is: *to be available or in readiness, to look forward eagerly, to stay or rest in expectation, to attend upon or escort, esp. as a sign of respect, to soar over ground until prey appears. Etymology: Old high German* wachton*: to be wide awake.*

Awakening to choice

This ability to be ready, to soar, to be wide awake, is what I cultivate in dance. An exercise I learned from the Vipassana meditation teacher Jack Kornfield helps me and my students learn about waiting: Take a raisin and keep it in your hand. Feel the weight of it. With a finger, feel the texture and density of the skin and pulp. Put it to your nose and become aware of the topography of the raisin's scent. Look into the valleys and peaks, the highlights and dark crevasses. Then put it in your mouth, close your eyes, and take a couple of minutes to get the full experience of eating a single raisin. Notice the trajectory of the flavor as it bursts forth, the flood of saliva, and how the body's chemistry changes the flavor. Notice the aftertaste and the echo of the aftertaste.

I use this awareness exercise to open up the body and faculties for Contact. As the senses awaken and open, the joints lubricate, creating a willingness to stay engaged in sensation as we begin to move.

The awareness that continues into the raisin's aftertaste teaches us about waiting. When I dance with someone who is skilled at waiting, I notice that while in motion they tend to broadcast where they have just been. While involved in all the possibilities of where this moment might go, they are still tasting what was.

Thomas Haentzschel

Dancers "sit at the cusp of time." Facing page: Rick Nodine rolls Martin Keogh's back. Above: Keogh and Sabine Fabie. Left: Keogh and Andrea Keiz

Imagine that you are dancing with a partner, and you are both on your feet and in physical contact. Your partner begins to fold to the floor, softly creasing at the ankles, knees, and pelvis. But as he folds down, he leaves a hand up at your chest level. At this point he might continue to the floor or, by centering in the hand he left behind, spiral back up to standing. As his partner, you have a choice of dropping toward the floor with him or staying up with the hand at your chest. By leaving something behind, his movement opens up your choices as well as his. Instead of stopping at the end of a gesture, we let each moment of the dance be the seed of the next moment. We calm our willfulness and allow each instant to follow through into the next.

If you watch someone dancing this way or simply moving through life like this, you see a compelling poise, a freedom of choice, and a range of dynamics. She seems to have all the time in the world.

And if you move like this yourself, you feel less constrained and more spontaneous. Because of the multiple possibilities that arise in each moment, there are fewer opportunities for self-criticism. You don't think, "Oh, I missed that one" so often, because there are many more than *one* possibility to choose from.

In each moment you relax in a profusion of options. In that generosity of possibility, the cusp of the present gets wider. Each moment becomes the apex, the peak, and in each moment you can choose to go down or up any face of the mountain.

Martin Keogh performs and teaches regularly in North and South America and in Europe. He can be reached at MartinKeo@aol.com. For a longer version of this article and for more information about Contact Improvisation, see *Contact Quarterly*, Summer/Fall 2002.

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art to the people

Creating murals and art spaces. Performing dance and theater. Celebrating the natural world. These stories tell of ordinary people who are finding their voices, restoring communities, and transforming lives

"don't throw me away" Carolyn McConnell

Asked by muralist Xavier Cortada to write what he wanted printed on the back of his prison jumpsuit, one boy wrote, "Don't throw me away." But the criminal justice system has done just that, sending him and thousands of other juveniles straight into adult prison.

In adult prisons, juveniles are much more likely to be raped, beaten, or attacked with weapons, and much more likely to commit suicide. Studies have also shown that juveniles sent to adult prisons are more likely to commit crimes once released.

One day when Cortada was visiting the county jail to work with teens, a teenager jailed for a first-time drug offense hanged himself with his bedsheet. That day Cortada went home, and in a tearful rage, began painting the central panel of Convictim, his latest mural.

Cortada, a Cuban-born Miami artist and lawyer, has been working on collaborative art with kids locked in Florida's adult prisons. Florida leads the nation in the number of teens sent to adult jails. Across the nation, as many as 3500 juveniles are sent to adult jails each day.

Cortada has worked on many community art projects, including a murals project for public housing and a collaborative mural with teens from Miami's Little Havana.

Cortada was drawn into using art for social change after working with children in apartheid-era Soweto, South Africa. He has painted murals about AIDS, poverty, racism, domestic violence, and other social ills. His mural "Convictim" was created with the participation of teenagers incarcerated at Turner Guilford Knight Corrections Facility. After an exhibit at Miami's Casa Grande Cultural Center that includes photographs of jailed teens, it will be displayed in the Miami-Dade County Public Defender's Office.

For more information on Xavier Cortada's work, visit his website at www.cortada.com.

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community film Connie Kim

New video technology is making it possible for a new generation of filmmakers to be part of a medium that had once been the exclusive territory of big studios and starving independent artists. One community to celebrate the creativity and quirkiness of the local crop of talent is Bainbridge Island, a small island community located across the Puget Sound from Seattle (and home of *YES!* magazine).

Celluloid Bainbridge's fourth annual festival included 25 films that were either shot on Bainbridge Island or filmed by one of its denizens.

Community film festivals are unlike ordinary movie-viewing experiences. For one, people talk a lot more during the screenings, observes Kathleen Thorne, program director of the Bainbridge Island Arts and Humanities Council, which spearheaded Celluloid. And a community film festival highlights what is unique about a community. She says, "You get these Bainbridge moments"—moments that help a community develop a shared sense of identity.

The event was not difficult to bring together, Thorne says. Local businesses and individuals donated time, space, and anything else that was needed. The cost of the auditorium, projector, word-of-mouth advertising, volunteer screening committee, and technical support all amounted to less than $600.

Filmmakers, ranging from young students with 10-minute camcorder clips to professional Hollywood filmakers (there are a few bigwigs on the island) with feature-length 35-millimeter films, donated their submissions.

Film festivals like Celluloid, says Thorne, "are a reminder that no matter how many distributors, agents, or other film festivals turn down your no-budget, guerrilla-crew-filmed, heart-felt masterpiece, your hometown fans will want to see it."

restitution Carolyn McConnell

Harvey Green was executed in North Carolina in 1999. But his artwork lives and is helping to make restitution for his and other death row inmates' crimes. Restitution, Inc. sells the artwork of inmates like Green and distributes the proceeds to surviving victims and charitable organizations such as Doctors Without Borders and the Shriners' Burns Hospitals of Galveston, Texas. Green's *Mother and Child* is shown above.

The aim is not only to help inmates make restitution, but to help them to heal themselves, says Restitution's executive director, Betsy Wolfendon. Restitution's website, www.restitutioninc.org, also contains apologies by the inmates for their crimes and statements of forgiveness from victims.

Photo credits, from left to right: Tim Walker, Lea Nickless Verrecchia, Miami Herald, Restitution, Inc., Lace Thornberg, Steve Stolee

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theater of liberation **Pam Chang**

Theater of the Oppressed, Theater for Social Change, Theater of Liberation, and Theater for Living are all names for dramatic techniques that draw ordinary people to express, explore, and find solutions to the social problems central to their lives. Originally developed by theater artist, author, teacher, and activist Augusto Boal, working with Brazilian workers and peasants, Theater of the Oppressed is now performed worldwide by workshop audiences ("spect–actors") for problem solving, community building, therapy, conflict resolution, social and political activism, and even to incorporate citizen feedback in legislation.

Methods include: games in which power dynamics are safely explored; exercises where players form tableaux representing their stories, struggles, feelings, ideas, and dreams; and stop-action dramas in which spect-actors are inserted to try out an alternative action in a basic story line. The techniques require players to critically analyze scenes and creatively embody responses.

In the above picture, teenagers portray their experiences as refugees within their own country in an April 1998 workshop in Azerbaijan. Of a group of shy adult Azeri women, facilitator Marc Weinblatt writes: "Little by little, they gave themselves permission to be loud, to be different, to let themselves be heard. . . Images appeared: guns pointing, grieving over dead relatives, covering eyes, waiting in bread lines, praying to Allah, arms raised in solidarity. ... Everyone had the same story. It was all very simple, very clear, and very difficult."

For more information, contact the Mandala Center, 1221 49th St., Port Townsend, WA 98368, 360/344-3435, www.mandalaforchange.com.

art + community **Kelly Quirke**

CELLspace is an organic hub for melding art and community in San Francisco's Mission district. Located in a 10,000-square-foot warehouse, CELLspace is a shared work space for a wide range of artistic disciplines. The shared space allows artists to swap equipment, tools, and ideas.

Designed to operate like a cell in nature, everyone is welcome to participate, not only in the artistic and community outreach operations, but in the governance of the group as well. The Collectively Explorative Learning Labs offer classes and workshops, and make space available for community activities and individual projects.

"Imagine a community coming together for the hands-on creation of a center for art and local activities," says Jonathan Youtt, one of those who founded CELLspace in 1996. "Their creativity, plus techniques learned of group process and decision-making, could then be applied to revived community involvement, spawning things like town hall meetings and local forums for community engagement."

For more information, and to learn about their planned "How to Create Community Arts Space" handbook, go to www.cellspace.org.

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youth speaks

Kelly Quirke

In 1996 James Kass was discouraged by the lack of diversity in the graduate creative writing program at San Francisco State University. He decided to offer free creative writing workshops to teens in San Francisco high schools. From this endeavor, Youth Speaks was born.

With the motto "Because the next generation can speak for itself," Youth Speaks inspires teens to develop their own voice and discover paths to creative self-expression. Incorporating collaborative workshops, educational mentoring, and cooperative learning with their innovative Teen Poetry Slams, Youth Speaks has helped thousands of mostly urban youth to embrace hope and develop their own culture by practicing the art of the written and spoken word.

"For today's youth, poetry and the spoken word are perfect avenues to creativity and expression, especially if you've never considered yourself an artist or performer," says Kass. "You don't need paint and canvas, a musical instrument or any tools other than pen and paper. We invite youth to experience their own unique perceptions, and as they bring their experience to words we encourage and validate it."

For more, including information on in- and after-school programs, youth development, teacher training and instituting creative writing programs, see www.youthspeaks.org.

species procession

Connie Kim

Every year on or around Earth Day, 4,000 participants and 30,000 onlookers of all ages display their appreciation for nature in a sea of celebration. The Procession of the Species flows through the streets of Olympia, Washington, incorporating art, music, and dance into an event that allows people to artistically embody wild species.

Created by Earthbound Productions, a community-based nonprofit, the Procession first began as a response to an attack on the Endangered Species Act in 1994.

Preparation for the procession begins seven weeks before the event itself, with workshops such as "Adventurous Avian Headdresses" and "Ta Ke Ti Na Rhythm Experience" that teach participants how to create costumes, banners, and puppets. Workshops in familiar and exotic musical instruments and dances prepare people for the massive street performance. It's not unusual to see a butterfly-winged adult playing African drums while dancing the Samba.

Since its inception eight years ago, the number attending has grown from a few hundred to over a quarter of the city's population. Its success and popularity have prompted 14 other US cities to adopt their own processions, and requests for information have come in from as far away as Ploiesti, Romania.

For more information on how to start your own Procession, see Earthbound's website at www.olywa.net/procession/index.html.

Photo credits, from left to right: Marc Weinblatt, Skot Kuite, Scott Chernis, Scott Chernis, Carl Cook, The Procession

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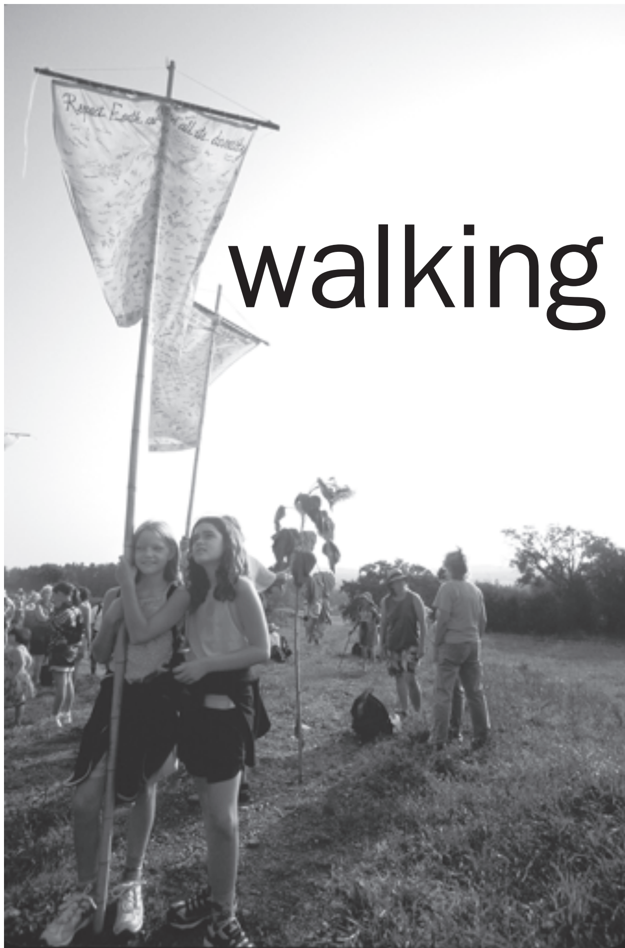
Nancy Jack Todd

walking the hope



Jason Houston

top of the Ark, painted by Sally Linder

On September 11, 2001, shocked by that morning's news, artist Sally Linder and her friends began an odyssey to New York pushing, pulling, and carrying her hand-painted Ark of Hope. The 200-pound work of art contained a hand-lettered text of the Earth Charter, a declaration of interdependence drafted in the aftermath of the 1992 Earth Summit with input from thousands of people in dozens of countries. Supporters hope the United Nations will endorse the Charter later this year.

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Sally Linder believes that art can be a healingprocess that can transform consciousness. She recognized a comparable conviction in her friend Steven Rockefeller's commitment to the Earth Charter and its vision that "environmental protection, human rights, equitable human development, and peace are interdependent and indivisible."

For the Charter's message to reach people's hearts and minds, however, Sally felt it must find some form of universal artistic expression. She developed a vision of an exquisite chest to serve as a protective holding place for a copy of the Charter. From that vision came the Ark of Hope. She designed the 200-pound chest to be carried by two poles, each symbolizing a unicorn horn whose mythic power is to render evil ineffectual. Sally painted panels for the four sides and the top of the chest. The side panels honor the four directions. The five together evoke the elements of earth, air, fire, water, and spirit. They represent the flora and fauna of the world in images from traditional cultures and spiritual traditions. The fifth element, spirit, is portrayed on the top panel through the immanental innocence of children and animals.

The next challenge was to give the Charter itself an artistic dimension. Sally decided to write out the entire document by hand on a papyrus scroll. She knew she could not afford a single mistake. The slightest erasure would mar the effect. The writing took her almost 24 hours, working without a break, but the result was flawless. Not one false line or dot. Four days later, the papyrus Charter lay safely encased in the Ark of Hope and was introduced to and celebrated by several thousand Vermonters. It was September 9, 2001.

When the celebration was over, Sally arranged for the Ark to be stored in a back room of the breeding barn at Shelburne Farms. She was cleaning out the barn with a small crew on the morning of September 11 when the news reached them. With absolute clarity, she knew she must take the Ark to New York.

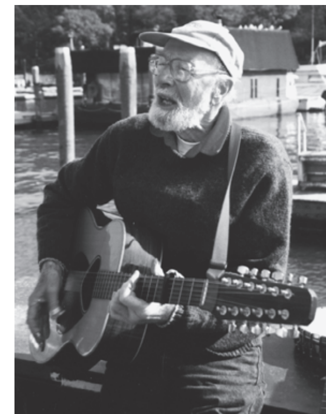
"I can't carry it alone," was all she said. Two friends stepped forward. Each picked up a carrying pole. Supporting the weight of the Ark somehow helped them to bear the pain of the tragedy.

Feeling they must get the Earth Charter to the closest seat of government, they began to walk in the direction of the Burlington City Hall. Others joined them. The next morning, one of the walkers tracked down a cart that was just a fraction larger than the Ark. Wheels made all the difference. Pushing and pulling they reached the City Hall, where officials instructed that the building's front door be dismantled so that the Ark could be brought inside.

New York City was still their ultimate destination. Sally foresaw little in the way of the details of how and when she and her fellow pilgrims would get there, but she had no doubt that they would do so eventually. She also knew that they must go on foot. With no prior knowledge of what each day would bring, where they would be by sunset, or where they would rest, they set out. Sally's only certainty was that she must reach the United Nations. The Earth Charter belonged in the principal meeting place of all the nations. Taking turns guiding the Ark of Hope, the pilgrims set out.

On the road

Over the next two months on the road, the numbers of walkers ranged from two to several dozen. The little band moved along at a rate of about three miles an hour, averaging ten miles a day. Word spread and people flocked to greet them, sometimes to join them. Over the course of their long trek, educators, artists, truck drivers, unemployed people, students, car salesmen, ex-convicts, public health nurses, farmers, Gulf War veterans, homeless people, religious leaders, and family members took turns pushing and pulling the strange, beautifully painted chest.



Peggy Harrington

Pete Seeger's sloop, the Clearwater, carried the Ark of Hope on the last leg of its voyage, down the Hudson River to New York City

According to Sally, "Gentle folks were coming out of their homes or businesses, wondering 'What *is* it?' There were gifts of flowers, apples, water, and bread. People joined the Ark for a block, for a day, for a picnic by the side of the road. It rested by night in barns, private garages, churches, schools, firehouses, and town halls."

After a month and a half on the road, Sally writes that she was entranced by "the kind of beauty that leaves one breathless. Wild grapes dangling from black locust branches, tattered lace curtains behind a farmhouse kitchen window, a single soaring bald eagle, a farmer's huge hands on the wheel of a tractor, an otter playing on a log. Our journey follows the wave of color from north to south and the migration of birds and butterflies southward—at one point hundreds of monarch butterflies landed on the Ark. We've taken part in two parades and passed through more than 35 small villages."

In Connecticut, Sally was notified that the United Nations had officially agreed to receive the Ark. When they reached New Haven, the cavalcade rested for a weekend before moving on toward the Hudson River and the final leg of the trip to New York City. At the river's edge

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Barbara K. Waters

Carrying the Ark of Hope to the United Nations after its journey from Vermont

they were met by the crew of Pete Seeger's sloop, the Clearwater. They loaded the Ark onto the Clearwater's deck and, after almost two months of walking, for three glorious autumn days Sally and her fellow pilgrims sailed down the river toward the port of New York.

They reached the dock of the 79th Street basin at 11 o'clock on November 8th, less than two months after the terrorists had struck the city. The travelers could not have hoped for a better reception. Not only was Dean Morton of the Interfaith Center among those cheering and welcoming them to New York, Pete Seeger was also there to play them ashore. All marched down Fifth Avenue to the Interfaith Center, which was to be home for the Ark while awaiting the finalization of arrangements at the United Nations.

On January 24th, in pouring rain, some one hundred walkers, including soprano saxophonist Paul Winter, escorted the Ark to the United Nations. The Ark remained on exhibit in the Visitor's Lobby for the duration of the second preparatory meeting for the World Summit on Sustainable Development.

In late February, the Ark returned to the Interfaith Center. But that is not the end of its journey, nor of Sally's. The UN World Summit is to take place in late August in Johannesburg, South Africa. Sally hopes the Earth Charter will be acknowledged and endorsed by the Summit then. The people of Diepsloot, one of Johannesburg's outlying squatter camps, have invited Sally to visit them. Diepsloot is a community made up mainly of mothers and orphaned children. Sally and her colleagues plan to spend a week there, helping the children make books containing their own images of global healing, peace, and gratitude, which they will add to thousands more such books brought from half a world away. Then the children of Diepsloot will walk the Ark of Hope into the city and present it to the United Nations Summit.

During her time on the road Sally had noted: "All around the world there is such fear, such tragedy, such despair. But the walking transcends, and faith guides."

So be it.

Nancy Jack Todd is co-founder of The New Alchemy Institute and of Ocean Arks International (http://www.oceanarks.org), and editor of *Annals of the Earth*. Learn about the Ark of Hope at www.ark-of-hope.org. See www.earthcharter.org for information about the Earth Charter.

Ecological Art

"Lightning," one of Lynn Hull's many eco-art projects, is more than a work of art. It also provides a place for hawks and eagles to nest in an area where good nesting sites can be hard to find. You can see it as you drive along Interstate 80 in southern Wyoming.

Hull is just one of hundreds of environmental artists whose work strives to re-envision humanity's relationship with nature. Her wildlife sculptures draw human attention to features of the landscape that might otherwise go unnoticed. But her sculptures also attract the attention of wildlife.

Otters repose at the "Otter Haven," a wooden sculpture that provides a resting site along a riverbank damaged from overgrazing.

Monkeys traverse the "Monkey Bridge" which connects trees above hazardous, man-made roads in Punta Laguna, Mexico.

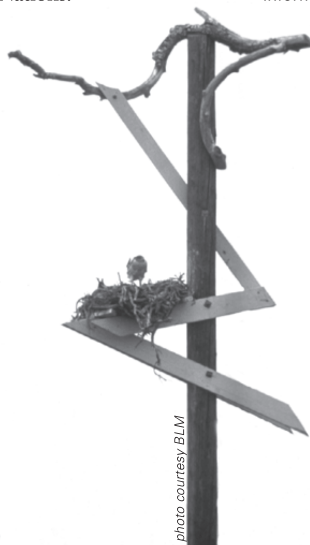
photo courtesy BLM

Wildlife find water in "Flowing Water Moon," an ornate water-collecting basin carved in the Utah desert floor.

Projects like these are acts of what Hull refers to as "eco-atonement," the restoration of habitats in areas devastated by human impact. Eco-artists like Hull provide us with pauses in our daily lives, ones necessary for reflection, for questions, for the creation of a raptor's roost.

Connie Kim

More of Lynn Hull's work is at http://www.getty.edu/artsednet/resources/Ecology/Bios/hull2.html

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An architect shows that the poor can have beautiful buildings, that students can learn about service as they learn a profession, and that recycled material can provoke the imagination

warm, dry, and noble

Andrea Dean with photographs by Timothy Hursley

In HALE COUNTY, ALABAMA, you see ghost buildings: abandoned barns, tumbledown shanties, and rusted trailers—fragile remnants of a more prosperous agrarian past. You see old people sitting quietly on sagging porches and scruffy chicken hens noisily pecking and wandering on hard dirt yards. Hale is a left-behind place. But it is also a land of dense piney woods, fragrant crop furrows, and hypnotic rolling hills. In Hale County the architect Samuel Mockbee found "an almost supernatural beauty," and mainly for that reason he decided to locate his Rural Studio there.

When Mockbee founded the Rural Studio in the early 1990s, American architecture had retreated from social and civic engagement to a preoccupation with matters of style. The architectural stars, swept up in the new global economy and entranced by new technologies, were designing increasingly audacious buildings for affluent clients worldwide. Mockbee instead was digging in at home in the Deep South, focusing on the design and construction of modest, innovative houses for poor people.

Naive as it may sound, Mockbee, a MacArthur "genius grant" recipient in 2000, is battling for convictions. One is that the architectural profession has an ethical responsibility to help improve living conditions for the poor. Another is that the profession should "challenge the status quo into making responsible environmental and social changes." Hence his belief that architectural education should expand its curriculum from "paper architecture" to the creation of real buildings and to sowing "a moral sense of service to the community." Architecture students are typically middle-class youngsters working on theoretical designs. But those at Auburn University's Rural Studio are engaged in hands-on design and construction and in nose-to-nose negotiations with impoverished clients. You will find Mockbee there bucking his profession's prevailing emphasis on fashion, frantic speed, and superstardom to devote himself to the patient work of getting inexpensive but striking structures shaped and built by students while teaching them the fundamentals, not only of design and construction, but also of decency and fairness.

Anderson Harris in front of his "Butterfly House" (top); a Bryant grandchild next to the Bryant hay bale house and smokehouse

Slowly, the Rural Studio is inscribing its mark on Hale County. Into the community of Mason's Bend and the towns of Newbern, Sawyerville, Greensboro, Thomaston, and Akron, the studio has inserted simple but inventive structures made of inexpensive, mostly salvaged or donated, often curious materials—beat-up railroad ties, old bricks, donated lumber, hay bales, baled corrugated cardboard,

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rubber tires worn thin, license plates, and road signs. The studio's esthetic vocabulary is modern, but its buildings, with their protective roofs and roomy porches, shedlike forms and quirky improvisations, look right at home here. In Mockbee's view, "The best way to make real architecture is by letting a building evolve out of the culture and place. These small projects designed by students at the studio remind us what it means to have an American architecture without pretense."

"I tell my students, it's got to be warm, dry, and noble," said Samuel Mockbee

From living quarters in Newbern, Akron, and Hale's county seat of Greensboro, students fan out each day to work on construction sites, attend city council meetings, confer with the county Department of Human Resources (which provides lists of needy clients from which students make selections), meet with the nonprofit HERO (Hale Empowerment and Revitalization Organization), and attend community catfish fries. For many students, this "classroom of the community," as Mockbee calls it, is the first intimate experience with "the smell and feel of poverty."

The 'Yauncey Chapel,' made from used tires, scrap steel, and old barn wood (above); Samuel Mockbee sits in front of GB's, Newbern's general store (right)

Bruce Lanier, who graduated in 2000 and then went to work with a statewide rural poverty agency in Alabama, recalls, "I'd only driven through that kind of poverty on my way to private school. At the studio I learned that economic poverty is not a poverty of values but a fact of birth. You come to realize it's the luck of the draw that you don't end up poor. You learn poor people are like you and me. You get to know them and respect them."

Although he did not take an active part in the civil rights struggle, Mockbee began in the 1980s to look for ways to help redress the wrongs perpetrated by his kin against "a whole army of people who've been excluded and ignored forever, people who are left over from Reconstruction." He concludes that addressing problems and trying to correct them is "the role an artist or architect should play."

By the early 1980s, the architectural practice that Mockbee had started in 1977 and later shared with Coleman Coker was thriving, but more and more, Mockbee says, he found himself thinking about the Renaissance architect Leon Battista Alberti's injunction that an architect must "choose between fortune and virtue."

Shepard and Alberta Bryant were the Rural Studio's first new-house clients. In 1993, when the studio began work for them, the Bryants, both in their 70s, were rearing three grandchildren in a shanty without plumbing or heating. As the students worked on the Bryants' new house, they developed the studio's lasting methodology. Each house takes about a year to finish. Fifteen second-year students interview the clients to determine their needs. They work up several designs, have the clients select the best one, and begin construction.

The Bryant House shows the Rural Studio's hallmark use of ingenious building techniques and donated, salvaged, and recycled materials, the inevitable result of meager budgets. Recovered materials give the buildings "a feeling they've been rained on; they look durable," says D.K. Ruth, chair of Auburn's architecture department. Students examined several low-tech solutions for creating a well-insulated, inexpensive dwelling before deciding to use 80-pound hay bales for the core of the exterior walls of the Bryants' 850-square-foot house and covering the bales with wire and stucco.

The studio's characteristic modern esthetic was from the start nudged and reshaped by typically southern rural forms and idioms: sheds, barns, and trailers. The Bryant House, for example, is all porch and roof, a steeply raked acrylic structure supported by slender yellow columns. In explaining the esthetic, Mockbee says, "I pay attention to my region; I keep my eyes open. Then I see how I can take that and reinterpret it, using modern technology. We don't try to be southern, we just end up that way because we try to be authentic. When you start to use historic references in a theatrical way, that's when I'm out of here."

Almost all studio-designed buildings have exaggerated, protective roofs that appear to float over sturdy walls. Mockbee explains that the region's annual average rainfall is almost 60 inches, "so flat roofs just aren't going to do it." The challenge is different from that of, say, designers in the arid American West who can concentrate more on sculptural forms. Turning a limitation of climate into an

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opportunity, Mockbee overstates his roofs. He cants them steeply and makes them look almost airborne, as with the Harris House, sometimes called the "Butterfly House" for its wing-spread roof.

Like Mockbee's buildings for private clients, the Rural Studio's work is usually asymmetric and idiosyncratic, qualities that reinforce the quirkiness that attends Mockbee's and the Rural Studio's jumbo roofs. The exterior materials, too, can be as unconventional as the shapes of the buildings. But even the most futuristic constructions look anchored in their neighborhood, because their scale fits and their shapes spring from the local vernacular.

More than 350 second-year students and 80 thesis students have now participated in the Rural Studio. So why have other architecture schools not spawned similar programs? Mockbee, who has lectured at architecture schools nationwide, says almost all have similar curricula and risk-averse faculty. "Most of them dress all in black; they all seem to say the same things. It's become very stale, very unimaginative."

If architecture is going to "nudge, cajole, and inspire a community or challenge the status quo into making responsible environmental and social structural changes," he says, "it will take the subversive leadership of academics and practitioners who keep reminding students of the profession's responsibilities." No one, says Mockbee, loves to draw and make models more than he, but model-making and drawings are not architecture. The Rural Studio, he says, takes education out of the theoretical realm, makes it real, and shows students the power of architecture to change lives. "Through their own efforts and imagination," Mockbee says, "students create something wonderful—architecturally, socially, politically, environmentally, esthetically. That's the mission of the Rural Studio. And once they've tasted that, it's forever there. It may go dormant for a while, but at least they've experienced and created something that they're not going to forget."

Talking about the legacy he hopes to leave, Mockbee singles out "something that's going to have power and live long after my living personality is gone. I'm getting close but I'm not there. I've got to keep cultivating and pushing so that what I leave is as significant as I can make it." That is what makes the Rural Studio transcendent.

Excerpted from *Rural Studio: Samuel Mockbee and an Architecture of Decency*, by Andrea Oppenheimer Dean and Timothy Hursley. Copyright 2002, Princeton Architecture Press. Andrea Dean is former executive editor of *Architecture* magazine. Timothy Hursley is an architectural photographer who regularly contributes to the international press.

Samuel Mockbee died in December, 2001 at age 57 of leukemia.

The Architecture of Decency Carries On

Carolyn McConnell

It is a fitting memorial to the man known as architecture's conscience: a $30,000 house built from recycled carpet tiles for impoverished clients in Alabama has become the first architecture ever included in the Whitney Museum Biennial show. Samuel Mockbee, who died of leukemia at 57 last December, founded the Rural Studio in the second poorest county in the second poorest state in the nation to prove that you could make beautiful buildings for poor people.

"I was surprised he died, because he was so excited about the show," mourned Andrew Freear, assistant professor of architecture at Auburn University, who, with fellow professors Steve Hoffman and D.K. Ruth, plans to carry on Mockbee's work.

Mockbee was teaching architecture at Auburn when he realized that he could pair the need of the poor residents of Newbern County for shelter with his students' need for hands-on experience, to create something remarkable. Freear explained that it is the students' ambition and passion that made the Rural Studio's work happen, and so it will continue. After Mockbee's death, Auburn University, which had supported the studio only by paying Mockbee's, Freear's, and Hoffman's salaries, agreed to begin paying the Rural Studio's basic operating expenses.

The inspired work of the studio comes also from the remarkable freedom the students have at a studio 10 miles away from the university, out in the country, where they can walk into the backyard and try building what they like. "We can do naughty things," Freear said. Naughty things such as a community baseball backstop so strange and beautiful that the Newbern Tigers now always play at home and every neighboring team wants to play there in front of crowds willing to pay $3 a person for the privilege.

At the same time, working in the community forces the students to understand their clients' needs. Before they built the baseball backstop, the students helped clear out undergrowth around the ballpark and reseeded the field. And before Anderson Harris, a retired farmer who was living in a tumbledown cottage without heat or plumbing, would let the students build the Butterfly House for him, the students had to dispel his distrust of the crowd of white kids.

When Freear spoke recently at a conference on affordable housing, he said he felt that he had come under false pretenses. "Frankly, what we did is not cheap," he explained. "We have cheap labor. We have students who put their life and soul into the work." Indeed, there is nothing cheap about the Rural Studio's projects. But they are inexpensive and they are beautiful.

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Carol Estes

who's afraid of music?

When silence is impossible, when injustice is unbearable, sometimes a song, or better yet, a lifting of many voices can tell a radical truth that is not easily dismissed

Three hundred years ago, Jeremy Collier warned his fellow Englishmen that "music is almost as dangerous as gunpowder." It's as much of a threat to the social order as the free press and, like the press, music would need "looking after."

Collier, was neither the first nor the last to worry about music's power to stir the masses.

Two thousand years earlier, Plato had cautioned that "any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole State and ought to be prohibited." First, it "imperceptibly penetrates into manners and customs." Then "it invades contracts between man and man, and … goes on to laws and constitutions, in utter recklessness."

In the 1960s, at the height of the civil rights and peace movements, the Rev. David Noebel of the Christian Crusade led a cadre of the like-minded in arguing that music—protest songs in particular—was part of a Communist plot, priming America's youth for "riot, civil disobedience, and revolution."

These men were right to worry. Music, as Pete Seeger observed, is "more powerful than the bomb." It has played a role in every significant social change movement from abolition to Civil Rights to peace to feminism to world hunger to AIDS to anti-globalization. It's been warning-labeled, enlisted, protested, outlawed, blacklisted, backlashed, co-opted, demonized, corporatized, and homogenized.

But the beat—and the song—goes on.

It's not just any music that threatens the status quo—some music *is* the status quo. It's one particular kind of song. The song of the outsider. The disenfranchised. The down-and-out. It's the song of those to whom the promise of justice and equality was not kept.

This is trouble music—spirituals, protest songs, blues, folk songs, or rap. Its power lies in the poetry of survival, of lives marked by what Woodie Guthrie called "hard travellin'."

A talent for truth-saying

Explains bluesman Li'l Son Jackson, this music is about "a feeling that you get from something that you think is wrong, or something that somebody did wrong to you, or something that somebody did wrong to some of your own people or something like that. And the onliest way you have to tell it would be through a song."

And so the slaves sang:

"Oh, Lord, Oh, My Lord!
Oh, My Good Lord!
Keep me from sinkin' down."

The men on the chain gang, doing hard labor from before sunup until after sundown, sang:

"Water boy! Where are you hiding?"

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Woodie Guthrie wrote songs that spoke for the striking migrant farm workers in the Dustbowl years:

"From the south land and the drought land,
Come the wife and kids and me,
And this old world is a hard world
For a dust bowl refugee.
Yes, we wander and we work
In your crops and in your fruit,
Like the whirlwinds on the desert
That's the dust bowl refugees."

Jailed civil rights protesters sang "Freedom Is a Constant Dying," a song written by a 23-year-old Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) voter registration worker from Cleveland, Mississippi.

The best of these trouble songs tell a truth more vivid than the news, a truth many of us don't see—or prefer not to.

"Truth is a powerful agent," writes author Walter Mosley. "It only needs to be spoken once. After that the world has changed."

But why sing?

If it is truth that changes the world, why not just speak the truth? Or write it? Or shout it? Why bother to sing?

Because singing is safer than the alternatives, more memorable for the listeners, and less likely to provoke a violent response from the authorities.

Jamaican reggae singer Bob Marley, one of the first Third World superstars, deliberately chose music to give a voice to the people of Kingston's shantytown. It was "both safer for him personally and more effective as a way of creating a world-scale impact for him to explore ways of obtaining that freedom in songs rather than in speeches," writes Mary Ellison, scholar of black protest music.

"Them belly full but we hungry," Marley sang, "A hungry mob is an angry mob."

As a way of speaking the truth to power, singing is less confrontational than any other option—even when the lyrics directly challenge authority. Singing is like smiling. In language that's ancient and nearly universal, it says, "Look! I'm singing. I'm not going to hurt you." Music is such a friendly art that Vladimir Lenin worried it would make him soft. "I cannot listen to music too often," he wrote. "It makes me want to say kind, stupid things, and pat the heads of people."

Some people, including Henry David Thoreau, report that they feel safe behind music's protective shield. "When I hear music, I fear no danger," Thoreau wrote. "I am invulnerable. I see no foe."

American slaves took advantage of this apparent harmlessness to communicate musical messages of rebellion and plans for escape under the noses of white overseers.

Songs are persistent. They get into our brains and live there, long after other forms of communication have faded. That's why we remember verbatim the songs we sang as children when we've forgotten the words we spoke. That's why a stroke patient who has lost the ability to speak can sometimes communicate by singing, and why an Alzheimer's patient who can no longer recognize her children may still be able to play Chopin waltzes on the piano.

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What can music do for a political movement that knows how to take advantage of it? A lot. Those who study social movements say that music establishes a movement's identity, provides a channel for resistance, raises consciousness, and educates, mobilizes, inspires, and encourages the discouraged.

Most importantly, argues Ellison, it creates channels of empathetic communication between the individual and society, and gives potent public voice to shared grievances and complaints.

Woodie Guthrie and Joe Hill were particularly good at articulating the complaints of working people in the 1930s. Guthrie sang about poor folks fighting "to win a world where you'll have a good job at union pay, and a right to speak up, to think, to have honest prices and honest wages, and a nice clean place to live in and a good safe place to work in." The peace movement of the '60s and '70s that eventually helped end the Vietnam War was given spirit, unity, and focus by singers like Pete Seeger, Phil Ochs, Bob Dylan, and Joan Baez. John Lennon's song, "All we are saying is give peace a chance," became a mantra sung at peace rallies everywhere.

But in black America's ongoing civil rights struggle, music has been more than a warm-up act for political action. "Music has explored the range of human choices for black people with a lucidity and honesty rarely achieved by politicians," argues Ellison.

That's one reason the civil rights movement did a better job than any other of using music to inspire and empower. Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke of how it cheered him when he was in jail to hear the people singing. Candie Anderson, jailed in Nashville in an early Civil Rights protest, was also moved by the music of the movement: "Never had I heard such singing. Spirituals, pop tunes, all became so powerful. The men sang to the women and the girls down the hall answered them. … We sang a good part of our eight-hour confinement that first time."

But that was 40 years go. By the mid-'70s, the take-to-the-streets political movements had splintered, fizzled, succumbed to infighting or the FBI's COINTELPRO, or simply turned inward. Their sporadic protests weren't much more than an irritation until November of 1999, when a new international, broad-based movement brought to the streets of Seattle 50,000 people from the environmental, labor, peace, agriculture, food security, and democracy movements in opposition to corporate globalization. Already this movement has its important musical voices in the folk/protest tradition, like Ani de Franco and Billy Bragg, as well as rappers like Drew Dellinger and the duo Common Prophet.

Recently, the riches of black musical traditions metamorphosed into hip hop and rap. In the 1980s, rappers picked up the political megaphone and started shouting angry, impatient, sexual, hard-edged, political rhymes. Their message was powerful, disturbing, and fresh in the Reagan era, a time when, as Bob Dylan observed, the rappers were the only ones with anything interesting to say.

Street music

Rap is a competitive street art that goes back to the griots of Africa. It's about creating spontaneous street poetry through verbal dexterity and competitive one-upmanship. Early artists like Public Enemy and Grandmaster Flash produced work with a consistent political message. But in the mid-'80s, the crack epidemic gave birth to the sub-genre of gangsta rap, which shoved its way to center stage with songs that are ultra-macho, prison-centered, drug- and gun-happy, sexual, violent, misogynist, and angry. The gangsta attitude soon overshadowed hip hop as a whole and stirred a hornet's nest of controversy, both inside the African American community and around it.

Some, like Grand Slam champion, poet Taalam Acey, argue that this music is destroying the African-American community. In his rap, "When the Smoke Clears," he takes gangsta rap to task:

Sometimes I believe that some of these emcees sit down and consciously try to figure out how to get more young black men shot.

Like they figured out a correlation between making money and delivering more young black souls into the hands of the cops. …

Ninety-nine percent of the time pimping the worst parts of capitalism through record company ho's, platinum-coated egos, putting out bullshit lyrics hyper-marketed to supersede those revolutionary mantras of yesteryear.

Cats no longer want to follow the leader,
Snow they want to follow nigga' killers and black woman beaters.

Who or what is to blame when cold-blooded, violent lyrics born in the urban ghetto find a huge, enthusiastic, and lucrative audience among youth of all races around the world? The music? The artist?

"I believe artists should be held accountable for the violence of their lyrics," says rap artist Drew

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Dellinger. "But what's missing from the debate is the role of the industry. There are plenty of good, socially conscious rappers out there, but they're not the ones who get the multimillion dollar contracts."

Why not? For the same reason that a serial killer story gets more coverage on the evening news than the G8 summit. "Sex and violence are very compelling to mammals," Dellinger says. Guns, drugs, and misogyny sell, and money talks—loudly. Revenue from the sale of recorded music alone rivals that of all organized sports and the film industry combined.

On the other hand, life in the urban ghetto *is* harsh, dangerous, and often short. There, guns are not a vicarious thrill but a fact of life—the number one cause of death for young black men. Nor is prison just tough-guy talk but a tragic rite of passage, since one in four black men will do time. So, the argument goes, rap that's obscene and violent, that deals with guns and drugs and prison is just a matter of telling the truth. "Anti-Semitism, racism, violence, sexism are hardly unique to rap stars," notes black music critic Nelson George, but simply "the most sinister aspects of the national character." The rapper simply does what protest artists are supposed to do: shine a harsh spotlight on the country's dysfunctional values. And if that's a reality most people find distasteful—well, too bad.

But hip hop is only one of several heirs to the rich tradition of African American protest music. Reggae thrives. Calypso continues to deliver scathing indictments of oppression. And, from the '070s forward, a secular brand of gospel has attracted a large and devoted multiracial audience. This music is strongly spiritual and deeply rooted in the music of Africa and the African-American church. Its best-known representative is Sweet Honey in the Rock, a women's a cappella quintet founded 29 years ago by civil rights leader Bernice Johnson Reagon. A historian and former curator of African American history for the Smithsonian, Reagon approaches songwriting with a commitment to remembering the long struggle against oppression, from racism to domestic abuse to AIDS. The group's name comes from a story in the Bible of a land so rich that honey flowed from the rocks. Her songs, she says, are like that too—hard, but sweet and rich:

> *I don't know how my mother walked her trouble down*
> *I don't know how my father stood his ground. …*
> *I raise my voice for justice. I believe.*

In 1903, the historian W.E.B. DuBois described the former slaves as the "children of disappointment" and singers of "sorrow songs." The same description would fit migrant farm workers, coal miners, steel-workers, prison inmates, and urban ghetto dwellers.

But DuBois also noticed something unexpected about their songs. "Through all the sorrow … there breathes a hope—a faith in the ultimate justice of things."

DuBois, who had thought deeply about "the souls of black folk," understood well what it means to live with injustice and sing out against it, to weave hope and music from despair. To sing, and to keep on singing, despite mountains of good evidence that your song will fall on deaf ears, is not just an act of faith in the power of music, but in the human spirit itself.

Carol Estes, former managing editor of *YES!,* is a freelance writer and chicken herder in Suquamish, Washington.

attention, shoppers!

Drew Dellinger

In every nation we're losing patience with corporations
'Cause who knows what all they're in on:
Arms. Oil. Enron.
But since the Earth can't take too much more I'm
bound to put a check upon the World Economic Forum.
And since the people can't take too much more I'm
bound to put a check upon this economic forum.
It's time to reject the hypocrisy, connect direct democracy
so I drop my philosophy at terminal velocity.
We need to be wary or every year it gets scarier
now justice just is a barrier to their free trade area.
And freedom is no longer cost effective—
Attention, shoppers!
Freedom is no longer cost effective—
Attention, shoppers!
Democracy has been genetically modified
By corporations filing suit for the right to pollute.
In the name of free trade trying to pave over laws that we made
To capitalize on the new world order,
militarize the border
Now the media's corporate
so every report gets distorted.
We need a rebel alliance.
We need a new level of defiance.
And since the Earth can't take too much more I'm
bound to put a check upon this economic forum.
And since the people can't take too much more I'm
bound to put a check upon the World Economic Forum."

Performed at the "Another World is Possible" counter-protest to the World Economic Forum, New York, February 2002. Drew Dellinger is a poet, teacher, activist, and spoken-word performer. Contact him at 1-866-POETICS or drew@soulforce.com.

resources for citizen artists

Rik Langendoen

organizations

Community Arts Network (CAN) is a partnership of nonprofit organizations, Art in the Public Interest, and the Theater Arts consortium at Virginia Tech University. It promotes art as part of education, political life, health recovery, prisoner rehabilitation, environmental protection, and community regeneration. On-line, CAN offers a newsletter, reading room, discussion groups, billboard, and links to organizations that support community art programs.
PB 308
Virginia Tech
Blackburg, VA 24061
540/231-6594
www.communityarts.net

Wise Fool Community Arts uses art and theater to build community and promote social and political change. They offer consulting services, entertainers, workshops, presentations, and information on making puppets, masks, costumes, and low-tech musical instruments. They offer tips on stilt-walking, improvisation, storytelling, games, and street theater. Their handbook, *Wise Fool Basics*, offers detailed instruction on making and using giant puppets.
2633 Etna St.
Berkeley, CA 94704
415/905-5958
www.zeitgeist.net/wfca/wisefool.htm

ecoartspace supports art that raises environmental awareness and inspires visions of a sustainable relationship between humans and the natural world. Ecoartspace curates exhibits in public spaces, develops Art and Environment curricula for schoolchildren, offers consultation and some grants, and serves as an information and consulting resource. The group is developing an art and nature center. Their website includes an artist directory and provides links to environmental organizations and projects.
www.ecoartspace.org

greenmuseum.org is a nonprofit, on-line museum of environmental art. Environmental art is art that improves our relationship with nature. This website lists artists and shows images of their work. It also lists community events, opportunities for environmental artists, and links to environmental art organizations.
Greenmuseum.org
518 Tamalpais Dr.
Corte Madera, CA 94925
www.greenmuseum.org

The Arts and Healing Network celebrates the connection between art and healing. This web site lists conferences, lectures and events, classes, workshops, schools, and projects, and serves as an international resource for environmentalists, social activists, artists, art professionals, health care practitioners, and those challenged by illness who are interested in the healing potential of art.
www.artheals.org/index.html

Art & Revolution is an association of artists' collectives in 10 US locations who believe that our politics suffer without creative vision in the same way that our art suffers without political or social relevance. They collaborate with local justice groups and labor unions. Their website offers news of local actions, an interactive calendar, a gallery, and links to like-minded organizations.
www.artandrevolution.org

Children's Landscape is the on-line archive of Norwegian architect Frode Svane's experiences involving children and youth in city planning, landscape, and school architecture, and designing school grounds, green schools, and "nature" schools. The web site is a good resource for teachers and students who want to improve natural and urban environments and encourage art in public places.
http://home.c2i.net/swan

Project for Public Spaces (PPS) is a nonprofit technical assistance, research, and educational organization that helps people turn public spaces into vital community places. PPS advocates community-based decision making and offers videos, articles, on-line discussion, community workshops, evaluations, design training for planners and neighborhood investors, masterplans, and design services. Their website provides ideas for improving our public spaces, including the use of public art.
153 Waverly Pl., 4th floor
New York, NY 10014
212/620-5660
www.pps.org

The Alliance of Artists' Communities is a nationwide consortium of artists' communities (professionally run organizations that provide time, space, and support for artists). Their directory lists organizations sorted both by artistic category and geographic region that provide residencies and fellowships for artists.
255 South Main Street
Providence, RI 02903
401/351-4320
www.artistcommunities.org

books and periodicals

Art in Other Places: Artists at Work in America's Community and Social Institutions, by William Cleveland (University of Massachusetts' Arts Extension Service, 2000). The book recounts the histories of 22 institutional and community arts programs across the country that have pioneered the community arts field. It describes how the creative processes have been used to address some of society's most pressing issues. Can be purchased on AES book catalogue website at:
www.umass.edu/aes

The Citizen Artist: 20 Years of Art in the Public Arena, edited by Linda Frye Burnham and Steven Durland (Gardiner, NY: Critical Press, 1998). An anthology from *High Performance Magazine,* with essays and articles on performance art, art for activists, and art for building community. [Note: co-editor Linda Frye Burnham's article on the *Hallelujah* dance project is on page 19.]
www.communityarts.net

Andy Goldsworthy: A Collaboration with Nature, by Andy Goldsworthy (Harry N. Abrams, 1990). Scottish artist Andy Goldsworthy uses a seemingly infinite array of purely natural materials, from snow and ice to leaves, stone, and twigs in the creation of his one-of-a-kind sculptures. As with most of his works, ultimately, the materials used to create each piece are returned to their natural state, leaving no trace of the artwork's existence save for the photos in this book. An inspiration for those looking to express their artistic selves in the natural environment.

works + conversations is a journal of the works and thoughts of artists presented primarily via interviews and portfolios. The journal is the voice of the Society for the ReCognition of Art.
PO Box 5008
Berkeley, California 94705
www.conversations.org

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www.yesmagazine.org

Rini Templeton

PO Box 10818, Bainbridge Island, WA 98110

Barry Amundson

The suffering of the families of September 11th victims has been used to justify military attacks, crackdowns on civil liberties, and more. These family members are insisting on speaking for themselves ....

Not in my Brother's Name

Carolyn McConnell

They have lost brothers, husbands, daughters, sons. Yet they are asking that vengeance not be waged in their loved ones' names. About 20 family members of victims have joined together as "September 11 Families for Peaceful Tomorrows" to urge alternatives to war and to bring aid to families of those killed in the US bombing of Afghanistan.

The group was officially launched on Valentine's Day with a call on President Bush to establish a fund for Afghans affected by the US war. Even before the formal launch, members of the group had circulated anti-war essays on the internet and in newspapers and, in November, participated in a walk from Washington to New York for healing and peace. In January, members traveled to Afghanistan to meet with family members of Afghans killed by US bombs (see *YES!* issue #21). They have asked to meet with the president, but so far have had no response. Still, this group is hard to ignore.

"So much of this [war] is being done in our names," explains Kelly Campbell, co-director of Peaceful Tomorrows, whose partner's brother, Craig Amundson, died in the Pentagon. After his death, the Amundsons and their friends began talking about their concern over the use of violence to avenge the September 11 attacks. Campbell asked herself, "How can we advocate for something that leaves a positive legacy for our loved ones?"

"It's our hope that the attacks mark the end of that cycle of violence. Let's let Craig's death be the end of this way of thinking," Campbell says.

Campbell feels that many Americans who question the US government's response to the September 11 attacks have been afraid to speak out. She hopes that hearing family members of victims speak out will make it easier for other Americans to publicly question the war.

Co-director David Potorti,whose brother Jim died in One World Trade Center, says that the group has been inundated by e-mails and speaking invitations. While they have received media coverage, much of it has ignored the group's opposition to the war. *The New York Times*, for example, ran a photo of Peaceful Tomorrows members, but cropped out the signs expressing war opposition.

In late March, Potorti received notification that DNA testing had identified his brother's remains. This news gives fresh urgency to his commitment to the group. "I need the support of other people in this group. I need the people who e-mail us in support, who literally say you give me reason to get up in the morning."

Most of the responses have been supportive, he says, but a few are hostile. "What they say to us is, 'Are you trying to get us all killed?'" He laughs in disbelief. "It's an odd world where the people who are waging peace are accused of trying to get us killed, not the people who are targeting nuclear weapons at other nations."

Campbell thinks the group's work to draw attention to Afghan suffering helps make the US safer from terrorism, by showing that Americans care about the plight of people throughout the world. The group is organizing resistance to President Bush's recent decision to broaden US targeting of nuclear weapons, Potorti says. The group is also pressing for the US to sign on to the International Criminal Court, so that those responsible for atrocities like the September 11 attacks can be brought to justice. Peaceful Tomorrows also plans to organize support for Rep. Dennis Kucinich's proposal for a federal Department of Peace (see interview with Rep. Kucinich on page 44).

For information on Peaceful Tomorrows, visit www.peacefultomorrows.org.

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When he was the "boy mayor" of Cleveland, Dennis Kucinich stood up to the banks and refused to sell the city's electric utility. He paid for that decision with his political career, but after years in political exile, he's back—and now some are urging him to run for president

The New American Majority

Sarah Ruth van Gelder interviews Rep. Dennis Kucinich

Since winning election to Congress in 1996, US Representative Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio) has proposed such radical ideas as a Department of Peace, universal health care, and action on climate change. His speech, "Prayer for America," got one standing ovation after another at an Americans for Democratic Action event in Los Angeles in February. Now it is circulating on the Internet, drawing thousands of responses. *YES!* editor Sarah Ruth van Gelder asked him about his fall from political grace, and his startling comeback.

Sarah Ruth van Gelder: Your "Prayer for America" speech got quite an amazing response. What is it about your message that is resonating with so many people?

Dennis Kucinich: The events of September 11th exacted a searing, emotional toll on Americans. We have been wounded as a nation. But our heart remains open. It's a heart that is still full of love and is troubled by calls for revenge and retribution. And it's a heart that still believes that America has a lot to offer to the world and questions whether our offerings should be in the form of bombs. And it's a heart that is loyal to democratic principles, and questions whether the Patriot Act is real patriotism.

The response came because, for a brief moment, I was able to provide a voice for those feelings, and the email responses have not stopped. We received about 18,000 just in one month.

Sarah: What potential is there now to redefine the political mainstream?

Dennis: It's happening, it's happening right now. What I found out from the people I'm hearing from all over the country is that there's an America out there that has not yet been defined, but it's emerging. It's an America of people who are neither left nor right, who care about the quality of life, who are optimistic about the possibilities of our country and the world, who want to make a difference. This is an America made up of people who are creative and nurturing and builders and conservers, who want for their families and themselves a more peaceful and prosperous world. These are people who have a sense of the importance of integrating spiritual principles with the material world.

Sarah: How might this America find political expression? Could it happen through the two-party system?

Dennis: I would say in order to remain relevant, the two-party system is going to have to become more in tune with the issues of peace, the environment, education, economic equality, opportunity—a whole range of concerns that embody a more nurturing and pacific approach to life.

Sarah: Shortly after you were elected mayor of Cleveland in 1977, you took a stand against the city's banks and refused to sell the city-owned utility. As a result, you lost your re-election bid in 1979 and were out of public life for some time.

Dennis: I campaigned for mayor on a promise to save the municipal electric system. There had been a long effort to privatize our electric system,

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and for years I had led an effort to withstand that pressure. Finally, the council and the mayor prior to myself agreed to sell. I campaigned to save the system, got elected, and my first act in office was to cancel the sale.

The private electric company had very close business relations with the banks. The banks let me know that if I didn't go along with the sale, they would not renew the city's credit. I had reduced the city's spending by 10 percent, but without access to credit—at a time when I was still paying off bills from the previous administration—I knew the city could go into default. So I was being blackmailed.

I knew when I refused to sell, that I would be ending my political career. I made the decision to save the electric system, a decision that turned out to be a pivotal moment in my life.

The credit was cut, the city defaulted, and I lost my bid for re-election; I was out of public life, something that I had dedicated my life to. For years, I couldn't get a job in the city where I had challenged the banks. My marriage fell apart, and I spent a lot of time walking streets in a lot of major cities trying to figure out how to put a career back together again.

Eventually, it was understood that the decision was the right thing for the people of Cleveland, because that electric system that I saved now provides savings of 25 to 30 percent.

Sarah: I understand the Cleveland City Council honored you for "having the courage and foresight to refuse to sell the city's municipal electric system." But during the time when you were essentially in exile, what did you think about what you had done?

Dennis: I grew up believing that if you did the right thing, it always works out. I hadn't ever thought about what happens if you do the right thing and then you get blasted. But I never doubted it was the right decision.

Sarah: So many people in political life might have said, politics is about compromise. You have to give in on some things in order to remain a player so as to fight another day.

Dennis: I had a meeting on the morning of December 15th with the head of the city council and the head of the largest bank, and that was exactly the discussion we had. The president of the bank told me that only if I agreed to sell the municipal electric system would he renew the city's credit, and if I did agree to the sale, he would give the city an additional $50 million worth of credit.

I said, "Look, I can't do that. The utility belongs to the people, it's not mine to sell."

So why did I choose to do that? I guess for me it was a test. Was it more important to advance politically? I was 32 years old, and I was the youngest mayor of any big city in the country. There were people talking about me being on a fast track for governor or senator. There were even stories circulating that I would do a test visit to New Hampshire. At the same time I'm thinking, that's all illusion. The reality is in front of me; the reality is I have an obligation to the people who put me in office to defend their interests and not to sell them out.

I didn't realize it then, but I was really being asked to submit to a view of the world that holds that corporate values must triumph over the public good. That's the decision I had to take a stand on, and I tell you, it was a time in America when it was considered unseemly, in poor taste, to even raise the issue. "This is what corporations say you ought to do, well, just do it!"

People are now starting to look at the overwhelming influence of corporations in public life and how the public good can be undermined. People are now more sensitive to how the public pays an exorbitant cost for electricity, for fuel, for defense, because of undue corporate influence, and there's an increasing awareness of the heavy cost of privatization of public resources.

Sarah: You won election to Congress taking a seat that had been occupied by a Republican who had been part of Newt Gingrich's team. Then you were re-elected twice by a landslide each time. So there is something about your message that is resonating and not only within a liberal fringe.

Dennis: The last time I ran for re-election, I distributed cards saying: "Congressman Dennis Kucinich, working for a Department of Peace, nuclear disarmament, food safety, human rights, universal health care, educational opportunities for all, new policies on global warming." That was my platform, and I'm in middle America; you don't get any more middle America than Cleveland, Ohio.

Plain Dealer Publishing Co. © published 2001

US Rep. Dennis Kucinich marches with steelworkers and their supporters. Kucinich helped save over 1,000 jobs by rallying the community when LTV Steel threatened to close its plant

Sarah: The first item you mentioned on that list is a proposal for a Department of Peace. How did you get so interested in this question of peace?

Dennis: My interest started when I saw how quickly our nation slipped into the bombing attacks on Belgrade a few years ago. I saw in my own Democratic Party individuals who

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were otherwise people of good will suddenly getting swept up in this furor to bomb Belgrade. It was almost like a virus worked its way though the consciousness of people.

I began what was for me a political as well as a spiritual journey to look at the question. I've had my own personal journey, as a lot of us have, on how to bring peace into my own life. I came to understand the relationship between conditions within oneself and conditions that are created in the world. I began to think that perhaps war is not inevitable; perhaps war is an extension of conditions within ourselves, conditions that might lend themselves to healing, reconciliation, dialogue, meditation, and prayer.

So the Department of Peace is to make nonviolence an organizing principle in our society for domestic as well as international policy—in other words, to quicken the impulse that is in the world to create more peace.

The referee has walked off the field, and the game is lost to the most brutal and the most powerful

Sarah: Do you think there is a consensus in the US that peace is desirable?

Dennis: Of course there is. It's just that some people think you bring about peace through war. I would submit that if you want peace, work for peace.

We don't always think about the fact that the context of our society is established through spending close to half of our nation's discretionary income on defense. And the current administration is hoping to take it beyond 50 percent! We have to make choices about how we want our society structured.

Sarah: In your "Prayer for America" speech, you set forth the idea of America being "an axis of hope" instead of pursuing "an axis of evil." What do you mean by an axis of hope?

Dennis: I meant that America could become a nation that lightens the burdens of people in this country and around the world, that can help transform our understanding of the material world through helping create abundance, that can help transform the understanding of the political world though creating opportunities for cooperation between nations, and transform our understanding of the spiritual world through recognizing that nations and people exist on a number of different levels, one of which is spiritual, and that spiritual existence connects to the possibilities of this world.

Sarah: Why is it that the rest of the Democratic Party has taken so few courageous stands lately, like the ones you've been describing?

Dennis: It's both parties. Politics is not adequately responding to the needs of our times, nor to the requirements of the future. One reason is that money in the political process has become an end in itself, and when money equals policy, the public interest is shut out. Where money equals policy, you have an auction, you don't have a democracy. The democratic system has been highjacked by special interest groups.

How else can you explain 46 million Americans without health care? Or senior citizens having to cut their pills in half in order to extend the life of their medication? How can you explain widespread pollution despite the fact that there's technology available to control it? How can you explain things like cars that aren't fuel efficient? How can you explain things like reliance on nonrenewable sources of energy?

The political system has broken down and is failing people. It's failing to prevent monopolization and the concentration of wealth. Government is supposed to be at least a referee. Well, in this case the referee has walked off the field, and the game is lost to the most brutal and the most powerful.

Sarah: Where do you plan to go in terms of your own political career?

Dennis: In the last six weeks, ever since I gave that speech, my life has changed. I am suddenly getting invitations to speak all over the country from Democratic organizations as well as environmentalists, peace activists, colleges, and community groups. There is clearly a hunger for a point of view that may not be regularly expressed in the councils of power.

I have made it a point to personally go through thousands of the email responses, because I want to know what people think. Over and over, I hear people saying, "You said what I feel." There are a lot of us who feel this way. I've been given an opportunity to speak out, and I'm going to continue to be a voice for a world of cooperation, of peace, of hope, of sustainability.

Sarah: Do you see yourself involved in a national campaign of some sort?

Dennis: I learned a long time ago that you can't plan everything. You can only be out there and do what it is that you do. And I think it was Emerson who once wrote, "Live and work, and all unawares the advancing tide creates for itself a condition of its own. And the question and the answer are one." So I'm going to keep doing what I'm doing and where it leads—I'm open to all possibilities. I feel very fortunate to be doing what I'm doing; I begin every day with a heart full of gratitude.

See www.thespiritoffreedom.com for Dennis Kucinich's "Prayer for America" and a link to Studs Terkle's call for Kucinich to run for president.

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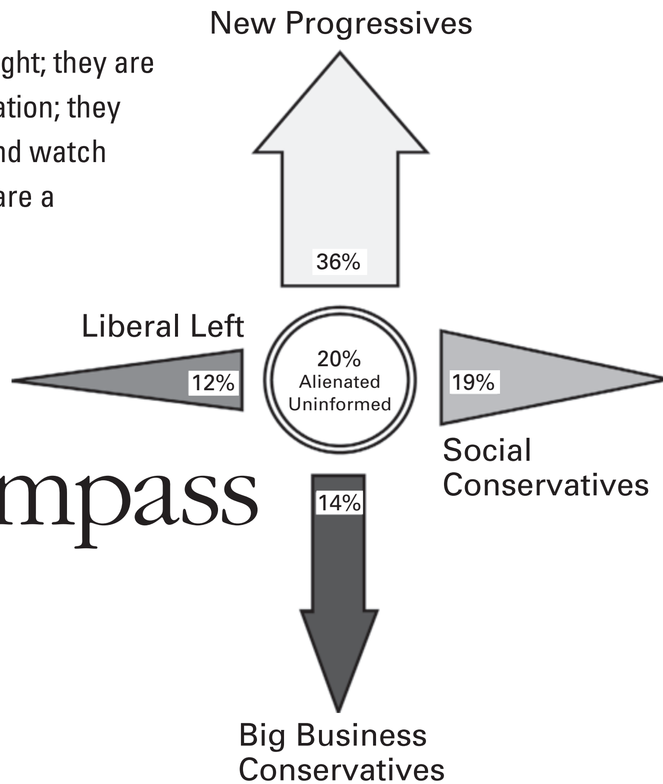
New Progressives are beyond left vs. right; they are deep green, against corporate globalization; they are from all races, classes and ages; and watch out, Democrats and Republicans, they are a larger group than you might think



The New Political Compass

by Paul H. Ray

Every few hundred years in western history there occurs a sharp transformation. Within a few short decades, society —its world view, its basic values, its social and political structures, its arts, its key institutions—rearranges itself. And the people born then cannot even imagine a world in which their grandparents lived and into which their own parents were born. We are currently living through such a transformation.

Peter Drucker, Post-Capitalist Society

Today's politics is failing to deal with some of the most important issues of our time, and every one knows it. National politicians deal with the few easy issues they can handle conventionally, while a growing number of issues are not handled at all.

Most polls tell us voters want politicians to get on with dealing with the big, difficult, emerging issues of our time, such as global warming, globalization, health care, education, biotechnology, giant corporations out of control, violence around the world, and the future of their children. But our political system is not supplying what people want. Voting remains at an all time low, reflecting widespread disgust with both the absence of good ideas and the dominance of big money. Survey upon survey shows over 70 percent of voters unhappy with politics and politicians. We are looking at the political equivalent of market failure: the breakdown of supply and demand.

What is it that voters want? The answer at least in part can be found in the wave of change that is going through western culture. A new constituency is emerging that is at home in neither the Democratic or Republican parties. As this constituency grows, we are seeing the decline of both Left and Right, and of both political parties.

I call the new constituency the New Progressives because they reflect the concerns of the social movements and consciousness movements that have emerged over the last 40 years. Some cut their teeth in the antinuclear movement, others in the civil rights movement or the women's movement. Even when they weren't directly involved in a cause, they tend to sympathize with its aims, so they reflect the wave of values change that has been emerging in American life over the past few decades, which is giving rise to the subculture I call Cultural Creatives.

The easiest way to describe this emerging political constituency is to say that they are at 90 degree angles to both the liberal Left and the social conservative Right, and they are directly opposed to big business conservatism. These "New Progressives" are not "the center" or mushy middle of Clinton lore. They tend to oppose corporate globalization and big business interests, and

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favor ecological sustainability, women's issues, consciousness issues, national health care, national education, and an emerging concern for the planet and the future of our children and grandchildren on it. Many of their issues are claimed by the Left, and sworn at by the Right, but their stance departs from both liberal Left and religious Right, as do business conservatives' stances.

This group is nearly invisible in the mainstream press. But the New Progressives are the biggest of the four constituencies at 36 percent of population and 45 percent of likely voters. If the New Progressives were mobilized under a single political tent, they could replace one of the political parties and dominate American politics for the next generation or more.

Left versus Right doesn't work any more

A century ago, Left vs. Right meant progressives and unionists vs. big business and maybe the Ku Klux Klan. But that was before nuclear weapons could destroy life on the planet, before the civil rights movement and women's movement, before the insurgent radicals of the religious Right came back into politics, and before saving the planet from ecological destruction and globalization became a huge issue. Both the issues and the constituencies of the US have evolved, but our political rhetoric stays frozen in century-old lingo and metaphors, and so have our political parties and our politicians.

When we add new data about values and political positions, it becomes obvious that this image of our politics is beyond inadequate, it's hopelessly wrong and misleading. With only 31 percent of the population fitting the image of Left versus Right, it simply doesn't have a future.

My data for the New Political Compass come from a 1995 values survey that included just enough political information to do this analysis. They don't cover all the issues and voter behavior we might ideally want; however, because they cover many issues, plus values and political affiliations, they do point clearly to what is emerging. The underlying structure of the data shows the opposition of liberal Left versus social conservative, crossed by the opposition of the New Progressives versus the Big Business Conservatives. The only ones left in the "center" are the politically alienated, the ignorant, and the studiedly apolitical.

The New Political Compass diagram on page 47 shows that all that remains of the secular liberal Left is 12 percent of the US adult population—about 15 percent of voters. Social conservatives, including the religious Right, are 19 percent—about 22 percent of voters. Those who vote with multinational Big Business Conservatives are at 14 percent of the US—19 percent of voters.

As we might expect, there is more similarity between liberals and New Progressives and between the two kinds of conservatives. However, while they may ally from time to time, the culturally conservative, Main Street Right often opposes the Wall Street big business Right. Worldwide, the traditionalism of social conservatives and the globalism of Big Business Conservatives are often deep enemies.

Likewise, the New Progressives may look Left to the rest of the polity, but they don't identify as "Left." The New Progressives are less interested in the liberal Left's cultural struggle with the religious Right (East vs. West on the political compass) than they are with opposing the pro-globalization forces. The real "juice" in progressive politics is no longer with the class and union and rural-urban struggles of the early 1900s; instead, the growing edge is in the feminist, ecological, anti-globalization, pro-civil-rights, pro-peace, pro-health-care, pro-education, pro-natural/organic and even pro-spiritual movements that together make up the New Progressives.

As of 1995, the evolution of the four points to the compass wasn't complete, but that was seven years ago. Since then, the anti-corporate globalization movement came into existence, both in the anti-WTO-IMF-World Bank form and in the gathering in Porto Alegre of planetary democrats, where tens of thousands of people gathered under the banner, "Another World is Possible." [See update by Walden Bello on page 50.] The war against terrorism, the meltdown in Argentina, and the collapse of Enron are further delegitimizing giant corporations. As that happens, we see a strengthening of the second dimension, the New Progressives versus Big Business Conservatives or North vs South on the political compass.

The New Progressives

The reframing of reality by new social movements is key to the New Progressives' worldview. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., didn't stop at issues of voting rights or the overturning of Jim Crow laws, for example. Instead, he reminded all Americans of their love for freedom, justice, and dignity, and showed that when some Americans are degraded, all are degraded.

Betty Friedan did not limit her framing of women's issues to the glass ceiling or pay equity; she showed that a majority of humanity is excluded from public life, and diminished at home and in gender relations.

Likewise, Rachel Carson was not simply asking polluters to stay out of her back yard; she was warning of the death of nature and warning that when birds and insects die, we and our children will soon follow.

The anti-nuclear movement reframed itself to became a pro-peace movement, incorporating conflict

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resolution and respectful communications into everyday life. The alternative health care movement focused on overall wellness, a concept that has permeated the awareness, if not the practice, of mainstream America.

Another reframing came with the recognition of inner experience as a source of authority. Beginning with the civil rights and women's movements, this seeking for inner authenticity quickly became part of the various consciousness movements, the peace movements, the spiritual side of the ecology movement, and the liberal churches. While this inner directedness was rarely a sign of enlightenment, it did indicate an inner searching and a growing maturity.

Along with these shifts came the insistence that cultural change is a valid part of the larger social change process. Most importantly, the inner dimensions of transformation were carried into political work, in the beginning causing dissonance with the more Left, macho activists.

The New Progressives have been going from movement to movement, retaining loyalties to one as they move to the next. They account for the convergence of all the movements into a common worldview and set of values. The New Progressives have developed new moral stances, new explanatory analyses, and new tactics and strategies founded in this emerging worldview. As each movement grew, New Progressives eventually adopted the movement's basic stance as part of their own worldview. If, as I estimate, the New Progressives are 36 percent of adults and 45 percent of voters, they represent a huge unmet political demand.

We stand at a watershed in politics where the two parties are weaker than they have been in over a century. There's room for immense creativity around the emerging agenda of the new millennium.

The New Progressives are well positioned to work with all the other three sides: with the social conservatives around bringing civility back into public life, with the Left on social justice and ecology, and with the business Right on efficiency issues. The key will be drawing upon the themes of the New Social Movements, proposing positive solutions, addressing hot-button issues that others won't touch, healing the loss of political trust that has degraded politics over the past 40 years, and using processes for dialogue and mobilization that are empowering and respectful. Doing so could allow the New Progressives to set agendas that will bring values of justice, sustainability, and compassion into public life for decades to come.

Download Paul Ray's full report at www.yesmagazine.org; Paul Ray's website is www.culturalcreatives.org

The New Progressives Speak Up

Paul Ray's data, from his 1995 survey, which show those values and opinions where New Progressives hold significantly stronger views than the total US population. Note: opinions tend to change faster than values, because they are not as deeply rooted.

Percent saying these values are "very important" or "extremely important"

How important to your life is	**New Progressives**	**Total US**
The belief that every person has a unique gift to offer	76%	67%
Having your work make a contribution to society	67	54
Living in harmony with the Earth	66	53
Finding your purpose in life, rather than making money	57	47
Wanting to be involved in creating a better society	54	41

Percent agreeing "somewhat" or "strongly"	**New Progressives**	**Total US**
Business corporations make too much profit	76%	66%
It's better to protect jobs than endangered species and forests (percentage who *disagree*)	60	51
I'd pay more taxes to help solve our environmental problems	51	42

Percent saying "very important" or "extremely important." How important to

your life are these fears or concerns?	**New Progressive**	**Total US**
That we spend too much time "fixing things"after the fact, instead of finding the source of our problems	92%	81%
Violence against women and children	92	83
That pollution may destroy farmlands, forests, and seas	88	74
That women and men don't get equal pay for equal work	85	68
That our politics is getting too polarized, nasty, and gridlocked	83	73
Global environmental problems: Global warming, destruction of rainforests and species, loss of the ozone layer	82	68
Pollution that may affect your health	78	66
That our current way of life is not sustainable ecologically	71	53
That more women should be top leaders in business and government	66	48
That multinational corporations increasingly control our fate	66	54

Which of the following statements fits

the way you see things?	**New Progressives**	**Total US**
Americans should have more respect and reverence for Nature	93%	83%
Humans are part of nature, not its ruler	83	75
America needs a health insurance plan that covers everyone, rich or poor, for all illnesses	81	69
We must change the way we do business to save the environment	76	63
Americans need to consume a much smaller proportion of the world's resources	72	61
Business is already asked to pay too much for cleaning up the environment (*disagree*)	67	59
All of life needs to be preserved, even species we don't have a use for	67	55
We need to develop a whole new way of life for long-run ecological sustainability	67	53
I agree with ecologists who see Earth as a giant living organism	65	53
Most people have too many possessions	63	56
There is no way that economic growth can go on forever in a finite world	54	43
Redwood groves are sacred	49	36

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AFP photo / Vanderlei Almeida

Another World is Possible

by Walden Bello

After September 11, the movement against corporate-led globalization seemed to be in a tail spin. But the recent gathering of tens of thousands in Porto Alegre, Brazil, suggests that it's just getting started

Porto Alegre, site of the World Social Forum (WSF) last year and again this year, has become the byword for the spirit of the burgeoning movement against corporate-driven globalization.

Galvanized by the slogan "Another world is possible," some 50,000 people flocked to this coastal city from January 30 to February 4. This figure was nearly five times as many as attended last year. Fisherfolk from India, farmers from East Africa, trade unionists from Thailand, and indigenous people from Central America were among those who made their way to Porto Alegre to challenge the notion, made popular in some circles by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, that *there is no alternative*. Brazilians, of course, made up the majority, but quite a number of Argentines crossed the River Plate to share their feelings about their country's recent economic tragedy (see story on page 7). There was also a sizeable contingent from the North, with Italy alone contributing over 2,000 delegates.

The Porto Alegre crowd was distinctly anti-elitist, but this did not prevent it from receiving with great warmth the personalities that have come to exemplify the diversity of the movement against corporate-driven globalization—among others, activist-thinker Noam Chomsky, Indian physicist-feminist Vandana Shiva, Nobel prizewinner and indigenous peoples' advocate Rigoberta Menchu, Canadian peoples' advocate Maude Barlow, and Egyptian intellectual Samir Amin.

While Seattle was the site of the first major victory of the struggle against corporate-driven globalization, Porto Alegre represents the transfer to the South of the center of gravity of this surging global movement. Porto Alegre also symbolizes the creation of a space for the movement to discuss and forge alternatives to the prevailing global economic and political institutions and structures, and to the values that sustain them.

Counterpoint to Davos

The World Social Forum began as a counterpoint to the World Economic Forum (WEF), the annual gathering of the global corporate crowd in Davos, Switzerland. Proposed in mid-2000 by a coalition of Brazilian civil society organizations and the Workers' Party that controls both Porto Alegre and the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the idea triggered strong international support. The French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique* and Attac, an influential Europe-wide organization supporting reform of global economic institutions, were among

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Celebrations, street demonstrations, and a focus on alternatives marked the second World Social Forum held in January in Porto Alegre, Brazil. All photos by Mauricio Lima, Agence France Press, unless otherwise noted

those involved from the beginning, and financial support came in from a number of progressive donors. Driven by this energy, the first WSF was put together in just eight months.

A televised trans-Atlantic debate between representatives of the first WSF and some luminaries attending the WEF was billed by the *Financial Times* as a collision between two planets, that of the global super-rich and that of the vast marginalized masses. The most memorable moment of that confrontation came when Hebe de Bonafini, a representative of the Argentine human rights organization *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo*, shouted at financier George Soros across the Atlantic divide: "Mr. Soros, you are a hypocrite. How many children's deaths are you responsible for?"

Since its first meeting, the stock of the WSF has risen while that of the WEF has fallen. Already put on the defensive as a gathering to "discuss how to maintain hegemony over the rest of us," as one of the debaters on the WSF side put it, the WEF was apparently told by the Swiss government after September 11 that it could no longer guarantee the security of its corporate participants. Sealing off Davos from demonstrators in 2001 had already necessitated the biggest Swiss security operation since World War II, and the authorities anticipated a security and logistical nightmare in the wake of the September 11 events. As a result, the WEF moved its 2002 sessions to New York, ostensibly as a gesture of post-September 11 solidarity.

The centerpiece of this year's gathering in Porto Alegre was 26 plenary sessions over four days structured around four themes: the production of wealth and social reproduction, access to wealth and sustainable development, civil society and the public arena, and political power and ethics in the new society. Around this core unfolded scores of seminars, a people's tribunal on debt sponsored by Jubilee South, a convention of progressive parliamentarians, and about 500 workshops. The Brazilian mass organizations CUT (Central Union of Workers) and MST (the Movement of the Landless) were among those who led marches and demonstrations; both are among the key organizers of the WSF.

Though there was no televised debate with the WEF this time, comparison with the Davos/New York affair was on the minds of the media and participants at both locales. In fact the thousands of protesters outside the WEF events at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York saw themselves as part of the Porto Alegre process.

While discussion of alternatives to corporate-driven globalization was the centerpiece of Porto Alegre 2002, the theme of continuing resistance was prominent. Indeed, if Hebe de Bonafini's combative words provided the most memorable soundbite from Porto Alegre 2001, this year the most striking line also struck the theme of struggle. This came from Naomi Klein, author of *No Logo,* who brought a packed plenary to its feet with her assertion that what was needed was "less civil society and more civil disobedience."

Tumultuous year

The Porto Alegre gathering came at the end of a tumultuous year. Perhaps the high water mark of the anti-corporate globalization movement prior to September 11 came during the Group of Eight (G8) meeting in Genoa in July, when some 300,000 people marched in the face of police tear gas attacks. Shortly after the Genoa clashes, in which one protester

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was killed by police, there was speculation in the world press that elite gatherings in non-authoritarian countries might no longer be possible. And indeed, Canada's offer to hold the next G8 meeting in a resort high in the Canadian Rockies seemed to confirm the fact that the global elite was on the run from the democracy of the streets.

Then came September 11, which stopped a surging movement in its tracks. The next big confrontation between the establishment and its opponents was supposed to take place in late September in Washington, DC, during the annual fall meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Unnerved by the prospect of a week of massive protest that was expected to draw some 50,000 people, the World Bank and IMF took advantage of the September 11 shock to cancel their meeting. Without a target and sensitive to the sea change in the national mood in the US, organizers cancelled the protest and held a march for peace instead.

The partisans of globalization and liberalization followed up on the unexpected opportunity to reverse the crisis of legitimacy that had been wracking it prior to September 11 by pressing for a limited set of trade negotiations during the Fourth Ministerial of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Doha, Qatar, in mid-November. Third World governments were told that unless they agreed to talks leading to greater liberalization, they would have to take responsibility for worsening a global recession that had been accelerated by the World Trade Center attack.

Taking no chances, the WTO secretariat and the Qatar monarchy admitted to the meetings only about 60 genuine representatives of civil society—that is, those who are not fronts for corporate interests. This ensured that the massive demonstrations on the street that characterized Seattle—which had served as a context for the famous developing country revolt—were not present in Doha, and under these circumstances, developing country opposition collapsed.

Stacy Walsh Rosenstock

AFP photo / Mark Lennihan

Protesters at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in New York (left). Richard D. Parsons, CEO designate of AOL Time Warner, at a session on corporate citizenship at the WEF. Other panelists, left to right, are Ewald Kist of ING Group, John T. Chambers of Cisco Systems, Roberto Civita, of the Abril Group from Brazil and P.B. Watts of Royal Dutch Shell Group (below)

The corporate-globalization agenda's setback

Had the WSF meeting been held in late November or December, the mood of people coming would have been different. The Bush administration would have been riding high after its devastating triumph in Afghanistan. However, in the weeks leading up to Porto Alegre, history, cunning as usual, dealt two massive body blows: the Enron debacle and Argentina's economic collapse.

Enron has become the sordid symbol of the volatile mixture of deregulation and corruption that drove the "New Economy" in the 1990s and helped lead to global recession.

Argentina, burdened with a $140 billion foreign debt, its industry in chaos, and 2,000 of its citizens falling under the poverty line daily, serves as a cautionary tale of the disaster that awaits those countries that take the neoliberal advice to globalize their economies. Argentina took most seriously the neoliberal road of radical liberalization, deregulation, and privatization, including eliminating any significant buffer between the domestic economy and a volatile international economy by pegging the peso to the dollar.

When the WSF took place, the disasters of Enron and Argentina had renewed the crisis of legitimacy that plagues the project of corporate-driven globalization. Porto Alegre provided the perfect site and the perfect moment for a counteroffensive by the movements that believe "another world is possible."

Walden Bello is the executive director of the Bangkok-based policy and advocacy institute Focus on the Global South and professor of sociology and public administration at the University of the Philippines.

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Daily headlines tell the stories of inter-ethnic hostilities between Palestinians and Jews, Chechens and Russians, and Americans and Al Qaeda. But few know about the outbreak of peace in Sri Lanka

The Sound of Bombs *not* Exploding

by Joanna Macy

Sitting on the grass as far as I could see, 650,000 people made the biggest silence I ever heard. As the silence deepened, I thought: This is the sound of bombs and landmines not exploding, of rockets not launched, and machine guns laid aside. It is possible for us all.

In war-torn Sri Lanka, this was Peace Samadhi Day, March 15, 2002, perhaps the largest meditation for peace in the history of the world. Organized by the non-governmental Sarvodaya movement, the meditation both supported the cease-fire recently negotiated with Norwegian help between the Sinhalese-identified Sri Lankan government and the Tamil Tiger secessionist party, and celebrated the launching of Sarvodaya's "village-to-village, heart-to-heart" Link-Up program.

As I walked among the white-clad people who filled the paths to the great stupas and the grounds of the ancient, sacred city of Anuradhapura, I could not tell from which side of Sri Lanka's civil war these pilgrims came. No placards or shouted slogans proclaimed their identities. Only place names on the parked buses gave a clue. They came from Hindu Tamil and Buddhist Sinhalese areas that had been pitted against each other for the last 19 years.

Power struggles between the Sinhalese and Tamils are rooted in historic waves of invasion and foreign occupation on this island nation (formerly called Ceylon) off the tip of India. Since Independence in 1948, the Sinhalese majority has controlled the government and promoted policies favoring Sinhalese such as making Sinhala the only official language and giving state support to Buddhism. Hindu Tamils have grown increasingly resentful, and in 1983 Tamil Tigers ambushed and killed 13 Sinhalese soldiers, setting off full-scale riots in which hundreds of Tamils died and more than 100,000 fled the country. Ever since then, violence and retaliation have fed each other. By 2001, more than 65,000 people had died in this war. Over 700,000 more had been forced from their homes. The economy is wrecked and a generation of Sri Lankans has been traumatized.

Late last year, Sri Lanka's Prime Minister, Ranil Wickremesinghe was elected on a pro-peace mandate. In February, with Norwegian assistance, he signed a cease-fire agreement with Tamil leaders. Previous peace negotiations failed in 1987, 1989, and 1995, and today, Sri Lanka's president is leery of recognizing the Tamil separatists.

A few of the 650,000 people who meditated for peace for war-torn Sri Lanka on Peace Samadhi Day

photo courtesy of Sarvodaya

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Nevertheless, this June, the government and Tamil Tiger leaders may begin negotiations in Thailand.

What role has Sarvodaya played in this outbreak of peace? It is difficult to prove a direct link, but a report prepared in collaboration with the Norwegian Agency for Overseas Development by Professor K. T. Silva provides a clue. "When ethnic violence spread in several areas ... some of the local Sarvodaya leaders appealed to the residents not to join demonstrations or street riots. … In some instances, they gave protection to estate [plantation] residents who were Sinhalese and were vulnerable to attack by agitated mobs. As a result, only a few incidents were reported in estates covered by the project while law and order rapidly deteriorated in the surrounding areas." Perhaps the Sarvodaya movement's 44 years of bringing conflict-resolution skills and economic development to more than half of Sri Lanka's villages have indeed helped to shift the balance in favor of peace.

> When we raise our eyes to look forward, we can remain steady and determined despite the immediate challenges we face

Making peace, two villages at a time

On Peace Samadhi Day (*samadhi* means "conscious awareness"), Sarvodaya followers are ceremonially inaugurating the Link-Up program near an ancient bodhi tree. A thousand villages in the more devastated Tamil areas are paired with a thousand in the Sinhalese areas. The latter will bring materials and skilled and unskilled labor so that both parties can work together to rebuild homes, schools, wells, toilets, and places of worship destroyed in the fighting.

To symbolize this partnership, a village from each side had been selected, and after the temple bell is rung—at the precise moment when bells rang out across Sri Lanka—young people from each of these two villages come forward. They bear round trays of special festive food that they have prepared, and they feed each other. Then the plates are passed among the rest of us gathered here. Even if the cease-fire is sabotaged or the peace talks fail, I want to remember that taste of sweet rice and coconut. It tells me that this is what we really want most of all: to stop the fighting and feed each other.

Over the last year and a half, Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne, Sarvodaya's founder, has convened public peace meditations to change the "psychosphere." These gatherings let ordinary people demonstrate and deepen their desire to end the war. Sarvodaya—the name means "everybody wakes up"—is a Buddhist-inspired community development movement active in over 12,000 villages in all parts of this island republic. Its campaign for peace, moving into high gear with the fragile but promising cease-fire, aims to restore not only interethnic harmony, but also the basic necessities for economic well-being. These two are inseparable in Sarvodayan eyes, along with respect for the land and for the human spirit

Sarvodaya's peace plan includes development strategies for the dry zones, the most economically hard-pressed areas of Sri Lanka. It features locally generated energy as well as sustainable irrigation, soil renewal, and the community-controlled microcredit schemes that the movement has pioneered in the last decade. The aim of the movement is a "no poverty, no affluence" society to reduce the disparity between rich and poor brought about by late capitalism and corporate globalization. The priority placed on care for the land reminds me that "a safe and beautiful environment" is the very first of Sarvodaya's Basic Human Needs. (See page 55.)

A 500-year peace plan

Peace does not happen with the signing of documents; the effects of war continue to fester far into the future, often to erupt again in violence. Sarvodayans point out that the seeds of Sri Lanka's civil war were planted 500 years ago with European colonization, and estimates that healing will require an equal amount of time. So the peace plan extends over the next 500 years: five years to put dry-zone development measures in place; ten years to resettle all the refugees; 50 years to achieve the lowest poverty rate in the world and abolish Sri Lanka's standing army. The vision continues beyond that. By 2100, Sri Lanka becomes "the first country to eliminate poverty, both economic and spiritual." By the year 2500, "Global climate warming may cause changes to Sri Lankan environment; but because of the history of working together over hundreds of years, these changes will not be disasters. In 500 years, people might be living on other planets; however, Sri Lanka will remain their image of Paradise on Earth.

I think of the tightrope walker who, to maintain her balance and move steadily forward, must raise her eyes and keep looking ahead. When we raise our eyes to look forward in our work for peace and justice, when we feel our connections to future generations, we can remain steady and determined despite the immediate challenges we face. My friends in the Sarvodaya Movement have shown that we ordinary humans are capable of that.

Adapted with permission from an article appearing in *EarthLight*, the quarterly magazine of *Spiritual Ecology*, Spring 2002

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Rod Arakaki

A Wake-Up Call

In the late 1950s we started a movement calling people to join us and give at least 10 days of labor a year to the poorest villages in Sri Lanka. Principally, it was an educational extension, because I was a teacher and I wanted students to know the reality of our village people.

Within a couple of years, we realized ours was the largest people's participatory development movement. [From 100 villages in 1967, Sarvodaya was working in 15,000 by 2001—Eds.]

By 1969-70, we realized that the kind of development that is being thrust upon our people by the United Nations, rich governments, the World Bank, and others was not the kind of development we needed. Nothing short of total social transformation was going to improve the lives of our people. Today the Sarvodaya movement is education plus development plus nonviolent transformation of society.

From 1959, we have been working in Jaffna Peninsula [the Tamil-dominated area where the war has been most devastating—Eds.] where we built up this movement so that it is acceptable to all. The villages are divided into clusters of 10. Then these clusters are linked to a Sarvodaya Divisional Center and 12 to 15 divisional centers are linked to a district center. Now the movement has a very good network covering the whole country. In every village, we have programs for school-aged children, youth, women, farmers and others.

We have identified 10 basic human needs: a clean and beautiful environment—not only the physical environment but also a psychological environment where one can live without fear; water; clothing; food; health care; housing; energy; education; and finally, spiritual and cultural needs. We don't list employment. People need to have certain skills developed to satisfy the basic needs. That is where employment comes in, not under needs.

After some time, when we know there is a psychological and a social infrastructure developed in a village, we get that village registered with the government as an incorporated body. Already about 5,000 villages have been incorporated as independent legal entities. Then they can hold property, employ people, start economic enterprises, and develop a savings and credit program. We have established a management training institute [where we teach] the people down below not to exploit the people at the top but not to get exploited by them. In the village, the managers are the village women. Sometimes they have had no more than four or five years of education, but they are 100 percent trusted. When savings and credit programs reach a certain level we convert them into a bank. We have 300 legally constituted banks in the country. If we put all that money together we could buy one of the commercial banks now, but we don't want to. We want the money to remain within the villages.

In thinking of various ways of empowering our people, we think of social empowerment, economic empowerment, and technological empowerment. But we begin with spiritual empowerment. Without that, it is very difficult for a nonviolent movement to progress because in any movement, people can lose their control. When 200,000 people get together, if they don't have 100 percent spiritual discipline, if someone throws a stone, the whole group can go astray. That's why you need a very strong spiritual foundation, and also a very strong scientific and technological foundation to bring about, from bottom up, an awakening.

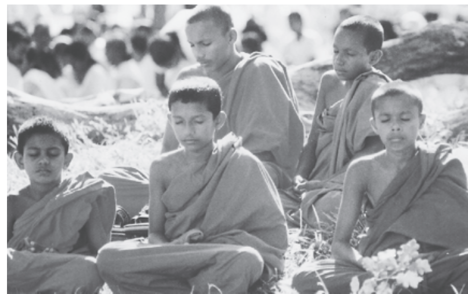
photo courtesy of Sarvodaya

Young monks sit in silence during the March 15 mass meditation for peace

I believe that poor people in the world have to take their destiny into their own hands, not in a violent foolish manner, but in an intelligent, organized, scientific, and philosophical manner. Sarvodaya is trying to do that in a small way.

Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne, born in 1931, founded the Sarvodaya movement in 1958. For his work promoting nonviolent social transformation he was awarded the Niwano Peace Prize in Japan in 1992 and the Mahatma Gandhi Peace Prize in 1996. *YES!* met with him in August 2001 and recorded these comments. For more information, see www.sarvodaya.org or contact SarvodayaUSA, 2616 Mason St., Madison WI 53705, 608/265-4077

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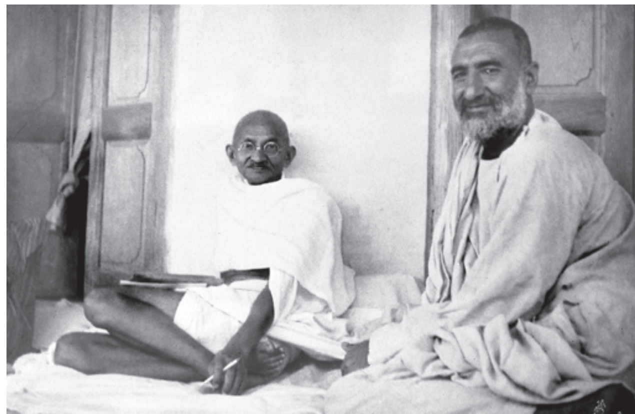
Pashtun Peacemaker

NONVIOLENT SOLDIER OF ISLAM: BADSHAH KHAN, A MAN TO MATCH HIS MOUNTAINS
by Sri Eknath Easwaran
$16.95, 276 pages
Nilgiri Press, 1999



Kanu Gandhi photo World/Peter Ruhe Archive

On April 23rd, 1930, unarmed crowds gathered in Kissa Khani Bazaar, in what is now Pakistan, in nonviolent protest against the British Raj. When they refused to disperse, British troops began firing on them: "When those in front fell down ... those behind came forward with their breasts bared and exposed themselves to the fire, so much so that some people got as many as 21 bullet wounds in their bodies, and all the people stood their ground without getting into a panic."

This was the world's first nonviolent army, called by Abdul Ghaffar (Badshah) Khan, who had joined Gandhi to lead his fellow Muslims in the struggle against British colonialism. His peaceful warriors were revenge- and honor-driven Pathans (or Pashtuns) of Afghanistan, the same tribe that would later dominate the Taliban. Khan won over almost 100,000 of these devout Muslims to a nonviolent movement that played a signal role in India's freedom struggle.

Who was Khan and how did he come to be Gandhi's partner in nonviolence? Khan, as one old Khudai Khidmatgar, or Servant of God in his nonviolent army, reminds us, was foremost a spiritual figure: "It was Badshah Khan's spiritual power that convinced us [to stand up to the British nonviolently]."

How could people known for their quickness to avenge violence with violence, people who 'only understand force'—take to nonviolence with such enduring passion?

This book shows that in the logic of nonviolence such a 'conversion' makes perfect sense. For nonviolence, as Gandhi insisted, was not the 'weapon of the weak'; on the contrary, it is the strongest form of human power and it takes the bravest and strongest to wield it.

It was precisely these warlike Pathans who were ideally suited to rechannel their bravery from a material to a spiritual force—if only someone could show them the way. And that someone was Badshah Khan, whose courage and idealism earned him the title "Frontier Gandhi."

"Speak sweetly to a Pathan," one of the nonviolent warriors explains, "and he will follow you to the ends of the earth." Speak violently to Pathans, as we are doing today, and you're in for trouble.

The book explodes three other myths we carelessly entertain about nonviolence; first, that nonviolence can work only against a weak opponent. As the protesters at Kissa Khani Bazaar knew, the firepower of the British army was hardly weak, nor were the British reluctant to use it when, as in the Pathans' frontier province, their authority was challenged.

The second myth is that nonviolence is useful for groups protesting an injustice, but not for a state, for national defense. One look at the photos showing tens of thousands of Khudai Khidmatgars standing in full uniform will haunt the imagination, for they are fully armed, but without

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guns. They are ready for the battle of real courage, of love in action.

And finally, there is the myth that nonviolence cannot take root in Islam. It is a travesty to hold that Islam, which enshrines mercy and patience at its very core, cannot support nonviolent struggle, as it did in the first Intifada in Palestine and could do again.

I was fortunate enough to hear Khan's story directly from Sri Eknath Easwaran at the Blue Mountain Center of Meditation in northern California, when he was writing *Nonviolent Soldier of Islam* .

Now, of course, with American troops locked in battle with Pathans and others in Afghanistan, this new edition is even more welcome. No one is more qualified to tell this story than Sri Easwaran, who saw Badshah Khan and followed his story while still in India. Sri Easwaran's simple, practical books on meditation have sold over a million copies, and his students span the world today, making him uniquely qualified to show us both the spiritual basis and the practical workings of nonviolence, which Gandhi called "the greatest force mankind is endowed with."

Interviewed by anthropologist Mukulika Banerjee in her recent book *The Pathan Unarmed,* Khan's old warriors, now frail and infirm, come to life as they relive the moment of glory when they answered the call to nonviolence. Says 75-year-old Jarnail Abdul Aziz of Badshah Khan, "We feel that he is still alive and among us today." Reading this book, we can almost agree with him.

***Michael N. Nagler** is professor emeritus of Classics and Comparative Literature at University of California Berkeley and chair of the Peace and Conflict Studies Program. He has lived for over 30 years at the northern California-based Blue Mountain Center of Meditation.*

Frank DiMeo, Cornell University Photography

Left, Mahatma Gandhi and Khan relax together. Right, Author Sandra Steingraber with her daughter, Faith

HAVING FAITH: AN ECOLOGIST'S JOURNEY TO MOTHERHOOD

by Sandra Steingraber
$26.00, 342 pages
Perseus Publishing, 2001

"What are babies made with?" my friend's five-year-old asked me as I held his newborn brother. I mused how to answer: a sperm and egg, blood and water, hormones that send millions of messages telling cells how to shape new life, all too many toxic chemicals. ... How should I respond?

Having just read Sandra Steingraber's new book, I realized that the answer has only become more complex. In *Having Faith*, Steingraber takes Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* a step further by turning her scientific gaze inward at the budding new life in her own womb. As her personal and scientific inquiry unfolds, it becomes piercingly clear that the tens of thousands of synthetic chemicals now existing in our environment can disrupt normal growth at every stage of development. In fact, her findings strongly suggest that having a healthy child today is even more of a miracle and is increasingly threatened.

Steingraber divides the first part of the book into nine chapters, corresponding to her nine months of pregnancy. She names each part a new moon to reflect the ever-changing first environment that a child has: the mother's body. Though she begins with her discovery of being pregnant, she quickly swims upstream to explore earlier life experiences of growing up in rural Illinois where pesticides and fertilizers were heavily used and as a cancer survivor in her 20s. In this way, she makes the case that her lifetime body burden of environmental toxins—long before conception—may not only have affected her own health, but could also affect the development of the fetus now growing in her belly.

As each month passes, her capacity to combine her personal experience with a keen scientific mind and sense of humor is engaging and even at moments breath-taking. She cites studies, historical references, literature, and anecdotes from her life to capture the exquisite evolution of the human embryo. She marvels at the formation of each new organ, of limbs, bones and skin, and, with the expressiveness of a poet, describes the intricacy of molecular biology as well as the impact toxic chemicals may have on each stage of fetal development. Throughout her pregnancy and childbirth, she highlights the tough choices women of child-bearing age today must make, from what they eat to what kind of medical interventions to allow.

In the second (and last) part of the book, Steingraber, now a breastfeeding mom to her daughter Faith, gives us an even broader framework in which to

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understand the nature of environmental toxins not only within our own bodies and communities, but throughout our nation and world. Noting significant increases recently in childhood asthma, certain childhood cancers, learning disabilities, and hypospadius, she passionately deplores the chemical experiment we are now performing world wide on our most vulnerable population—children.

In a striking passage, she relates passing around some of her own breast milk to delegates at a UN meeting in Geneva—this is clearly not a gimmick, but a sincere plea to awaken those with political clout to the stunning realization that breast milk is now the most toxic human food available. Though Steingraber emphasizes breast feeding is still the best thing a new mother can offer her newborn for many reasons, she argues that the fact that breast milk has become so contaminated is nothing short of a global human rights issue.

In this light, she calls upon all of us to act with precaution and prevent harm to children by producing and using the least toxic alternatives available whenever possible.

In short, Steingraber's powerful and careful analysis of the current questions and serious issues is an essential text not only for environmental health scientists, advocates, and future parents, but for all who care about the health of future generations.

I realized that as someone who is considering the prospects of motherhood myself, perhaps Steingraber has named the best response I could offer my five-year-old friend in the context of so many possible toxic threats—babies are indeed made with a large dose of faith.

Elise Miller, MEd, is executive director of the Institute for Children's Environmental Health. She can be contacted at emiller@iceh.org

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THE DIVINE RIGHT OF CAPITAL

by Marjorie Kelly

Berrett-Koehler Publishers, $24.95, 230 pages, 2001

It's an old story: the child rebels against a parent and then turns out just like him or her. It can happen to a nation too, as Marjorie Kelly shows in her wonderful new book. The American colonists rejected Mother England and everything it stood for: aristocracy, special privilege, inherited wealth, the divine right of kings. Then they created a republic that—despite their best intentions—bred those very things, in the form of the modern corporation.

This is the back story in the Enron fiasco, the one the mainstream media won't touch. Sure, we care about shareholders who lost their life savings. But what about the rest of us, our communities, and the planet? Kelly's title is not facile populism. She means it. The modern corporation and its largest shareholders occupy a place in our society that royalty occupied in the one we supposedly cast off.

A defining trait of aristocracy, for example, is entitlement to income one does not produce. That also defines a modern corporate shareholder. Most shareholders today don't even contribute capital to the corporation they "own." Instead they just play the Wall Street casino, placing bets on paper representations of ownership as opposed to actually exercising it. "Like the French aristocracy before the (French) revolution," Kelly writes, "stockholders as owners have discarded virtually all productive functions they once had, but still retain their privileges."

Or take royalty. As it emerged in Europe, the authority of kings rested on a series of legal fictions, concocted to justify the existing order. The king was everywhere, though physically in one place. He was immortal, and he was never wrong. That's a fair summary of the legal fictions that underlie the global corporation. It is chartered in Delaware or some other state but it exists everywhere. It may lay off workers and decimate communities and the planet; but as long as it is making money for its shareholders then it is always right.

Kelly takes a reader through heavy conceptual territory with a deft, irreverent touch. Her writing has energy and panache, and she offers suggestive nuggets from her research instead of overwhelming with it. Did you know for example, that John Locke, an intellectual father of modern economic orthodoxy, believed that people should own only as much property as they could productively use?

Or that Adam Smith himself believed that profits should be small? Profits are "always highest in countries which are going fastest to ruin," Smith wrote. High profits represent an "absurd tax" upon the citizenry, he added. Would someone please send a telegram to the White House?

America never really chose the version of the corporation that has come to dominate our lives

America never really chose the version of the corporation that has come to dominate our lives, Kelly observes. Instead it snuck up through the cracks in the Constitutional scheme. Judges, not legislators, first declared that corporations exist solely for their shareholders. In 1886, in Santa Clara v. Southern Pacific, the Supreme Court ruled—with no precedent or justification—that corporations are legal "per-

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Christopher McCleod

sons" entitled to full Constitutional protection under the 14th Amendment. That amendment was supposed to guarantee the rights of African Americans. Yet in the 50 years following the 1886 decision, about one half of one percent of 14th Amendment cases concerned African Americans.

Instead, the vast majority concerned the rights of corporations, which the Amendment never mentions. That's aristocracy in action, claiming for the very rich protections intended for the downtrodden.

Kelly publishes *Business Ethics*, and she has an ability that most business reporters lose their first day on the job—namely, the ability to ask the obvious question and to look at the accepted with clear and quizzical eyes. Why is it, she asks, that return to employees is considered a cost to a corporation, while return to the shareholders is considered a gain?

In other words why shouldn't an enterprise gauge its success in part on how much it returns to its workers and for that matter to its communities as well? When we start to ask such questions, we'll start to look a little more like the nation the Founders thought they were establishing and less like the old order they were tossing aside.

Jonathan Rowe *is a fellow at the Tomales Bay Institute, a regular contributor to* YES! *and a contributing editor for* Washington Monthly.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE SACRED
by Christopher McLeod and Malinda Maynor, narrated by Peter Coyote and Tantoo Cardinal

Bullfrog Films, Box 149, Oley, PA 19547, 800/543-3764 www.bullfrogfilms.com

They said it would bring prosperity to the people. They said they would take only what amounted to a cup of water from a vast ocean. What they did was to cut open and rape my mother, and dry up the sacred pools of water. We should have known when they offered prosperity that it would come at a high price, one that we ultimately could not afford.

Today, Peabody Coal Company and other mining companies are strip mining the earth on Hopi and Navajo sacred home lands. Pipelines use millions of gallons of precious water to transport coal slurry from the desert Southwest to the massive powerplants that supply electricity to growing cities. Huge scoop shovels have carved out the coal deposits for almost 30 years.

"We have made a terrible mistake, and how do we rectify it?" asks an Hopi elder, referring to the agreement signed with Peabody Coal. Mistakes were made on all sides. Now we must determine how we will correct and stop the continuation of those mistakes before we destroy the sacred places of the earth.

In the Light of the Sacred centers on the struggle over three sites: *Mato Tepela* (lodge of the Bear), also called Devil's Tower, in Wyoming, sacred to the Lakota people; sites in the Four Corners region of Arizona, sacred to the Hopi; and parts of Mount Shasta in California, where the Wintu people come to pray. Sometimes it is non-Native rock climbers, miners, new age seekers, or resort developers who fail to recognise the sacredness of these ancient sites. But Native people's mistakes have also brought about depletion of water and destruction of their sacred lands.

In each case, the film shows the clashing of world views, the sharply contrasting beliefs about what is offered and what is stolen, what is to be protected and what is to be exploited. Even if we ourselves do not revere a site as sacred, the film asks, what obligation do we have to respect its sacredness to someone else?

"I just didn't see what they saw, and I couldn't get there," said a gravel mining company owner, his voice nearly drowned out by the bulldozers as a hill sacred to the Hopi people is flattened and dropped into a waiting gravel truck. That hill was gradually being transformed into gravel for a highway road bed.

The film asks each of us which side we will take. Will we be grateful servants or lording masters? Will we be givers of life to the earth, or will we be takers of her gifts and life? The film shows what happens when places that were given to us are lost. But it also shows the people, both Native and non-Native, who have come to honor these sites and to preserve them.

Timothy Iistowanohpataakiiwa *is a Siksika elder, teacher, and lay pastor in the Episcopal Church.*

Lightning strikes behind Mato Tepela (Devil's Tower), Wyoming, a site sacred to the Lakota people and also a popular climbing spot

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Linda Wolf

New Staff at PFN

This seems to be the year of recruitment at the Positive Futures Network. Since January, we've hired four new staff, and we're in the midst of recruiting two more.

In the pages of *YES!* you'll be getting acquainted with our new managing editor, Connie Kim, and senior editor, Carolyn McConnell. Connie has been a free-lance writer and helped with an Internet start up. She's been a fast study on all that it takes to get *YES!* from the idea stage to a printed magazine. Already she's helped us shift to a new printer—and to greener paper. The magazine you're holding is printed on 100 percent recycled, 75 percent post-consumer waste, process chlorine-free .

Carolyn McConnell comes to us from the University of Iowa, where she taught and got her Masters in nonfiction writing. She's now completing a book based on her childhood summers in the pristine wilderness of the North Cascade mountains. She's an avid environmentalist and supporter of workers' rights. We're thrilled to have Connie and Kim on our team.

Sadly, we've had a rash of goodbyes recently. Sheldon Ito, our editorial intern-turned interim associate editor, is now in New York City, where he coordinates trips for city kids into the forests of the Northeast. Stefanie Jackson, our halftime layout and production person, has moved to Seattle to help a friend with a music business. Sally Lovell, our part-time bookkeeper, found her job at the Food Co-op in Port Townsend had expanded to become a full-time job. She left us an extraordinary legacy of orderly financial records.

Our new bookkeeper, Mary Ann Dow, has been deeply involved with editor Sarah van Gelder in activities that foster understanding between the Native and non-Native residents of the nearby Port Madison Reservation.

Finally, Kim Corrigan has just become our education outreach manager. This is a new position for which our one-year fellow, Perri Ardman, laid the groundwork. We're grateful to Bob Erwin, a Texas businessman concerned with education and environmental sustainability, who provided the funding for the position. Kim has big plans for getting *YES!* into college and high school classrooms around the country. She lives with her partner on a sail boat in the harbor just a few blocks from the office. She notes that boat living keeps her honest about sustainability—there's simply no space to accumulate stuff.

You may be curious about others who work behind the scenes at *YES!* Sally Wilson's the one who signs your renewal notices. Most publications contract out circulation to some big impersonal fulfillment house. We keep ours in-house so you can get the tender-loving care that only Sally and her assistant Sharon Booth can give.

Sally's been our circulation manager since *YES!* began in 1996. She and her husband Richard are well-known on Bainbridge Island for helping the Unitarian Fellowship grow from a handful of folks having Saturday dinner together to a full-fledged congregation with over 100 members. Richard is also our ace proofreader at *YES!* He does the final read before the magazine goes to press.

When you call or e-mail the office, Kathleen Peel is the one most likely to respond. Kathleen joined us last June as our office manager. Her commute is all of 300 yards—from her apartment right next door. Kathleen loves camping in the great Northwest and is a volleyball champ.

Kim Corrigan

Mary Ann Dow

Connie Kim

Carolyn McConnell

Audrey Watson

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We couldn't live without the help of interns, fellows, and volunteers. Pam Chang is our current editorial fellow. She took a break from her career as an architect to join us for a year. Pam walks her talk. She bikes four very hilly miles to work, takes care of the office worm-bin, and back home in Berkeley, has a house powered by photovoltaics on the roof.

Katie Bedor came to us from the University of Wisconsin to be our networking intern. Katie found that in college she was getting depressed over the relentless bad news about the state of the planet. When she discovered *YES!* she knew she had to work here. As you might expect, Katie's a big fan of our new education outreach program. As she says, young people *need this magazine!*

We have too many volunteers to describe them all, but let me introduce you to our oldest and our youngest. Millie Smith, age 81, helps with our library. She's still got fire in the belly about politics and usually arrives at the office with an article or two in hand ready for a hot political discussion. She says at this low point in our political history, it's *YES!* that keeps her sane. Sean Fraga at 14 is our Mac maven. He got the Mac computer bug when he was only 4 years old. When he discovered our office was full of Macs needing cleaning up and upgrading, he volunteered to do the job.

These are a few of the extraordinary people I have the great pleasure to work with every day. If you know of people who might want to work here, have them check our website, www.yesmagazine.org; we post all available staff and intern positions there. We also have opportunities for volunteers, especially if you live close enough to come by our office.

Fran

Fran Korten, Executive Director

Events & Announcements

Rolling Thunder Down Home Democracy Tour

Coming soon, to a city near you: "It's a county fair with guts. A revival with a reason. A concert with consciousness. A festival with funk and function," say the organizers of The Rolling Thunder Down-Home Democracy Tour. It's purpose? To "reawaken a great American tradition of asserting the power of regular people to fight for their rights." Featuring enlightening education, music, food and drink; and a good jolt of Jim Hightower's wit and wisdom, plus firebrand speakers ranging from Jesse Jackson Jr. to Barbara Ehrenreich.

Chicago, Illinois: June 15
Tuscon, Arizona: July 27
Seattle, Washington: August 24
Atlanta, Georgia: September 7
Minneapolis, Minnesota: TBA

For information, visit www.rollingthundertour.org

Earth Summit + Ten

The World Summit on Sustainable Development to be held August 26 – September 4 in Johannesburg, South Africa, will review progress and setbacks since the first Earth Summit, held in Rio in 1992. A Civil Society Global Forum begins on August 19. See www.johannesburgsummit.org, www.citnet.org/worldsummit, or www.earthsummit2002.org.

Global Justice in Montana

The Global Justice Action Summit sponsored by a coalition of over 40 local organizations and businesses committed to social justice, sustainable agriculture, and environment, will host an international forum and festival June 20-24 in Missoula, Montana, just before world leaders are scheduled to meet at the G8 Summit in Calgary. Speakers will include Walden Bello (see page 50) and Kevin Danaher of Global Exchange. Afterwards, a Sus-Trans caravan leaves for the Glacier-Waterton International Peace Park. Information, including housing and registration for vendors, is at www.globaljas.org or 406/541-2001.

Earth Charter Community

On September 28th, 2002, communities around the US will link up via satellite to promote the implementation of the Earth Charter. For information about how your city can participate, contact the Institute for Ethics & Meaning at 1-888/538-7227 or visit www.earthcharter.org.

A Culture of Nonviolence

In association with Schumacher College, Vandana Shiva and Satish Kumar will teach a 9-day residential course entitled *Spirituality & Sustainability in a Global Economy: Creating a Culture of Nonviolence* at the Whidbey Institute in Clinton, WA. July 19-28, 2002. For information, call 360-341-1884 or whidinst@whidbey.com.

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Please consider making a bequest to the Positive Futures Network. Your gift will keep the positive voice of *YES!* going and growing. For more information, contact Bruce Haedt, 206/842-0216

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Troubled by the difficulties of a clean & green existence? Whipsawed by confusion because you want to live sustainably but you don't know how? Don't worry — Ask Yes! But How?

Michelle White

YES! … But How?

Ever since reading *The Canary's Tale* and other books about enviro toxins and multiple chemical sensitivity, I have been concerned about solvents, flame retardant, and petrochemical based elements in carpet. How do I know what a safe carpet is—especially where infants are concerned? Can you give advice on where to shop for carpeting that is free of these toxins?

Alison
San Francisco, California

The safest carpet for someone who has multiple chemical sensitivity may be no carpet at all, since synthetic carpets contain as many as 120 known toxins. Babies who spend a lot of time on the floor are particularly affected. Complaints associated with synthetic carpeting include dizziness, headaches, and respiratory problems. Chemicals such as formaldehyde, PVC, and styrene-butadiene found in carpet, rubber padding, and adhesives can take more than ten years to off-gas, so airing new carpet does not solve the bigger issue of long term exposure.

Any carpet, whether treated with chemicals or not, is a repository for dust, dirt and environmental toxins such as pesticides tracked in from outdoors. According to John Roberts, an environmental engineer who has studied the problem for nearly 20 years, on average a 10-year-old carpet contains two pounds of dust, including lead, pesticides, and mercury. These can affect a baby's development and contribute to childhood asthma.

Instead of carpet, consider washable organic cotton throw rugs. For other environmentally safe flooring ideas, such as bamboo, sustainably harvested wood, natural linoleum, or cork, check out Environmental Building News (www.buildinggreen.com or look for copies at your local library). On-line, visit the Environmental Home Center at www.built-e.com. As green-building awareness grows, more and more suppliers are jumping on the green bandwagon. Tell your local lumberyard, contractors, architects, and flooring retailers that you want sustainable products, and ask for their recommendations.

If you still prefer carpet, I recommend biodegradable wool. Companies such as Nature's Carpet (www.naturescarpet.com) offer products free of moth repellents, chemical treatments and dyes.

I followed your recommendation and bought some Fresh Cab to put in my kitchen drawers to discourage the field mice in my little country cottage. They ate both the covering and the content of the pouches and weren't repelled at all.

I've plugged the holes, am using two Havahart traps, but after catching a few mice, the others seem to catch on and avoid the traps. The only thing that seems to work is the old style snap trap, which kills quickly. Even with these, the mice eat the bait about half the time without springing the trap. I'm also trying those electrical devices that emit high frequency sounds. It's too soon to tell if they are working.

Do you have other suggestions?

Janet Kalven
Loveland, Ohio

Fresh Cab worked for me but it sounds like you have a healthy, well-established mouse population. While I haven't tried (so can't endorse) any of their products, U-Spray, Inc. in Lilburn, GA (800/877-7290) has an exhaustive discussion on rodent control at www.bugspray.com/article/rats.html. In short, they note that once mice have made your home theirs, they are as averse to eviction as you would be. Removing food or water sources, sealing holes, and using repellents may keep new mice away but only forces the local residents to look harder for nearby alternatives.

If you can't live with them, you must remove your resident mice before implementing lesser controls. Live trapping is recommended because happily contained mice will invite, not scare away, their relatives. Be sure not to distress your captives:

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provide ample food and water and check traps daily. Relocate the critters or kill them as humanely as possible. Electrocution devices or expanded-trigger snap traps (that are harder for mice to circumvent) are available. Remove dead animals and clean traps quickly before other mice wise up to you. You must be diligent. One breeding pair can have ten litters of 4-16 children or 2000 multigenerational descendants in one year. One expert recommends using several types of traps in varying locations for at least 15 consecutive days.

Afterwards, be a fanatic about keeping food (including pet food and birdseed) in rodent-proof containers. Seal entryways but remember that mice can enter any hole larger than 1/4" wide and they can jump up a foot or down eight feet without injury.

I have some expired prescription drugs that I wish to dispose of. Any suggestions on how?

Derry Malsch
Eugene, Oregon

A particularly apt question when the news is just breaking that our national waterways are turning into great slurries of antibiotics and hormones.

I asked a government official who said, "Flush em! Oh, unless you've got a septic tank – because that might kill the bacteria." I gently inquired as to the possibility of taking them to a central hazardous waste disposal site. This person allowed as how you could do that, if you wanted to go to all that trouble. But as a *YES!* reader, you, of course, want to "go to all that trouble".

And, of course, you don't have any leftover antibiotics, because you know that taking only part of your prescription is how we breed super bugs. In fact, you probably don't have any antibiotics at all unless you've had a bacterial infection, since you know that antibiotics don't do any good for a cold, flu, or other viral infection.

For other leftover but unexpired medications, check with your local free clinic. They may or may not be able to use them, but it costs nothing to ask, and that's a much better fate than any form of disposal.

I am looking for a windshield wash that I can put into the mechanism in my car. But all that I find on the market are marked "Poison." I have recipes for nonpoisonous solutions but am told not to use them because they will freeze. What do you suggest?

H. E. Post
via e-mail

Vodka. My first thought was isopropyl (rubbing) alcohol, but OSHA says that's a carcinogen. But not ethyl (drinking) alcohol. Just add the appropriate amount to your nontoxic recipe, substituting the liquor of your choice for about half the water.

Adapting a recipe from www.BetterBasics.com, this would be: 1/4 cup vinegar, 1/2 teaspoon liquid soap or detergent, one cup water and one cup of Vodka. Shake to blend. This should be good down to about minus 10 degrees F. Increase the vodka for more freeze protection. Try not to get stopped by the police immediately after you've cleaned your windshield.

To live the fullest sustainable life, should one be a vegetarian?

Katie Williams
Michigan

In the best of all possible worlds, not necessarily. In this world, probably so. You at least should consume less meat than the average American, that is, less than 218 pounds per year. Incredibly, only about six billion people do that.

It's not hard to find good arguments for eating vegetarian. You can get 101 at www.vivavegie.org/vv101/101reas98.html or you can read the book *365 Good Reasons to Be a Vegetarian* by Victor Parachin.

There seems to be only one reason for eating meat American style: "We're Americans. We eat meat." (Lest others be too smug, Germans, Italians, Argentinians, Britons, Brazilians and New Zealanders all eat between 1/2-2/3 as much meat per capita as we do.)

The simple reason that industrial-style carnivorism is not sustainable is this: Large animals are stunningly inefficient at converting input calories into output calories. They drink (and soil) a lot of water, too. It takes 16 pounds of grain and 2500 gallons of water to make one pound of beef. That's a half ton of grain and 173,000 gallons of water per American per year just for beef (2001 figures from the National Cattlemen's Beef Association), never mind pork and poultry.

There's a truism of savage capitalism: There are no food shortages, just localized money shortages. There's enough food produced in the world to feed everyone. It's just that the 40,000 or so who die each day of starvation can't bid enough to divert grain from cows' mouths to theirs.

Meat consumption is enormously wasteful, and the idea that with enough gumption everyone could eat like us is an absurd chimera. Full disclosure: Is this writer a vegetarian? Nope. But 218 pounds a year? Not even close.

Doug Pibel, Anna McClain, Pam Chang and Annie Berthold Bond contributed to this column.

Do you have a question for Yes! But How? Send it to:

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BACK ISSUES

get more out of *YES!*

Good news! Now you have more options in back issue selection. Buy a complete back set, or choose just the issues you want in the quantities you need. Standard back issues are $6.50 each. Buy 5 or more and pay just $5 each. Endangered issues (those in limited supply) are now available at $10 each. Endangered rates apply to the titles in the gray boxes.

#21 What Does It Mean to be an American Now? – Patriotism is a work in progress, defined by deeds not symbols: founding ideals and actions, Iroquois influence on democracy, Freedom Sings—an interview with Harry Belafonte, a Place for Dignity, What is Real Security? How to be a Patriot

#20 Can Love Save the World? (2nd printing) – Alternative responses to 9-11, pacifism with teeth, the heart of a Muslim, listening as a subversive act, a prisoner's spiritual journey

#19 Technology: Who Chooses?– Who's in charge of technology? Richard Sclove helps citizens reclaim the right to choose. Jill Bamburg on radical technologies; Janine Benyus on nature's designs. Prospects for a hydrogen economy and a solar future

#18 Reclaiming the Commons – The hidden commons with Jonathan Rowe, David Bollier, and Kari McGinnis. Your share of the global commons; Donella Meadows; Public Power keeps the lights on

#17 Working for Life – How you can quit the rat race, discover your vocation, and save the Earth; with Parker Palmer, Danny Glover, Judy Wicks, Matthew Fox, Juliet Schor. Also Bill McKibben on climate change; Walden Bello on the Year of Global Protest

#16 A New Culture Emerges – A shifting worldview and culture could change everything; with Paul Ray, Sherry Anderson, Vincent & Rosemary Harding, Duane Elgin, Pramila Jayapal, Thomas Berry

#15 Is It Time To Close the Prisons? – Why the US imprisons 2 million of its people, and how that could change; Drug War Games, Women in Jail, Navajo Justice, Sister Helen Prejean on Death Row, The Prison-Industrial Complex, Street Ministers, Peacemakers

#14 Food for Life – Alternatives to industrial food and farming; Rachel Bagby's Twenty Acres and a Hen, Wendell Berry's manifesto, Vandana Shiva on reclaiming seeds, Winona LaDuke's wild rice, David Suzuki on life, Carol Estes on small farms

#13 New Stories – Moments of Grace, by Thomas Berry; secrets of the universe from Mae-Wan Ho; keeping peace in Macedonia; also Paul Hawken and Jonathan Rowe report on the battle in Seattle

#12 Changing the Climate – Global warming crisis, by Ross Gelbspan; Are you Kyoto cool?, cool companies, green schools, Episcopal power and Light

#11 The Power of One – The Daring Compassion of Activists, Alice Walker; Bill McDonough on designs that love all the children; What's your calling? Also natural investing

#10 Cities of Exuberance – diverse, green, beautiful cities; reclaim your street; Curitiba: Brazil's city of hope; how to revitalize your city

#9 Economics as if *Life* Matters – David Korten, The Post Corporate World; Peter Barnes, Who Shall Inherit the Sky?; the U'wa people; Thailand's Hill Tribes; How to build a new economy

#8 Education for Life – John Taylor Gatto, David Orr, Computers in class, Music and Intuition, 101 Ways to Get Educated; also Smoke Signals; car-sharing cooperatives

#7 Peace Makers – Building peace in Ireland, South Africa, Israel, and Iraq; restorative justice; Karl-Henrik Robert on the Natural Step; Donella Meadows on nuclear insecurity

#6 Rx for the Earth – Theo Colborn on chemicals in the environment and in our bodies, Mothers of East Los Angeles, de-toxify your home, yard, community; voluntary simplicity roundtable

#5 Millennium Survival Guide – A life-sustaining future; Jubilee 2000, scenarios, mindful parenting, Anita Roddick, responsible wealth

#4 Sustainable Sex – Beyond commercial sex, the sexual revolution, and repression; Naomi Wolf on girl; sacred sex; the loving arts

#3 Sustaining Watersheds – Northwest communities learn how to live within natural limits

#2 Money: Print Your Own! – How redesigning money could shift the economy; community currencies; beyond greed

#1 Future Watch: Signs of an Emerging Culture – Signs that something new is emerging, with Susan Griffin, Ram Dass, Vandana Shiva

Books and Games

Saying *YES!*
Your favorite interviews from *YES!* magazine, featuring David Korten, Joanna Macy, Paul Hawken, Carl Anthony, Rachel Naomi Remen, Bernard Lietaer, Muhammad Yunus, and others.

Mask Game:
A Conversation across Time
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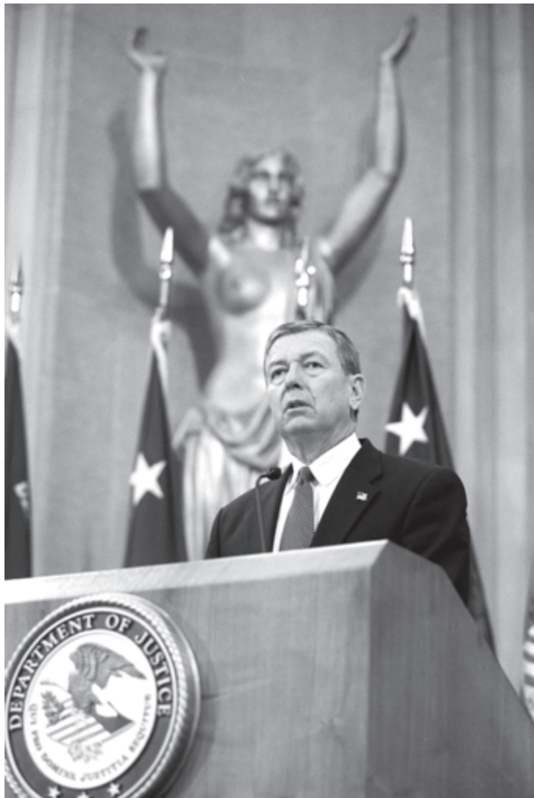
Someone get that lady a burqa!

Covering Up Justice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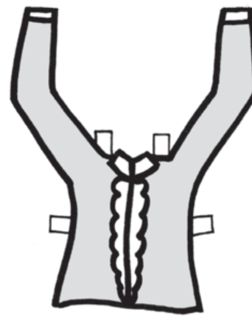

A bandana to cover the eyes of anyone offended by bare breasts

No longer will Attorney General John Ashcroft appear in photographs with a bare-breasted statue behind him. The Justice Department has spent $8,000 on curtains to hide the semi-nude "Spirit of Justice" that has stood for decades in the department's Great Hall where news conferences are often held.

The move ends a tradition of photographers diving to the floor to capture the attorney general with a breast behind his shoulder, a shot that became infamous when photographers caught then-Attorney General Ed Meese brandishing his pornography report in front of the statue.

But we at *YES!* have a plan to save taxpayers that money. There are many cheaper ways to cover up justice and prevent those embarrassing photos—and save the photographers' knees.

A fashion-savvy attorney general could robe his Spirit of Justice in any number of lovely outfits. And he could aid the war effort by turning the $8,000 saved over to the Defense Department to buy 1/125,000 of a Stealth bomber.

Come up with your own ideas for money-saving cover-ups!

Dear Reader,

Linda Wolf

People live by stories, George Gerbner, chair emeritus of the Annenberg School of Communication, once said. If you can control people's stories, you don't need to control their armies or legislatures, because you already control their minds and hearts.

In households across the US, and increasingly in other nations, our stories are told by television and advertising. The values that are implicit in this corporate storytelling are substituting for those we once learned from our parents and grandparents. Our identities are tied to the logo on a t-shirt or sports shoe, not to our community or heritage, or our role as active participants in the creation of our future.

As the profit motive comes to dominate our storytelling, superficiality and mediocrity rule. We get the homogeneous, boring landscapes that are seen around almost every American city. The arts become fodder for advertising, leaving us hungry for real beauty and meaning.

Instead of further stimulating an addiction to consumer culture, how might the arts feed our souls? How might the arts help us reclaim our identities as individuals, cultures, and communities? How could the arts help us to build bridges between groups, heal past hurts, and connect more intimately with our natural environment?

This issue of *YES!* tells of people taking back their stories. One performer co-creates dance that reveals and begins healing the fault lines in a community (page 19). An artist paints a mural depicting the tragedy of young people locked in adult prisons (page 28). An architect, Samuel Mockbee—who appears on the cover of this issue—brings eclectic beauty to the design of housing for impoverished people in the South (page 35).

In many traditional cultures, art is inseparable from life. Every item is worth making beautiful, whether it is a dish or a table. The canoes and paddles of the Native peoples of the Pacific Northwest, for example, are carved and painted in ways that tell their stories, and the process of carving is itself imbued with ceremony and story telling (page 22).

These cultural expressions tell us where we came from and who we are. They pass along values, life skills, and sources of pride from generation to generation. But the arts do more than provide continuity with the past. At their best, they also open possibilities for the future. Artists, performers, writers, and dancers allow us to question the dominant mythology of our culture and consider ideas that otherwise might seem too radical. They provide the spaciousness that allows explorations of new ways of thinking and being.

As industrial, corporate-driven ways of life become increasingly unsustainable, people are looking for alternatives. They are creating other ways of life that are more sustainable for the Earth and their own well-being. These changes are not coming from a blueprint, but rather from explorations of mind, body, and heart. They don't come from a central source, but rather they bubble up from many communities. This process of change is an intuitive, interactive process, not one in which we can be passive consumers. It requires that we not only think rationally about how to create a more sustainable world, but that we dance, sing, and build it into being.

Our community gatherings, dances, film festivals, and music performances, then, can be revolutionary acts. They help us discover and manifest our own dreams for the future and allow us to take the first steps toward making those dreams a reality.

Sarah

Sarah Ruth van Gelder
Executive Editor

P.S. While we were working on gathering the stories for this issue on arts and culture, we also came across some hopeful stories in a very different arena: politics. I was lucky to have an opportunity to interview US Representative Dennis Kucinich, chair of the congressional Progressive Caucus, whose "Prayer for America" speech has been electrifying people across the country (page 44). Paul Ray, author of *The Cultural Creatives*, reports on the emergence of a significant new political constituency (page 47). And Walden Bello provides an update on a gathering of tens of thousands in Porto Alegre, Brazil—an alternative to the World Economic Forum's agenda of corporate-led globalization (page 50).

Artists can be a culture's scouts,
forging paths into the future,
and their works, at their best,
are prophetic

Milenko Matanovic

Jason Houston

yes!
Summer 2002
Issue #22

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