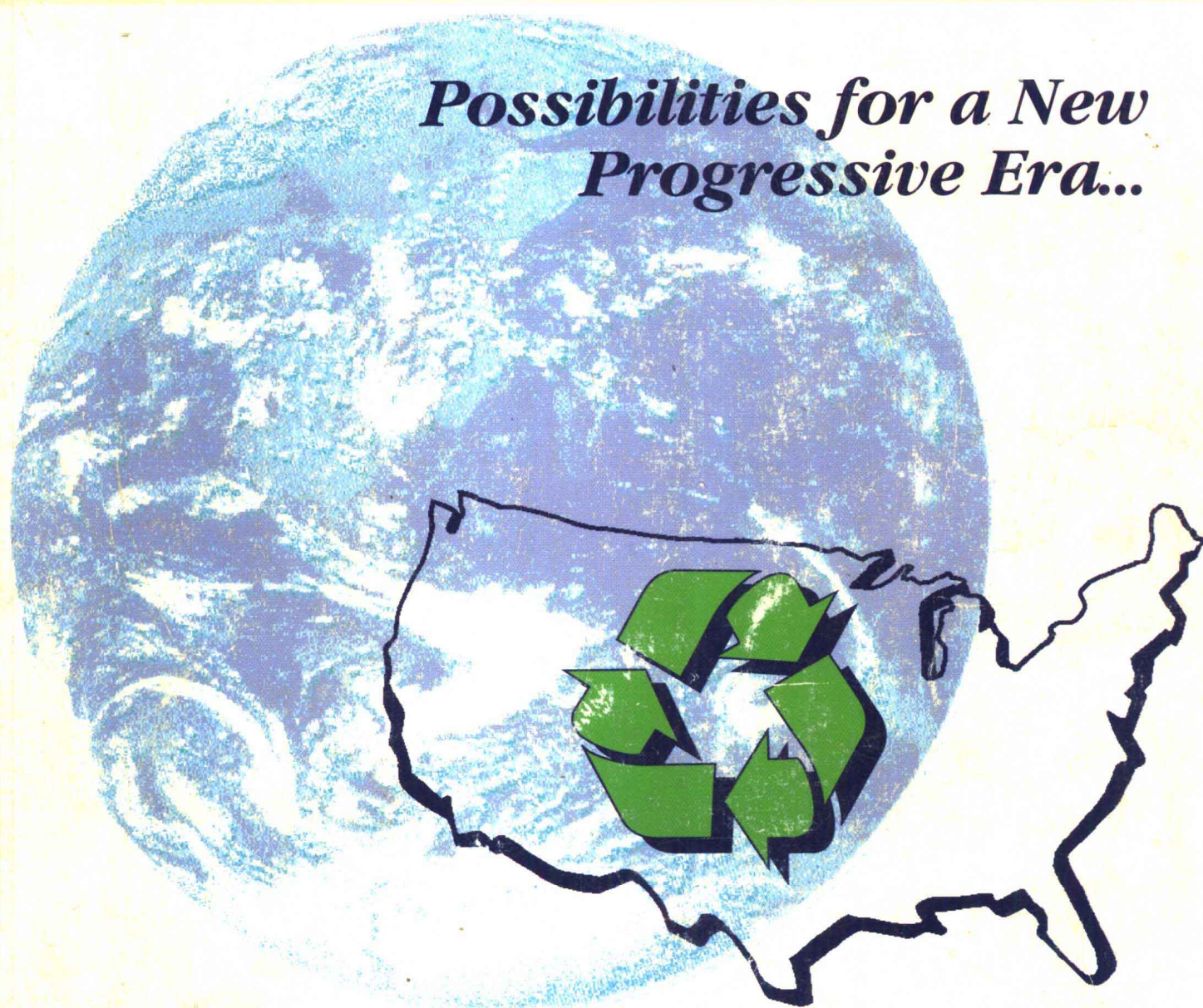


*An Environmental, Political, and Social
Solutions Handbook with Directories*

Macrocosm USA

*Possibilities for a New
Progressive Era...*



Edited by Sandi Brockway

Foreword by Marilyn Ferguson
author of *The Aquarian Conspiracy*

*An Environmental, Political, and Social
Solutions Handbook with Directories*

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*Possibilities for a
New Progressive Era...*

First Edition



Macrocosm USA, Inc.

P.O. Box 969

Cambria, CA 93428

How to Use this Handbook:

The first part of this book is a reader that contains chapters on many vital issues. Its index can be found near the center of the book, following the last chapter. The second part contains directories broken down as follows and preceded by its own Subject Index:

- ① Organizations
- ② Periodicals
- ③ Media, Computers, & Other Sources
- ④ Publishers & Publications Lists
- ⑤ Businesses & Catalogs
- ⑥ References (guides & directories)
- ⑦ People Index

Each entry is preceded with a dingbat or key letter, for which a glossary appears at the top of every page, providing a flag for quick identification of groups' concern. The center of the book contains the index for the chapters and the directories. Special interest indexing assist in locating entries. A directory of individuals is also included. We suggest, that for easy access of the information, that you purchase inexpensive adhesive index tabs and apply one at the beginning of each section of the directory.

The Macrocosm Database:

A database of the directory is available for **Works for Windows**, **Works** for PC and Mac, and other ASCII formats. Call for prices (805) 927-8030.

The Macrocosm Clearinghouse:

Macrocosm USA, Inc. will perform specialized searches and reports for you. Macrocosm will also be sending out a newsletter that may be obtained through membership. This membership includes the directory, newsletters, and discounts on the database, services and reports. Call for more details or about our business and nonprofit rates.

Customized mailing labels are also available. Periodic reports and newsletters will focus on specialized areas that will supplement the directory and aid readers in their research.

Acknowledgments & Disclaimers

A great deal of what goes into a compilation such as **Macrocosm USA** requires the cooperation and generosity of many people. **Macrocosm USA, Inc.** is now a nonprofit group, and this handbook is the result of three years work and a small volunteer staff.

Special thanks needs to be extended first and foremost to **Macrocosm's** Production Manager, Carl Moodispaugh; Assistant Editor, Henry Tewksbury; and Research Assistants, Lorraine Schulmeister, Eva Uran, Jay Bonestell, Ayme Turnbull, and Ron Landskroner—for their continuous faith and generous contribution of time and materials to this project. Many thanks to cartoons contributed by Belya (Raee) Mattson and Dan Dunivant; to Terri Dunivant, editor of **Earth Journal**, for her editorial assistance and liberal reprint permission; and, J. W. Smith for permission to reprint excerpts of **The World's Wasted Wealth** and his yet unpublished **The World's Wasted Wealth 2**.

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The following reference guides were indispensable: **Writer's Guide**; **The Interna-**

tional Directory of Little Magazines and Small Presses (Dustbooks; Len Fulton, Editor); and **Alternative Press Index**.

DISCLAIMERS: Materials printed in **Macrocosm USA** do not imply endorsement by **Macrocosm USA, Inc.** Great care has been taken to insure that no group listed supports violence or hatred. Thousands of entries were written by the groups themselves, who were invited to update entries. If forms were not returned, we were forced to assume that the information that we possessed had not changed. **Macrocosm's** goal is to provide a forum for the disenfranchised and those promoting progressive social change and sustainable development. This guide is entirely assembled by volunteers. **Macrocosm USA, Inc.** cannot make any guarantees as to its accuracy, though every effort has been made maintain the integrity of the material.

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The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good [people] to do nothing.

Edmund Burke (1729-1797)

There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to one who is striking at the root.

Henry David Thoreau (1817-62)

The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims have been born of earnest struggle. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

Frederick Douglass (c.1817-1895)

When great changes occur in history, when great principles are involved, as a rule the majority are wrong.

Eugene V. Debs (1855-1926)

We have reached a place where it is not a question of "can we live in the same world and cooperate" but "we must live in the same world and learn to cooperate".

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962)

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed citizens can change the world; indeed it's the only thing that ever has.

Margaret Mead (1901-78)

We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools.

Martin Luther King (1929-68)

Growing up in America, we were taught that we inherited a democracy. No one told us that we ourselves had to create one.

Francis Moore Lappé

This generation—and perhaps this one alone—carries a historical burden: It may be the last generation that can still avert virtual destruction of humanity and the complex biosphere that has been the gift of evolution over the past three billion years.

Murray Bookchin

This book is dedicated to all those who understand that Democracy is not a duty best suited for someone else, but a process and a personal obligation.

Editor's Note:



It is my highest aspiration

that the **Macrocosm** handbook and database will revolutionize research, journalism, networking, grassroots activism, politics and, foremost, the way in which we teach the Social Sciences. Access to resources that provide meaningful and creative solutions are not always accessible from mainstream culture. As a result, critical issues are not easily studied. **Macrocosm** attempts to broaden and galvanize a new agenda from seemingly disparate issues into one comprehensible "whole", a macrocosmic context not readily available from the local newsstand. Hence, the name *macrocosm*.

This handbook is an interdisciplinary text intended to demonstrate how different aspects of human activities are interdependent. Many articles were selected because they presented solutions or succeeded in depicting an integrated world view, even if it might be from a specialized field.

Macrocosm offers free directory listings. Over a two-year period 5000+ entities were contacted and invited to map out *possibilities for a new progressive era* and contribute material for reprint. **Macrocosm** tried to focus mainly on grassroots efforts and the alternative press, but well-known liberal concerns are also included.

Macrocosm does not pretend to be complete. This is why there is a comprehensive listing of directories and guides. A database is available for those desiring a computerized format. Due to subject and space limitation, reprint difficulties, or simply that material was not forthcoming, many areas remain uncharted.

We invite readers to help us improve future **Macrocosm** editions by sending in relevant material, advice and information on other significant organizations, periodicals and businesses, or simply update their entries by sending in a form. *An entry form is in the back of this book.*



Within the short period **Macrocosm** has been preparing its directories and chapters, many events have changed the face of the progressive movement. Nelson Mandela was freed. The Cold War turned tepid. Organizations and periodicals that rally around East-West relations are studying a new course. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) continues to hover over our future. MX missile launches and underground testing at the Nevada Test Site are still a fact. President Bush recently announced a reduction in our nuclear arsenal from 21,000 to 6,000; yet, more homeless children than ever shiver every night in cold darkness and hunger.

The 80's will be remembered as the *decade of denial* when Americans mortgaged the future of their children: Unprecedented growth in the national debt (\$4 trillion) coupled with skyrocketing stock prices and personal credit liabilities. A search for short-term profits and a belief in unlimited growth loosened restrictions, accelerating environmental degradation and human rights violations. Multinationals have moved large chunks of capital out of the U.S. and into developing nations in order to exploit foreign people and resources. A "secret government" bankrolled and tampered with events the public was just beginning to take for granted, beckoning us to re-examine the media's ability for truth.

If the ecological vision and economic will of our leaders fails to encourage a philosophy of creative individual power and responsibility, growing cynicism and apathy will see continued voting declines and inertia, where non-participation is a self-fulfilling prophecy contributing to America's decaying democracy.

Cries for economic conversion can be heard across the land. The disparity between the rich and the poor has grown wider. The middle class, largely made up of two-income families, has been expected to shoulder an increasing share of taxes; a burden that has financed the military-industrial complex, and the resultant failing institutions and services, and crippled our cities and states. Our tax code has become a complicated, over-politicized pawn for hyperactive corporate lobbies.

Not only are our tax dollars squandered on needless government expenditures, but approximately 80% of progressive efforts are expended fighting the establishment and large monied-interests who benefit from huge tax loopholes.

Oil, due to run out in 30 years, is the cause of nearly all the Middle East conflicts, the rising cost in living, and global warming. To reduce oil demands, the industrial-military complex, including Pentagon and NASA, must begin to develop alternative energy and other appropriate technologies. If the U.S. can put a man on the Moon, it can surely lead the way to safe and sustainable methods by which humans can travel or manufacture.

Macrocosm's pages are filled with the unheeded advice and all those fearful *possibilities*: The experts who warned of a recession, the mounting debt, growing poverty, the rise of fascism, environmental calamity, the need for renewable energy, the dangers of over-population, the failure of education, cost prohibitive and unethical health care, the excesses of the military and CIA, and continuing human rights violations.

— Sandi Brockway

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Foreword

by Marilyn Ferguson

A friend of mine, a man once famous for his derring-do and now known for his outrageous humanitarianism, remarked, "I guess I'm a do-gooder now—and do-gooding's more fun than anything!"

"Helper's high" someone has called the feeling, and it is a force to be reckoned with. Recent research shows that we are happiest when we are living up to our ideals.



The great unrest in Los Angeles, where I live, provided plenty of opportunity for helper's high. At the peak of the looting a man braved the onslaught to stand guard over his friend's store as if it were his own. "Please—this is my livelihood," he told a crowd of looters. Four or five looters stayed behind to help him protect the store. It was as if they wanted nothing more than to be part of this great event. Helping another person was more edifying than helping themselves.

"Out of the marauding, the looting, and the burning that ruled the night," the *Long Beach Press-Telegram* editorialized, "a spirit of community and kinship emerged on the city streets Friday morning . . ."

A multiracial group of neighbors contained the fire in Joe's Liquor Store. Three employees of the *Press-Telegram* helped rescue an elderly woman.

A Long Beach woman, operating from her house, set up a cleanup effort that drew five hundred helpers. A Long Beach organization of two hundred Vietnam veterans set out to see what they could do. Local businesses contributed supplies. Crews of volunteers painted over graffiti, boarded up storefronts, cleaned up debris. Citizens remarked that the streets of Long Beach had never been so spotless.

Then there were the racially diverse members of the Lucky Social Club, a neighborhood-watch group that guarded Lucky's, the only supermarket in the area. Lucky, indeed. One of the members makes his living securing fire-damaged buildings, so he had plenty of yellow "police line" tape. The group sealed off the parking lot, then helped store employees move newspaper racks and other missiles inside. An unarmed group then circled the building, fending off seventy-five or so looters.

One of the participants, a retired bus-driver, had once won a commendation from the police for subduing a mugger. "If we expect to take back our city, we're going to have to do it in our neighborhoods. There are times when you have to stop the talk and take action."

A caterer arrived at a Los Angeles shelter for riot victims with two hundred spaghetti dinners, left over from another event, and the cup overflowed. Then the spaghetti was taken to a downtown mission. Dozens of American manufacturers shipped truckloads of food and other goods to the afflicted areas. On Mother's Day a group calling itself **Mother's of All Colors Unite** brought flowers to women staying in shelters with their children. Just as neighbors had cooked for their adopted fire crews, now an organization of black firefighters, the Stentorians, barbecued for hundreds of families in need.

In South Central Los Angeles, residents of a small tent city called the **Village of Hope** saved a market whose owners—a Vietnamese woman and her Chinese husband—had shown them kindnesses.

Looters invited the homeless to join them. The homeless declined and urged the looters not to burn the store. At some point during the night, the homeless smelled and saw smoke. They set up a hose brigade, summoned a nearby firefighting crew, and had the fire out within minutes. When the owners returned the next day and despaired over the mess, the homeless set about helping them clean it up.

Help took many forms. Taxi drivers were offering one-dollar fares to the market for people whose neighborhood stores had been burned. At Vermont and Central three men flipped pancakes on a gas grill and offered them to passersby.

"I was listening for the radio station to announce a phone number for those who wanted to help out," a songwriter said, "but they didn't. So I called up some friends and said, 'Let's make something happen.'" They set to work cleaning, and their numbers grew as people driving by stopped to help.

"People came out of nowhere," according to a staff member of the Museum of African Art, to save two thousand drums, masks, and other pieces.

Maybe neighbors are the best public servants of all.



In analyzing what led to the riots, the factor that portends unrest throughout the world, someone described the poor as having been left behind as others made material gains.

But if the poor have been left behind, so has some vital part of ourselves. Poverty amid plenty, poor schools, and urban decay are a symptom of a deeper lack. What's missing—what we left behind—is the civilizing influence of community.

Community, the sense of belonging, seems elusive in our manic times. Only lightly touched upon by our leaders, community is at the heart of all our visions of Utopia.

Community confers basic dignity. Again and again, the poor have said in many diverse ways, "Give us some respect. Don't assume that we're less than you, or that we are automatically thieves or gang members." A landmark study on the root causes of violence in California identified a lack of self-esteem as fundamental. This is now common sense. Or as one person expressed it, "the emergence of the obvious." Paradoxically, it was obvious that the explanation was not obvious. Common sense was more than meets the eye.

The thing missing in our society is not an intact nuclear family but a supportive big family. The community. And beyond that, the community of nations, the Family of Man. The larger family that ensures the health and happiness of us all.



"Bloom where you are planted," someone has said. **Macrocosm U.S.A.** offers us the inspiration and resources to improve the garden wherever we may be.

I am reminded of the words of Olivia Herrera, president of the Civil Service Commission in Long Beach:

The little things have to be done—then the government will get around to doing the grand things. In the meantime, though, you could starve or freeze. Each one of us must do the tiny thing for unity and dignity. The small gestures of unity and dignity are the fabric of society.



Some months ago Sandi Brockway and Carl Moodispaugh invited me to write a forward to this guide and directory. Along the way we both got involved in current politics as well as our writing and publishing chores, and our various projects were delayed. At my end, one crisis (or vital opportunity) after another seemed to interfere with my intention of finishing the forward.

Sandi and Carl were unfailingly compassionate and good-natured about the delays. I vouch for the fact that they live their idealism.

Macrocosm USA is a big book compiled by big people who understand complexity and change. Sandi and Carl have pulled together the threads of ten thousand gestures to show us our greatness.

Preface

by Donella H. Meadows / *In Context*

It's wonderful, the recent burst of publications with lists of things we can do to save the planet. It's great to see so much energy behind recycling, energy-efficient light bulbs, and fundraisers for the rain forest.

If we all did 50 simple things to save the planet, that would be a big help. But it wouldn't be enough. The planet—or more accurately our civilization and the natural systems that support it needs more than easy gestures to be saved.

I think everyone knows that. We know that what's needed is an end to our wild population growth and our untrammelled greed. What's needed is real human justice and Earth stewardship. Sometimes I think we get enthusiastic about low-flow faucets and high-mileage cars because they give us the feeling of doing good without seriously challenging our lifestyle.

If we're really interested in saving the environment, and therefore ourselves, there are some not-so-easy things we can and must do.



About Population: On the personal level we can stop at two, or one, or none—and learn to love other people's children. On the government level we can give every couple the knowledge and technology to choose the number of their children, and then give them straight, honest reasons why they should choose no more than two. The U.S. government, which used to be foremost in this field, has essentially stopped funding family planning and population education both domestically and internationally. We need to lean hard on our leaders to reverse that policy.

About Greed: What we can do individually is define what *enough* means for us and then live it. That doesn't mean living in deprivation or unplugging everything and returning to a previous century. It means: unplugging the nattering sales pitches that tell us we are inadequate unless we buy certain products; achieving security and sufficiency but stopping short of waste and clutter; discovering what life can be about when it isn't about having more stuff, choosing real satisfaction instead of the empty satisfaction of mindless acquisition.

On the government level controlling greed means defining progress by human welfare, not by the growth of the GNP. It means tax, loan, investment, and budget policies that meet real needs rather than promote perpetual swelling. It means ending all the ways the government helps the rich get richer, and all the ways our leaders try to convince us that getting richer is our goal instead of getting better.

About Justice: We know that we will never have peace or environmental balance or pride in our collective selves while anyone still lives in poverty. On a personal level what each of us can do is care for just one person in need, to the point where that person can care for himself or herself. And do it not with condescension but with love.

The government can remove obstacles to people's and nations' self-sufficiency. There are many ways to do that—provide truly equal education, forgive crippling debts, ensure that the next set of loans is aimed at sustainable productivity, make trade fair, make technologies available—and that's just the beginning.

About Stewardship: Each of us can care for one piece of land. We can beautify a yard or a neighborhood park (and do it without harmful chemicals). We can build up the soil on a farm, or buy produce from a farmer who does. We can manage lovingly a large property and protect it in perpetuity with a conservation easement. We can support a land trust or nature conservancy to do the land caring on our behalf.

As citizens we can insist that governments establish zoning that firmly protects farmland and wildland; create parks that demonstrate nature protection rather than commercialism; manage national lands in a way that does not degrade their resources; provide education and extension services that teach us to treasure land, not to exploit it.



In a mode of genial gesturing, these suggestions sound impossible. In a mode of intent to solve our problems once and for all, they sound obvious. They sound like change, but not sacrifice. And in that mode the simple "planet-saving" steps—recycling, saving energy, stopping the junk mail, refusing the plastic bags at the grocery store—take their proper place as logical, unheroic, helpful parts of a larger whole, a shared, deep commitment to protect and honor the environment that supports us all.

Donella H. (Dana) Meadows, co-author of Limits to Growth and an associate professor at Dartmouth College, writes a self-syndicated newspaper column called "The Global Citizen" that appears in 20 papers and occasionally gets national syndication through the Los Angeles Times. Monthly column mailings are available for \$20/year from: Dana, P.O. Box 58, Daniels Rd., Plainfield, NH 03781.

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Introduction

by Denis Hayes / *Amicus Journal*

For many of my generation, involvement with serious issues—adult issues—began with some form of unconventional politics. Passive disobedience and freedom rides in support of civil rights. The endless town meetings of Vietnam summer. Wearing gas masks down Fifth Avenue on Earth Day. Picketing a state legislature in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. Breaching the exclusion zone around Seabrook or Diablo Canyon. Blocking a train carrying fissionable material to the Rocky Flats bomb factory in Colorado.

We were impatient and idealistic. The first generation with strontium 90 in its bones (from atmospheric nuclear testing), we trusted no one over thirty. Outraged over the state of the world we were inheriting, we vowed that we would pass on to our children a world that was peaceful, just, and ecologically sustainable.

That was twenty years ago. Today, Holden Caulfield is in his early fifties, has a beer belly, and commutes from the suburbs. The angry young women and men of Earth Day—who poured sewage on corporate carpets and pounded polluting automobiles apart with sledgehammers—are now middle-aged. The first generation with strontium 90 in its bones has parented a post-Chernobyl generation with iodine 131 in its thyroids.

Twenty years after Earth Day, those of us who set out to change the world are poised on the threshold of utter failure. Measured on virtually any scale, the world is in worse shape today than it was twenty years ago.

How could we have fought so hard and won so many battles, only to find ourselves now on the verge of losing the war? The answers are complex. But if we can understand the mistakes that led to our current dilemma, we may yet be able to redeem our youthful promises to the next generation.

Roots of the Modern Environmental Movement

The American *conservation* movement has a long, distinguished tradition, tracing back to such giants as Thoreau, Audubon, Muir, and Leopold. However, the *environmental* movement is of much more recent origin. Individuals such as Rachel Carson and David Brower sounded the environmental alarm in the 1960s, and events such as the Santa Barbara oil spill of 1969 and the Storm King [Hudson River power project] battle in New York gave rise to local waves of concerned activists. But a full-blown national movement emerged only in 1970.

Following the original Earth Day on April 22, 1970, the American conservation move-

ment exploded in size and broadened its agenda to encompass modern urban and industrial issues. Old-line organizations saw their memberships double and triple and the new members had broad environmental interests. This new membership—much of it having tested its mettle in the anti-war and civil rights and women's movements—caused many traditional conservation organizations to expand their agendas.

The modern environmental movement has enjoyed a string of spectacular successes on Capitol Hill, in the courts, and in the streets. Earth Day's 25 million participants could not be ignored. Within months, the federal Environmental Protection Agency was created. Congress then swiftly passed the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, RCRA, FIFRA, CERCLA, and a host of other laws that fundamentally changed the rules under which American enterprise operates.

Whenever government agencies or corporations attempted to flout these new laws, environmental groups swiftly hauled them into court. The movement's talented, idealistic lawyers have won hundreds of precedent setting decisions.

When litigation proved to be too slow or ineffective, the environmental movement's guerrillas put their bodies on the line in actions explicitly modeled upon the civil disobedience of the early civil rights movement. Such non-violent, direct action has at least temporarily halted some of the worst whaling abuses and most devastating destruction of old-growth forests.

Yet, despite all these accomplishments, we are in serious trouble, and the problems are compounding with every passing year. There is no evidence that our leaders have the intelligence, the integrity, and the guts to lead us into a new era.

Lessons From the Last Twenty Years: What Went Wrong?

Occasionally we were blindsided. Problems snuck up on us before anyone recognized the threat they posed. We possess only a rudimentary understanding of the complex interactions of life in the biosphere and of the myriad subtle effects of human action upon long-established processes. Comparatively few of the thousands of modern industrial chemicals have been subjected to thorough laboratory or epidemiological tests. We know even less about the cumulative, synergistic effects of long-term exposure to mul-

tiple chemicals on human health. We know still less about the effects of these chemicals upon other species and upon the natural cycles—the water cycle, the carbon cycle, the nitrogen cycle, etc.—that shape the living planet.

Even where there is agreement among the experts, the consensus is often later found to have been wrong. If at the time of the first Earth Day, a poll had been taken of industrial chemists asking each to name ten triumphs of modern chemistry, most would probably have listed chlorofluorocarbons. These compounds served a diverse array of beneficial uses, and they appeared to have no undesirable side effects. They are not toxic, carcinogenic, or mutagenic. They do not corrode materials, they are not flammable, and they don't explode.

It was not until 1974—four years after Earth Day—that Professor Sherwood Rowland and his colleagues at the University of California at Irvine discovered that CFCs could pose a theoretical danger to the stratospheric ozone layer which protects the Earth from ultraviolet radiation. And it was not until 1985 that a British team discovered a huge seasonal thinning of the antarctic ozone.

A CFC molecule requires about fifteen years to migrate up to the stratosphere. Therefore, virtually all the damage currently wrought on stratospheric ozone is being caused by CFCs that were released before Professor Rowland conducted his initial studies in 1974. Once in the stratosphere, the chlorine from a single CFC molecule will catalyze the destruction of ozone for about a century on average, during which time it will destroy 100,000 ozone molecules.

CFCs were in use for fifty years before they were found to have any negative side effects. Now it has been determined that the side effects could include the destruction of vital links in the food chain, increases in skin cancer, and harm to human immunological systems.



It is always easier to tackle urgent problems than distant threats—even when the distant threats are more important. In 1978, four years after the oil embargo, the Washington Post carried a column heaping thick ridicule upon those energy experts "purporting to describe an unparalleled mis-

If we can understand the mistakes that led to our current dilemma, we may yet be able to redeem our youthful promises to the next generation.

fortune that exists, if it exists at all, at an imaginary point where six or seven lines intersect on a graph." Soon thereafter, war erupted between Iran and Iraq; oil production from the two countries fell from 8 million barrels per day to 2 million; and the world price for oil doubled.

This tendency to dismiss "lines intersecting on a graph" remains a staple of American political thought. Among countries, we are what boxers call a counter-puncher. What we do best is respond. Bomb Pearl Harbor and America will pull out all the stops. Launch Sputnik and America will have NASA functioning overnight.

What America does *not* do well is anticipate and avoid problems. Unfortunately, many environmental phenomena involve thresholds that, when passed, cause damage that is essentially irreversible. If we wait until the damage occurs and then respond, it will be too late. The role of governments is to avoid the irreversible. Government has the power to remove redwoods and whales from the financial marketplace before they disappear. Redwoods are protected inside national parks. Rapacious lumber companies cannot harvest a redwood tree that is inside a national park, regardless of what price they are willing to pay. The protected trees are, quite literally, priceless. Whales, likewise, are protected by various laws, treaties, and conventions.

But government has its own limitations. Problems that will be felt only after a politician has retired from office are perceived to be "on someone else's beat." Environmentalists must force the political system to assign high priority to distant but dire threats. We must draw a line in the political sand on *this* side of each irreversible threshold. The public intuitively understands this. Environmental victories are always carried on the shoulders of a mobilized public.

The "solutions" we pursue for today's problems can create tomorrow's catastrophes. Despite all the environmental literature, both scholarly and poetic, describing how everything is connected to everything else, we have repeatedly ignored this elementary truth. We organized our departments and agencies to solve problems on a piecemeal basis. As a result, we frequently cleaned the air by polluting the water, and cleaned the water by fouling the ground.

We face a serious possibility of making the same error again. For example, some are advocating biodegradable plastics as the

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answer to the plastic litter problem. Discarded plastic six-pack holders can strangle birds and other species; plastic "baggies" can wreak untold havoc in marine environments; plastic diapers are clogging our landfills. But the problems posed by biodegradable plastics are themselves serious. For example, when biodegradable plastic is mixed with other plastic, it renders the latter virtually impossible to recycle. Biodegradable (and photodegradable) plastic may have some important uses, such as in medicine and possibly in composting, but it holds no promise as "the" solution to plastic waste.

Nuclear power is another example of a solution being worse than the problem. The nuclear industry is mounting a massive international campaign heralding a new generation of "inherently safe" reactors as the answer to the problem of global warming. But the problems inherent in nuclear fission pose a threat that is at least as intractable as global warming.

Time and again, the environmental movement has relied too heavily upon the government. The irony in our overreliance on government is not subtle. The punch line of many jokes is, "We are from the government, and we are here to help you."

The government has aggressively promoted unsustainable agricultural practices, an unbalanced transportation system, the nuclear power quagmire, dams with no purpose but pork, and logging policies reminiscent of Paul Bunyan. Government is the nation's largest polluter, and it frequently exempts itself from rules it applies to industry. The toxic brews around nuclear weapons facilities may be the most contaminated sites in the world, and the estimated price tag to clean them up is more than \$150 billion.

It would be difficult to find a more compelling example of governmental failure than the responses to the energy crises of the 1970s. The first response was to cook up a pot of Potomac alphabet soup. The AEC and the OCR were folded into ERDA and the FEO (which became the FEA). These were merged with the FPC and redeployed as the DOE, the FERC, and the NRC. The result was congealed chaos.

The second element of Washington's re-

sponse was to study the issue. Thousands of federal studies were undertaken; their data fill large libraries. But to no effect. The government's approach to energy is like the man in the *New Yorker* cartoon who knows all about art but doesn't know what he likes.

Federal studies were supplemented by a raft of private studies, each of which "proved" what its sponsor wanted to hear. The coal industry actually produced studies showing that acid rain is good for the environment. The nuclear industry's reports showed that operating a reactor is safer than operating a health food store. Considered as a whole, they provide great support for an old piece of folk wisdom: Don't ask the barber whether you need a haircut.

The final element of Washington's response was to throw money around. The record here was especially embarrassing. Our excursions into what I call lemon socialism—having the government fund projects that the private sector is too shrewd to finance—produced a notable collection of gold-plated turkeys. The Synfuels Corporation was America's biggest bust before Star Wars. Despite an initial budget of \$88 billion—more than the Space Race, the Marshall Plan, and the Interstate Highway program combined—the synfuels program yielded no net energy at all.

On the nuclear side of the house, the Clinch River Breeder Reactor was a classic example of Cheop's Law: Nothing ever gets built on schedule or within budget.

In both cases, failure was fortuitous. A successful synfuels program could have increased America's contribution to global warming threefold, and a successful breeder program would have confronted us with the need to manage thousands of tons of bomb-grade plutonium.

Most of the energy strategies that the government pursued were non-starters, and the situation has deteriorated. U.S. production of oil has been declining since 1971; in July, 1988, for the first time, we imported more than half of all the oil we consumed. Our vulnerability is far greater today than it was in 1973, at the time of the Arab embargo.

If we follow the current course, we can safely predict the international price of oil to begin rising in 1992-93. OPEC presumably has learned its lesson. These next rises will be no more than 20 to 25 percent per year, though sufficient to cause a fiscal hemorrhage.

The obvious solution is to increase the price of oil ourselves—with a carbon dioxide tax and a gasoline tax—so that the revenues will stay at home to be redistribut-

The most dangerous environments are in communities that are least powerful. Poor people and people of color are downwind from most toxic incinerators.

ed and invested. Americans pay between one-half and one-third as much for gasoline as do our industrial allies—all of whom enjoy robust economies and comfortable lifestyles. (The 1990 fuel efficiency standard for France is 39 mpg versus 27.5 for the United States.) A dollar-per gallon gasoline tax would be an important step toward sound energy policy and fiscal integrity. Instead, our leadership resolutely chants its unthinking mantra of "no new taxes," thus guaranteeing that when crude prices soar, the proceeds all will flow to the Middle East.

Not to put too fine a point on it, our national energy program has been a bust. Our leaders have wasted the nation's time, money, and intelligence pursuing a collection of hopeless dead ends.

Continuing to pin environmental hope upon the government is, as Samuel Johnson described a man taking his second wife a triumph of hope over experience.



We have not asked enough of our supporters. Most environmentalists are willing—even eager—to do more than send money and write letters. We need to appeal to them as consumers, as workers, as investors, and as parents. One of the greatest potential strengths of our movement is the ability to integrate environmental goals into all aspects of a person's life.

All the most successful movements, and all the world's major religions, have succeeded in part because they ask people to improve their behavior. The civil rights movement and the women's movement, for example, ask their supporters for heroic changes in their personal lives.

Environmentalists, on the other hand, have often tried to convince the public that we could all have our cake and eat it too. People were encouraged to believe that, if only we could effect the necessary changes in government and industry, people would not have to change their habits at all.

The answer to air pollution was claimed to be catalytic converters on tail pipes and scrubbers on smokestacks. We have pursued this strategy at enormous cost for twenty years. Yet the sky today in Los Angeles resembles split pea soup. We have been spectacularly successful at cleaning up automobile exhaust. Meanwhile, our cities grew larger. People moved farther away from their jobs, and drove more miles; and their cars idled more at stop lights, drive-through windows, and traffic jams.

It is necessary, but not sufficient, to scrub

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pollutants out of exhaust. We must also begin using cleaner fuels and more efficient engines. We also should encourage widespread use of (and improvements in) public transportation. We should promote bicycle riding wherever possible (and bicycle lanes and veloways). We should create incentives for people to live closer to their workplaces to reduce urban commuting and the resulting congestion.

Similarly, we should encourage environmental supporters to be mindful of their values when they go shopping. In Europe, the "green consumer" has become a force to be reckoned with. Environmental labels are commonplace; consumer magazines are devoted to the environmental impacts of products. In the United States, such consciousness is only beginning.

Several of us are exploring criteria for an American environmental label, to be awarded to the best products from the best companies. Such an easy guide would convert environmental consumerism from an esoteric research enterprise into an easy habit. It should have been a mainstay of our efforts for the past two decades.

If everyone used the most efficient light bulbs, the most efficient appliances, the most efficient furnaces, and optimum insulation, average household energy consumption could be cut by more than two-thirds. If everyone ate more organic produce and more local produce, and moved lower on the food chain, energy use in the food system could be cut by two-thirds. If everyone bought the most efficient vehicle having the same internal dimensions as his current car, gasoline use would fall by more than half.

Perhaps no American behavior is more ripe for change than recycling. Sending our natural resources on a one-way trip from the mine to the dump is spherically senseless: it makes no sense no matter how you look at it. We throw away valuable resources, eliminate jobs, waste embedded energy, and destroy the environment—all because people don't put glass in one container and aluminum in another.

Some of our landfills are now richer in resources than some of our mines. But regulatory and tax systems designed to promote exploration and exploitation in a pioneer society have acquired their own inertia and their own vested interests. So we mine virgin ore instead of reducing use, and

repairing, reusing, and recycling substances that have already entered the stream of commerce. To take perhaps the most obscene example, the federal government is currently selling 300-year-old trees in the Tongass for less than the price of a Big Mac.

Comprehensive recycling is essential. At even a 50 percent recycling rate, after just five cycles only 3 percent of the original material is left in the economy. We need to do much better than that.

Comprehensive recycling and composting will require significant government involvement—to end its bias in favor of raw materials, end its bias in favor of landfills and incinerators, provide curbside pick-ups, set standards, and provide near-term markets for recycled goods. But the necessary first step is to ask people to do their part. Environmentalists must comprehensively recycle all their used items, and we must purchase recycled goods whenever possible.



The environmental movement has not diversified. The most dangerous environments are in communities that are the least powerful. Poor people and people of color are downwind from most toxic incinerators. They are down-gradient from most hazardous waste dumps. They are in the fields when the pesticides are sprayed from planes. They work in factory jobs having the highest exposure to dangerous substances. Yet poor people are not well-represented in the ranks of the environmental movement. In communities racked by the devastation of drugs, plagued with violent crime, suffering school drop-out rates of over 50 percent, experiencing rising problems of homelessness and malnutrition, environmental issues are not considered a "priority." But they should be. The problems are indivisible.

In an important speech in the 1960s at the Riverside Church in New York, the Reverend Martin Luther King came out against the war in Vietnam. The wave of criticism he suffered was intense. To those who challenged him for getting involved in an issue other than civil rights, he replied that African Americans were being drafted in disproportionate numbers and returned home in body bags in disproportionate numbers. There is no more fundamental civil right, he said, than the right to live to be an adult.

Similarly, the right to lead healthy, productive lives means that environmental values should be of great importance to those communities most deeply scarred by environmental degradation.

We environmentalists have to ally our-

The world is in worse shape today than it was twenty years ago. We have, at most, ten years if we are to avoid crossing some dire environmental thresholds.

selves with others who have good reason to be environmentalists, but who have not traditionally been part of this movement. We need to reach out to farmers, laborers, the religious community, health care professionals, educators, and every other identifiable group of prospective supporters.

Why? Because otherwise we will get rolled. There are not currently enough "card-carrying" environmentalists to win the tough political battles that must be won if the 1990s are to be the Green Decade.

There are probably no more than 10 million dues-paying environmentalists in the country. They are powerful beyond their numbers because they tend to be highly educated, well-paid, and politically active. That is enough to pass some good, narrowly tailored legislation. However, it was not enough to successfully withstand the full frontal assault of the Reagan [Bush] administration.

Our most powerful ally necessarily will be the people. We have no powerful economic institutions on our side. A solar transition will only be achieved if it enjoys enthusiastic backing from a broad cross-section of the entire society. Environmentalists must proselytize much more actively, and much more successfully, than we ever have in the past.



We have avoided some hard issues.

Current population levels are undermining the biological basis for our future. Water tables are plummeting far faster than they are recharged. Topsoil is eroding five times faster than it is replaced; in some parts of Ohio, farms lose two bushels of topsoil for every bushel of corn harvested. Pests display an increasing resistance to pesticides. Deserts are on the march in Africa, Asia, Australia, and America. There is not a single important problem facing the planet that could not be more easily solved with a population of under 5 billion.

The claim sometimes is made that the United States is overpopulated, but India is not. The purported explanation is that the average American consumes twenty times more resources than the average Indian. The core assumption underpinning such an argument is that India will never develop, and that the average Indian's impact on the Earth will remain negligible. While the environmental destruction caused by contemporary Americans is unconscionable and should not be continued or replicated, it is similarly unconscionable to consign the majority of the world's population to perpetual poverty.

Global population growth is an urgent priority, and it must be addressed with substantial family planning assistance and provisions for social mechanisms (e.g., old-age insurance) to undercut the motivations for large families while advancing social

justice. For \$4 billion per year, family planning could be provided to all who want it. It might be the single most cost-effective investment available to the world. But right-wing religious zealots have intimidated much of our political leadership, and virtually all national Republican leadership.

Unless human population growth is halted, we will suffer the same ecological collapse that has governed other species that have bred themselves into oblivion. The record of the last two American administrations on population issues—their overt hostility to family planning—has been irresponsible and immoral.

We Have The Power To Choose Our Future

During the last eight years, the U.S. national debt has tripled. The United States has shifted from being the world's greatest creditor nation to being the world's largest debtor. Hostile takeovers, leveraged buy outs, and greenmail have left our businesses mortgaged to the hilt in unstable junk bonds. The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation has collapsed under \$300 billion of prospective liability. It is not a promising time to look to the federal government for salvation. Instead, we must look to ourselves.

A common feature of all the problems we have been discussing is that none is the result of forces beyond human control. None is caused by sun spots, or the gravitational pull of the moon, or volcanic activity. All are the result of conscious human choices. All can be cured by making other choices.

First, we need to make our own lives congruent with our values. For most of us, there is room for improvement in virtually all spheres. We should conserve energy with easy things, such as replacing incandescent light bulbs with folded fluorescents, which are five times as efficient, insulating our water heater, and doing laundry in cold water. Then we should do the more expensive and difficult things, such as super insulating our dwellings and buying a more efficient furnace and more efficient appliances.

We should pledge not to purchase another new car until we can buy one that meets our needs while getting at least 50 miles per gallon. We should install flow restricters in our faucets and showers and dams in our toilets. We should plant indigenous vegetation. We should search out environmentally sensible soaps and cosmetics, and look for recycled paper and other recycled products.

We should eat lower on the food chain, and develop a preference for fresh organic products grown nearby. We should carry our own, reusable string bags to the supermarket, and search out ways to eliminate other unnecessary packaging. We should recycle our metals, glass, paper, and plastics, and

compost all organic waste.

There are many reasons why such lifestyle changes make sense. In the aggregate, they make a huge difference. If everyone used the most efficient refrigerators available, we could save the equivalent of twelve large nuclear power plants. Using the most efficient cars having the same internal dimensions as our current vehicles would cut gasoline consumption in half. Every year, we send more iron and steel to our dumps than we use in the entire automobile industry. The aluminum we throw away every three months could replace the nation's entire fleet of airplanes.

Leading lives that are congruent with your values is a necessary and important first step, but it does not discharge your responsibility. Next you need to explore what you can do as an employee, an investor, a parent, and a member of your church and civic clubs. You should be alert to ways you can lessen the environmental impact of your job, from avoiding Styrofoam coffee cups to suggesting modifications in industrial processes. You should ask your pension fund trustees to adhere to the Valdez Principles in choosing investments. You should set a good example for your children.

Integrating your values into your job and your other activities is another important step, but it still does not discharge your responsibilities. Next, join local and national organizations that share your goals and your philosophy, and proselytize on their behalf. Give gift memberships for Christmas; display their publications on your coffee table; support their campaigns financially and with your volunteer efforts.

Working on behalf of environmental groups that represent your views is vitally important, but this still does not fully discharge your responsibilities. The next step is to become actively involved in politics. Support candidates who share your vision; vigorously oppose those who do not. Invest the time, energy, and financial support needed to win elections. Play the sort of role that causes political friends and foes alike to view you as a person of substance, a person to be reckoned with. Communicate your environmental goals and values to your candidate, and make clear that there are narrow limits on how much compromise is acceptable.

Time is running out. We have, at most, ten years to embark on some undertakings if we are to avoid crossing some dire environmental thresholds.

Individually, each of us can do only a little. Together, we can save the world.

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