

BOOKCHIN SNYDER ELLUL STOKES McCLURE BERG

RAISE THE STAKES

SUMMER, 1981 \$2 The Planet Drum Review Volume 1 Number 3

CITIES:
SALVAGING THE PARTS

LISTENING TO THE EARTH



BLACK HILLS UPDATE

In response to BLACK HILLS REPORT by Leonard Rifas in PLANET DRUM REVIEW, Volume 1, Number 2, we would like to make several comments.

First, Leonard Rifas has done much good work both for the Alliance and for the uranium issue in the Black Hills—as elsewhere. He has lent us support when we needed it.

But Leonard has worked and lived in South Dakota for only 2 months in early 1979 — soon after the BHA started. He may therefore have missed some recent developments in the nature of the Black Hills Alliance, our organizing efforts, and the results.

Second, he repeatedly makes mention of "local people" not participating in or helping organize the Gathering. What Leonard means, probably, is "local white people" since there doesn't seem to be any mention of how local Indian people felt about the Gathering. And although Leonard said that the



number of local people who helped organize the Survival Gathering "was so small you could count them on one hand with enough fingers left over to throw a bowling ball," this is simply not true. Red and White, dozens of people born and raised in this area were instrumental to the success of the Survival Gathering and the



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ongoing work since then.

Third, Leonard says that there is no dialogue among ranchers and Indians—that the Alliance has only one rancher supporter. What about George Levin, president of the 5th District Farmers Union who was a keynote speaker on the Gathering's opening night? What about Homer Ayres, an 80 year old rancher from the Black Hills who contributes regularly to our newspaper and conducted workshops at the Gathering? What about Merle Hansen, a farmer from nearby Nebraska who is organizing among Indian and non-Indian people and connecting with the BHA (and attended the Gathering)? And what about George Lamb, a young Rapid Valley rancher who lent a vast amount of technical assistance to the construction of the Gathering? I could name many many others. Remember, ranching people typically do not get involved in group activities and mass gatherings. The kind of solidarity and support we received from the ranching community was unusual. And Marvin Kammerer, Gathering host, asked that I mention that his neighbors were out helping with his workload just before the Gathering. How often has that

happened around here? (Not very).

Fourth, the amount of community involvement in South Dakota now with regards to the uranium issue is so high that a comparison cannot even be made to local activity two years ago. The near success of the Uranium Initiative (winning 49% of the vote) is one type of proof. The local TVA uranium exploration hearing in Custer County—demanded and paid for by the Custer people — is more proof. The increased media coverage of uranium issues and the increased quality of media coverage are also important. Mayor Knobe of Sioux Falls, the largest city in South Dakota (pop. 80,000) is one of the people actively working against uranium mining.

In short, there is increased dialogue, increased concern, and increased activism among all segments in this state around uranium mining, milling and exploration issues since Leonard has been here.

(Editors: Please do not edit this letter. Thank you. But I would like you to print it).

In Struggle,
Evelyn Lifsey, for the
Black Hills Alliance □□□

SAMI/ALTA UPDATE

Sheila Purcell



The winter issue of RAISE THE STAKES coincided with news of a Sami friend on a hunger strike in front of the Norwegian Parliament. I'd like to share an update of Sami news from my personal circle of correspondence.

Five hunger strikers provided a climax to a barrage of recent direct actions, all aimed at protecting and reasserting the rights of Sami people and the Alta-Kautekeino watershed. Despite northern Norway's sub-zero temperatures, two demonstration camps were reestablished on the proposed site of the Alta hydroelectric project, a place protestors call "the nullpoint." But as resistance hardened so did the government's tactics. Police who had previously articulated an unwillingness to use force on locals and others, now came with clubs and dogs. Debates over the use of violence and non-violence hit the media. Support marches throughout the country were widely attended. A group of elderly women brought flowers to the Sami. They said they were ashamed that their country would do this after having lived through the German occupation. Had they learned nothing of people's right to live peacefully in their homeland?

The major organizing force behind these responses came from Folkeaksjon. The network for this group had been laid down years earlier around another related question—Should Norway join the European Economic Community? Whether they should or should not have, they did. One of the driving forces behind the dam is a wish to boost energy exports both within Scandinavia and to the Common Market countries. If it were just for the locals, it would prove useless in the time it is most needed—the long winter months when the dam is bound to freeze solid. Another less discussed, more speculative, motive is suggested by the presence of an American NATO base in the same district. The base presently depends on Russia for over 30% of their energy, a vulnerable position indeed.

The growing anti-Nato sentiment in Norway concerns the leading Labor party as they anticipate the forthcoming elections. The weak position of Prime Minister Nordli has led to a bit of musical chairs. Nordli recently stepped down for "health" reasons. In stepped Gro Brundtland, the first woman Prime Minister, a doctor trained in public health, and known for liberal stands on domestic issues. She is postured as somewhat critical of NATO, particularly when it comes to nuclear weapons within Norway, but is essentially in favor of NATO's presence. She is known for drafting some of the earliest legislation for free abortion and, more recently, for her work as the Minister of the Environment. She set aside huge stretches of wilderness and was opposed to the hydro project in Alta. She was

subsequently replaced by Rolf Hansen, ex-Minister of Defense.

Both Brundtland and Hansen have avoided meeting with the Sami. A group of Sami sat in Brundtland's office and when she failed to come they hung banners out her window, proclaiming "We are Sami!" Two Sami women went to Rome and were granted an audience with the Pope. They gave him a letter stating their grievances. Christen groups and the Christen party held vigils for the strikers. The issue began to get European press and there were efforts to organize a tourist boycott of Norway.

After approximately forty days the government decided to force feed the dying hunger strikers. The strikers had committed themselves to go hungry until the question of Sami rights had been fully addressed. They fled to Stockholm. The government has halted construction until June. In the interim the Supreme Court will decide on a case regarding Sami rights. A new road leading to the site, a project welcomed by many locals who are opposed to the dam, will be paved. The Tromsø Museum, known to have strong ties with the Sami, has been asked to assess the archeological and cultural importance of the site and the surrounding area.

The remote Finnmarks region constitutes one seventh of Norway's total land area. And yet it is 96% "unmatriculated," unspoken for in documented terms. The inhabitants of this vast plateau have assumed, and now argue, that "alders tids bruk" (rights based on the long-term use of the land) is a sound legal and cultural principle, a way of life deserving of respect. □□□

ROCKY MOUNTAIN UPDATE

Artful Goodtimes

Poet and journalist Artful Goodtimes, a long-time Planet Drum member, moved to the San Juan Mountains in western Colorado last year. An inveterate activist and eco-networker, Art fills us in on how the Energy Crisis is affecting inhabitants of the mid-central Rocky Mountain Divide.



The volcanic San Juan Mountains in which I live, at the headwaters of the San Miguel and the Dolores Rivers forms the N.E. fringe of the Four Corners Area—canyon-high-plateau country. It is a unique rib in the continental backbone of the Rockies. Huge peaks plunge into narrow canyons, level onto vast grassy parks and gradually roll out onto the Colorado Plateau. It is the southern and most isolated portion of what folks out here call the Western Slope. East of the Divide lies the Front Range, dominated by Greeley, Boulder, Denver, Colorado Springs, and Pueblo—all the urban industrial centers that nuzzle the mountains after the desolate plains of the Eastern Colorado farmlands.



Clearly Denver lawyer James Watt's appointment as Interior Secretary was no fluke. Business is booming in Colorado, and Denver is the new Dallas. That lazy, mile-high cowtown of a capital city has become the high-rise hub of a sprawling nervous system, command central for the latest offensive in what Raymond Dasmann identifies as the "war against the planet." It's Texas oil all over again, only this new battle is for control of oil shale, natural gas, coal, uranium, molybdenum, gold—any mineral worth its salt on the commodities market.

"DON'T CALIFORNICATE COLORADO" the bumper stickers plead, but it's too late. Smog thick as the L.A. basin crawls along the Front Range, water diverted from the Western Slope to slack the thirst of sprawling suburban bedroom communities, crime, crowding—all the symptoms of advanced boomtown arteriosclerosis.

Cut like a rectangle, 90° at all the corners, Colorado was carved out of the West with little regard to the lay of the land. As a state, it straddles the midplate uplift of the Rockies. In terms of power, influence, "culture" and population density, the Front Range is where the action is and the Western Slope is the "sticks." Or at least was. Now with mushrooming plans underway for synfuel plants, dams, coal and mining operations, the Western Slope is being seen as a huge underdeveloped plum ripe for the picking. And you can bet your pointy boots that the Front Range will supply plenty of pickers. Amax in Crested Butte, Exxon/Arco/Chevron/Texaco in the Piceance Basin, Pioneer-Uravan here in our own San Miguel County are among the multi-national corporations involved.

Influential beyond its size, a local Western Slope association of business interests called Club 20 (Named for the 20 Western Slope counties. Actually, San Miguel County recently voted to disassociate itself from the group, and so it should be Club 19.) has for years lobbied for an end to federal regulation and increased development of natural resources. They have been the proponents of the so-called Sagebrush Rebellion ploy to seize control of Western lands from

out of federal hands and throw them back under the states' sphere of influence, states notoriously beholden to large timber, grazing and mining interests. What with the recent swing of political fortunes, the picture looks bleak.

While no visionary with the clarity of a Jack Forbes (See *Raise The Stakes II* — Reconstituting California) has roped down a plan for regional self-determination here, strategies for survival abound. As in many other rural areas nationwide, young urban refugees have been populating the backwoods since the early 60's. The Centennial State is no exception. Mixed in with this emergent reinhabitory segment are a number of locals: oldtimers and sons and daughters of oldtimers who truly love the land. This is their home and they'd fight anyone to defend it. For them, native to the place, identification with the earth is a daily reality. For those who've come seeking refuge, that connectedness comes slowly, but come it does because these are folks who want to treat the earth with respect, who see it as household, as "web-of-life-which-surrounds-us-all-and-of-which-we-are-a-part."

Among the locals and newcomers, the concept of wilderness has become a common rallying ground on which to unite on behalf of the earth. Wilderness advocacy has become the focal point of struggle against the runaway greed of corporate molochs and struggle for a new kind of multiple use/sustained yield model of eco-development.

On the state level, Clifton Merritt has worked long and hard lobbying for wilderness. Caught in a disagreement with the Wilderness Society, he recently helped found the American Wilderness Alliance (AWA). A friend of industry leaders as well as politicians, Merritt played no small part in the recent passage of the Colorado Wilderness Bill. 1.4 million acres were set aside from commercial intrusion. In addition to sponsoring conferences, twisting arms, stimulating an interest in the Earth's beauties as well as its rapid deterioration under the aegis of economics, the AWA, like many conservation

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KLAMATH/ TRINITY WATERSHED: An Irish View

with Vincent Corrigan

One of the advantages [and paradoxes] of being a person of place is that knowledge of your own turf gives you something to share with people in other places. Vincent Corrigan, who grew up in Ireland, spent last summer working and living along the Trinity River near the town of Orleans. The comparative interview which follows explores what recent Irish agricultural policy might have to offer a small community like Orleans in America. As you'll see, Vincent suggests some of the ways in which monocultural provincialism can be superseded by a bioregionally attuned planetary identity.

Vincent Corrigan: I come from a rural context in Ireland, grew up on a farm in the Irish midlands through WWII. I saw, immediately after WWII, rural Ireland transformed from a depressing situation to a very progressive situation. For instance, a high standard of living developed on farmland which was once swampland.

Judy Goldhaft Berg: The change that happened after WWII was due to technological changes on the farm?

Vincent Corrigan: It was due to a whole integrative political-economic-technological process on the part of the government. Contrast the Department of Agriculture in Ireland, or anywhere in Europe, with the Department of Agriculture in Orleans. In Orleans you see people running around with Department of Agriculture trucks, wearing Forest Service uniforms, who, in fact, know absolutely nothing about agriculture. In Ireland, the Department of Agriculture comes out to an individual's small farm, a twenty or thirty acre farm, and they do an analysis of the soil. They outline a land reclamation project to bring the soil up to maximum productivity. They show you how to drain the land, take out the rocks, roots, stumps, everything to bring the land into productivity. They recommend the kinds of crops which can be grown, and give the farmer continuous advice.

Michael Helm: These are basically all small farms?

Vincent Corrigan: All small farms; twenty or thirty acre farms. And that of course contrasts with everything you see in this country.

MH: With agribusiness...

VC: Right. Knowing what has been done in Ireland, and that it can work, one sees the situation in northern California. I came last year and walked up Eagle Creek to see Brian Hill (See RTS II). I discovered rural Ireland is quite different from rural America. There's so much more space here. We had to walk twelve miles on the trail to see Brian. Brian was packing stuff in on horses and shoeing horses. I had seen all of this when I was growing up, and haven't seen it since. You wouldn't recognize immediately what was involved. That is to say, the Orleans area — with some changes — is



potentially a rural existence which can be agriculturally viable. The possibility of making Orleans agriculturally and economically viable is something which I think is very important. I did fieldwork two years ago in Ireland for my doctorate in anthropology and at the same time penetrated the entire culture by virtue of the fact that my brothers are small farmers in Ireland. I got to meet all of the cattle-jumpers, all the traders, all of the farmers, and the veterinarians. So I have a good insight into the nature of the problems which exist right now. What one sees in Ireland is that the distinction between rural and urban is almost disappearing completely. Rural existence is practically urban and urban existence is practically rural.

JGB: You mean there's that much access for rural people?

VC: Sure.

JGB: That's good, that encourages people to maintain their farms cause they don't feel left out of the urban...

VC: Right. They tend to have washing machines, dishwashers, and good houses. The houses are constructed out of concrete blocks which are not well insulated. But, apart from that, the housing is tremendously good. Contrast that with the romantic ideal of people trying to live in log cabins up in the mountains here in California, and with the social problems which emerge with some women when they don't want to stay in those log cabins.

MH: What did you actually do in Orleans this year?

VC: This year we worked on a creek for about two months mining gold. We moved large amounts of rock with winches, no mechanical equipment, and got a considerable amount of gold out of it. It's not economically viable in the way it's being done now. By the same token, that could change over a period of time.

MH: What effect does the kind of mining that's going on up there now have on the creeks or streams?

VC: Nothing detrimental. On the Yuba, the Klamath or the Trinity Rivers, mining amounts to people working underwater with air and wet suits, dredging the river bottom, running sand through a sluice box, then dropping it right back down into the river again. No detrimental disturbance to the river bed. Whatever disturbance there is in fact leveled out in one winter's flooding.

JGB: And actually that kind of mining sounds like it could be very helpful in an area that had a lot of logging; it could clear parts of the river.

VC: It has a lot of potential.

My approach to the thing however is to recognize the deeper problem which exists in the area.

MH: Which is what?

VC: The area was once a viable community; a mining community. It was a major mining community using a methodology which we disagree with now, hydraulic mining. But nonetheless, it was the technology of the time and they used it and created problems, but they also created a livelihood for themselves with it. There's no need to do hydraulic mining anymore. But nobody in Orleans knows about the new mining technology which is available in Australia, Canada or South Africa now. Yet the possibility of revitalizing the mining industry along cultural and ecologically acceptable standards is, in the Orleans area, very real. A secondary crafts and jewelry industry could also develop. There are several other non-mining things which could be done as well.

MH: What are they?

VC: For instance, along the Klamath River there are miles and miles of public land, along the river for three or four hundred yards on either side, which are flooded annually and nothing is being done with it. If that was mined properly, all the rock, sand, and gravel taken from the banks, the land could be reclaimed and set up for viable farming.

JGB: That's where farming is usually done.

VC: Right. That's the best land in the world. And it's decidedly suitable for farming. However, what you now have is the situation of the land being locked away from the community. It's the State versus the community. The State, in the form of the Forest Service, administers the public land for all of the people all over the state, but ignores the interest, values, and rights of the local community. The Forest Service is not interested in how the land might be used by the local community. It restricts use solely for sporting, fishing, and hunting. You have a spectacle of people in thirty thousand dollar mobile homes coming to Orleans to fish in the Klamath River when the natives are out of work. So this is the situation in Orleans which



I gradually focused on. It's the traditional home of the Yurok Indians, this area of the town or river, and they inter-married with the miners in last century. The present population is a heterogeneous population, but it has assimilated the values of the Yuroks. So it's really a Yurok culture. And my opinion is this: the problem of the ecological system and the problem of the community and the problem of the State and the rights of others can in fact be solved. One has only to look at what is happening in Europe. In Europe you have land reclaimed, crops growing on it, and at the same time pathways, which are usually unfenced, which people use to go

REINHABITORY MINING

The following is an outline of mining and land development procedures which are to be practiced by the Salmon Ridge Mining Group on proven placer ground. The lands we will be working are ancient river beds or "high bars" which are presently near or above the present water level. They are very often inside corners which constitute most of the flat levels in the mountainous areas.



The shaded areas of the above sketch, are the inside corners.

In the past, most of the gravel, clay and organic materials were washed into the rivers, leaving only piles of barren rock on the only flat lands around.

At present, however, technology exists which makes it possible to separate the larger rocks from the smaller ones, and the gravel from the clay and organic material. These river bars are very often an amalgam of rocks, gravel, clay and organic matter which makes for poor farm land.

Through the use of front-end loaders, trommels, conveyor belts, and various collection systems, we are now able to extract the valuable minerals and convert non-arable or poor farm land into prime agricultural ground. Cross-sections of typical placer ground before and after our mining process are sketched below.



Whether these mining lands are public or private, whether they are to be returned to natural processes, used to produce trees, or graze animals or produce agricultural crops, this process of extracting valuable minerals is complementary to nature and cultural ecology.

As far as placer mining is concerned, it is our considered opinion that, at present, there is no other mining technique that makes mined areas more fertile than they were before mining began.

Next, it must be mentioned that this type of mining is possible along all water ways in areas of high mineral concentrations. Therefore the areas available to this type of mining/land development are vast. We further believe that, unless placer mining procedures such as the above become the standard, much potentially fertile land will be wasted.

Further, let us recall that mining and agriculture are the two basic industries from which all other industries are subsidiary. The conversion of poor land to fertility would otherwise be too expensive were it not for the fact that the collection of valuable minerals pays for the conversion.

Finally, since mining and agriculture are the two basic industries, the procedure outlined above will create new wealth for subsidiary industries in mountainous areas where unemployment is prevalently severe.

—Brian Hill January 8, 1981

down to the river to fish. You can see it all over France, all over Germany, and all over Ireland. That, in my view, is the viable approach to a community such as Orleans. Little else will solve the horrendous problem of unemployment in an area like Willow Creek or Orleans.

MH: Do you see some kind of lottery or homestead-act as a way of gaining access to that land?

VC: It's National Forest land and I don't believe there's going to be any homesteading acts. My understanding of the United States is that one of the first things that the United States government did when it got into business was to invoke the Lands Act of 1782 which closed the frontier to everybody in order to create an urban proletariat on the eastern seaboard. To get a few of us released at various times, they've opened it up with such things as the Homesteading Act. But it has been basically minor. Land was always available in the last century; lots per square mile at two dollars an acre. But most of the migrants who first came over from Europe in the last century had little possibility of ever getting into the

frontier. This dynamic is a very critical dynamic. This has been the basis of all colonialization in Western Civilization and to change that is definitely not easy.

MH: Your perception of what would be healthy for the Orleans area doesn't seem to have any effective political expression.

VC: There is one possibility for political expression and that possibility lies in the Mining Act of 1872 which allows miners to mine their land and under certain terms receive a patent on the claim which ultimately means they receive title to the claim and they can do anything they like with it. That's the only avenue that I know of whereby people can get the land and it so happens that it's very simple, too. In a place like Orleans, there is money, there is mineral wealth, which can be extracted. A lot of it is on the banks of the Klamath River. There are other areas which are miles and miles of cut-out forest land with nothing growing except black stumps. All of that land should be reclaimed. It should be turned into farming land. It's not doing anybody any good the way it is.

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REPORT from the ROCKIES... groups nationally, is laying the groundwork for the kind of attitudinal change that must precede the decolonization of our own lives.

Locally, in San Miguel County, Nancy Craft has kept wilderness values, energy impacts and appropriate technology options in the forefront of everyone's mind. Working through the San Miguel Citizen's Alliance, Nancy and a number of others sponsor

the Colorado Plateau Rendezvous in September. Traditionally held in the back country at different sites each year, the Rendezvous brings together wilderness advocates and lovers of the land from all over the region to address problems, discuss action, meet and draw strength from each other. Last year saw the formation of a Western Colorado Congress to act as public voice for wilderness concerns, energy concerns, air and water concerns

and to act as a counter to the media influence of Club 20.

Perhaps the most interesting development in this region has been the formation of Earth First, a radical new group dedicated to Monkeywrench-caliber eco-actions. Using a cheap mimeo newsletter as communication vehicle, spearheaded by folks like Dave Foreman of New Mexico and Susan Morgan of Colorado, advocating total reinhabitation and cessation of all ex-

plorative activities, this new cutting edge to the conservation movement has stepped in to unify those dissatisfied with the slow progress being made halting international terricide. Their Spring Solstice Gathering at Glen Canyon Dam marks the first in a long line of planned events. (For info, write Susan Morgan, Box 536, Breckenridge, CO 80424).

In politically prehistoric citadels like Colorado Springs, it's seed

people like Donna Johnson and the Pike's Peak Justice and Peace Commission who brave the hallowed, barbed wire compounds of the Air Force Academy itself to demonstrate against increasing militarism and to heighten people's awareness, giving witness in the best Christian sense. Everywhere along the Turtle's Backbone, hidden in the hills, the earth forces are sending down roots, becoming native.

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NORTH ATLANTIC RIM

Gary Lawless

June 28, 1980

Poet Gary Lawless, an inhabitant of Brunswick, Maine, spent a good part of last summer in the provinces of New Foundland, Labrador, and Nova Scotia. His letters and poems, printed below, provide a fascinating glimpse into the complex cultural, political and biological heritage of the North Atlantic Rim.

I've been in western Newfoundland one week. Right now I'm staying in a park at the northern tip of Newfoundland, very near L'Anse Aux Meadows—where archaeologists discovered the site of a Viking settlement dating approximately 1000 A.D. The site has been dug, and now grassed over again. A beautiful beach site with rich Black Duck Brook flowing through it. They have excavated small houses, boatsheds, and a smithy. They have found a spindle whorl, iron pin, bog iron and now off to one side of the shire, they have reconstructed a 70 foot longhouse with walls of peat and thatched roof, and two smaller individual dwellings, based on measurements of the sites at the dig. An incredible place—flat hills behind from which, on a clear day, you can see Labrador, scud ice flowing by, and whales.



Across the Strait of Belle Isle, on the south shore of Labrador, the archaeologists are now working on a sunken Spanish ship, the *San Juan*, sunk in 1565 and beautifully preserved in the cold, clear waters of the Labrador current. Now dig, the boat is from BASQUE territory—discovered not by divers but by a researcher of Basque fishing documents in Spain. And when they looked, lo, there the boat still was. "The barrel and oak timbers are almost the color of fresh cut oak timbers." The Basques had whaling and fishing stations around the Red Bay & Saddle Island, Labrador. Peat bogs have given up leather clothing, harpoons, scissors, olive jars, a wine glass and other artifacts from this period. The ground is littered with red roofing tiles the Basques brought with them. The Basques left the area after the Spanish Armada. Local feeling is that the Basques were here early. If Columbus hung around the docks in Spain, he would have heard stories. . . .

At L'Anse Amour where we are working on a museum/cultural center, is a burial site dating 6905 B.C. It is near the ocean, at the narrowest point on the whole strait—only 9 miles across to Newfoundland. A 12 or 13 year old boy was found buried face down, stone on his back, rope around his neck, covered with ochre—weapons & tools around him, as well as a walrus tusk, and on each side of him the remains of a fire lit in the same level of the pit as the skeleton. The archaeologists figure a ritual death & ceremonial burial to appease some spirit—their guess being Bear (they say there were grizzly bears here then and still a polar bear floats in on a chunk of ice every few years). On a map of 1529 is written, *Terra del Labrador*—This country was discovered by people from the town of Bristol, and because he who first sighted land was a labourer from the island of the Azores,

it was named after him. The La Vrado, or laborer was Joao Fernandes, year 1501. In 1534 Jacques Cartier called Labrador "The land God gave to Cain." So here we are—a few travel notes . . .

Northern Nova Scotia (mainland) facing St. Lawrence and Prince Edward Island—Highland Scottish/Gaelic communities. First time here last September Beth and I stopped in Tatamagouche—a parade for the town Field Day—two marching bagpipe bands, followed by small carts pulled by tiny horses (Shetlands?) with beautiful silver work on their harnesses. People looking like crofters.

The Scottish Highlanders have a yearly gathering of the Clans. Last year, instead of having it in Scotland, they chartered planes and had it in Pictou, N.S.—ten days of music, games, dancing, drinking . . .

Cape Breton is an island, joined to mainland Nova Scotia by the Canso Causeway. The Scot/Gaelic feeling is even stronger here, and there is a Gaelic College. Gaelic street signs, shop signs, etc.

At the Ferry Terminal in North Sydney, Cape Breton N.S.—one of the workers was telling me that many would like to see Cape Breton independent of Nova Scotia, a separate province. He told me that if you told someone in Halifax that you were from Cape Breton a look of fear would come into their eyes—the wild Highlanders—then he sang a song called The Cape Breton Barbarian. One verse having to do with tax money and coal from Cape Breton going to Halifax and not coming back. Another verse about blowing up the causeway. He spoke jokingly of the Cape Breton Liberation Army with beer bottles stuck in bandoliers . . .

So we cross over into Newfoundland, drive along the coast—North & West. The communities here very tight, very

compact. They have not had roads for very long—many were reachable only by boat until a few years ago. Some whole communities have been deserted, the still standing houses boarded over. Many small towns have only a dozen or less family names. Families are large. Several generations live in the same house, with relatives living nearby. They find it strange that (1) I am 29 and never married and (2) I don't live with my parents.

In the southwest there are quite a few Irish and French Acadian communities. But here on the Western peninsula and in southern Labrador the people are mainly English, and they fish. Cod is still very important. My first night here I watched men with long handled nets dip capelin from the surf (small fish washing up in the thousands) to use as bait in the cod traps. The boats right now are coming in loaded with cod. The women working 5 hour shifts off/on—filling and packing the fish. For recreation the men on Sunday were fly fishing the brooks and rivers for trout. The salmon come soon, and lobster season ends early in July (here they have a season, as opposed to Maine size limits).

the waves are breaking against me.
the net, full of fish, has lost its bottom.
peat is burning, the wind full of smoke.
whales chase capelin onto the beaches.
the moose is lying in the snow.
the ptarmigan bathing in mud.
Cod at my feet, wide-eyed in death.
the moon just rising, over the mountains.

Newfoundland wasn't a province until the late 1940s—and now Newfoundland and Labrador are one province. They have just gone through a long hassle about a provincial flag, Newfoundland having a Union Jack-like flag, Labrador having its own beautiful flag. Down the coast 30 miles in Red Bay, Labrador, at the primary school, they have a Basque Flag & Labrador flag—both "illegal." The new flag for the province of Newfoundland and Labrador is ugly. The Labradorians feel colonized and fly their own beautiful flag.

Labrador seems to be getting the short end of the stick—huge hydro potential. The government in St. John's sells the power to Quebec at low cost. Quebec re-sells it and makes a fortune. St. John's now about to decide on Uranium mining in Labrador, mainly on Native (Inuit) lands. The Inuit are opposed, many people in Labrador opposed. The businessmen are drooling big-eyed cowboys in boomtown. Mining companies do not have to submit to an Environmental Impact Statement as that is not yet a legal requirement here. So no one really knows exactly what they plan to do. They constantly re-shuffle the figures, plans & papers. But it means fuel for someone's reactors, it means tailings and holes and roads and construction workers on native hunting and fishing grounds. The same old dance.

August 7, 1980

Back in Labrador, after a week in southwestern Newfoundland. I went down there to work at an Acadian French festival on the Port-Au-Port Peninsula—a peninsula populated by French-speaking Acadian peoples. Just off the southeast coast there are two French speaking islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, that still actually belong to France, not Canada. Two days of music, storytelling, step-dancing and

Rain Over Rain

(For Louis)

1

a composition of dark eyes reflected upon a night window.
A canvas of raindrops primed by wind gusts with a background of heavy, leaning oaks.

Dark leanings into the pull of mosses streaking green
a northern pathway jungle of thought a flicker probes
and answers in an echo flash of bright orange conversation.

Downslope grasses in rounded falling, like hair being caressed.
The quick shiver of manzanita each leaf a separate dance
bells of blossoms plucked fallen scattered cups of pink honey.

Deer beneath madrone
the thick green leaves bending, the eyes of deer moist as if holding tomorrow's rain in silence, as we stand between several eternities staring into the mysteries of ourselves.

The golden froth of a creek in joyous overflow has bent the ferns and covered them with silt. Fingers of fallen branches grasp twigs and grasses to quickly create swirling backwaters, soon gone.

Walls of gullies turned to mud slide into the creek as trees lean and fall, leaving upreaching roots gasping for a breath of soil, exposing white granite bones vertebrae of this good earth.

A child, my son, in yellow raingear who would witness the rain, hand in hand with his mother discovers a purple iris with tiny yellow eyes which called to him alone, a winter's gift.

2

We go, my son, myself, walking, shovels over shoulders, up the road to fashion small diversion dams and unplug culverts choking and gurgling their overload to spew-out a rush of brown.

We change the courses of raging rivers and redirect spreading tributaries then pause beneath dripping madrone to rest and enjoy the spectacle of our puny labors to save the road, or maybe just enjoy the rains.

We're singing suddenly, above the sound of wind and rain a coyote composition, "With a hey, hey, hey, may it rain all day. Why go out if you don't know the way in Sierra foothills country."

A flicker lends accompaniment to our singing as we pass a meadow now become a delta of mud with snakes of water spreading out reaching to a newly built pond of frog song between gusts of wind.

And the chorus of frog song is applause to my son's launching of a brown madrone leaf vessel which twists and turns in rapid circles upon the raging river of a roadside Colorado canyon.

I hold my breath in suspense fearing for the unseen passengers as I remember pods of milkweed in my own long ago yesterday, bright pebble voyagers tumbling in rivers lost across a continent.

We study the magic of watersheds in miniature, and why rivers winding leisurely are preferred. By observing a straight footpath now become a washed-out gorge, we experience manmade errors.

more. Performers from Newfoundland, St. Pierre, Miquelon, Cape Breton, Magdalene Islands, and New Brunswick French-Acadian cultures. All performances, announcements, etc. were in French. Twelve hours each day. Six different stages around the town to choose from. Each night a wild evening concert—everybody loose—lots of fiddle

for John Crane—PinesCove

dark skies, silver slices of fish in the tide.
lights of Labrador, across the strait.
Men with long-handled nets dip capelin from the surf, bait for tomorrow's traps.
at the stage, piles of cod, long knives.
blood of the trout.
blood of the cod.
dead seal and flatfish,
wind and scud ice.
George goes to feed the pig.

G. Lawless □□□



SAN JUAN RIDGE

Stinkbug Camp
San Juan Ridge
Sierra Foothills, Calif.

Peter Blue Cloud



3

Eight days of unending rain. There is a something within the heart and mind of a turtle which wants to raise its head above the rising waters and gaze in wonder reaffirming this season of rebirth.

This particular turtle, myself, sipping early morning coffee, listening to ever falling rain, knowing at this moment the variations possible on this darkened canvas, manipulations directed by imagination.

The drums of the little people mingle the rain drops as they dance. A shadow creature sits itself to hear their music, and they plaster it with wet leaves to lend it temporary reality.

A forlorn moth flutters the pane, but before I can let it enter it is spattered to earth by raindrops dying its death in liquid flame even as it sought the unknown death the kerosene lamp promised.

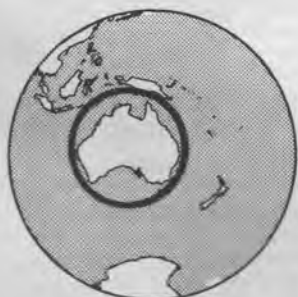
The memory of a cousin, the black bear, comes to me, a sound of snuffling crumbling a rotted log, a feast, and the very real odor that only the bear carries, brought to me now, upon a trick of wind.

I doze for a while and awaken to sit up and stretch my body. Struggling briefly in the embrace of oak roots pressing me to earth, I lie still to hear rootlet stories and let my eyes become leaves.

I fall to earth brown and dry as autumn crushes these brittle bones, then winter's finger stirs my pigment and traces an arc across the sky, a light brown rainbow is all I'd ever hoped to become.

Planetary awareness of Aboriginal culture in Australia is growing. Primarily through such films as *Walkabout*, *The Last Wave*, and *The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith*, as well as the less sensational but more accurate work of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. John Stokes, through his daily living with Aborigines in South Australia, as well as his contributions to various periodicals, is among the handful of Western people helping to spread the word about this intricately evolved culture. As John has said, "No people left on earth can claim the stable, continuous roots and perspective of the Aboriginal people." Though severely threatened by the European colonial invasion, multinational development, and the cruel logic of modern industrialism, aboriginal culture continues into the present.

John recently visited San Francisco and Planet Drum as part of the ongoing planetary network and defense of the Aboriginal way of life. The interview which follows shares some of John's observations and feelings about the cultural crisis which is seething "down under."



Peter Berg: What is Australia? What is Australian culture? What is the situation of the Native people there?

John Stokes: The Aboriginal people in Australia are fighting for the right to be Aboriginal. Today, that can take many forms, but they don't want to be dragged into the white man's world any more. They want time to make important decisions. Most people don't know much about Australia and there's been quite a well-staged effort to keep this news about the Aboriginal Australians from the rest of the planet.

PB: I understand how that's probably true. You strike me as being something different than just a well-meaning white man. There must be an interest that is personal. What's your interest?

JS: How did I get there?

PB: No. What are you now that you're there?

JS: Well, I'm involved, heart and soul. I guess I've been caught up in their story. And there's not many people really helping them for all the well-meaning people around. There's hardly anybody who's helping the Aboriginal people to help themselves. It's very easy to go in and become fascinated, it's the most remarkable thing to meet an Aboriginal person, to look into their eyes. The music was the thing that brought me to them. We were talkin' about that gap between native cultures and Anglos. Whatever that gap is I know it's enormous. Because everything we do, a tribal Aboriginal traditionally does the opposite. Ever-



thing that we do. If we wear a fur coat with the fur outside, they wear it on the inside. When an Aborigine drives in a car with the headlights on at night, they can't see. Because when Aborigines, a bunch of 'em, walk at night in the desert, they carry the flame at the back of the column so that no one loses their night vision.

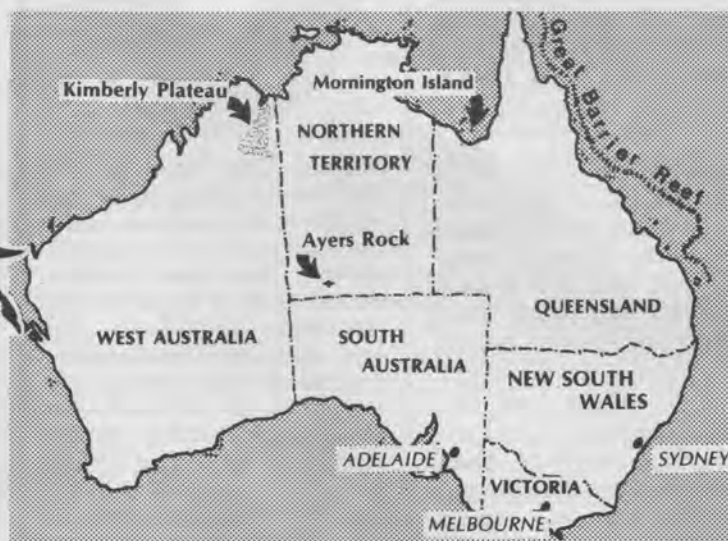
I was lucky to meet the Aboriginal people. I walked into the Aboriginal Community College one day and started askin' all kinds of stupid questions. So they pointed me over to an older tribal fellow and said, "You ask him your questions." So he took me into a room and pulled out some paintings and said, "These are sacred paintings, do you want to know what they mean?" And I said, "what do they mean?" "this painting" he said, "means tell the white people to all go away and leave the Aborigines alone." Right? And if I had continued without the music I woulda just hit that again and again.

The Aborigines are tremendous judges of character. They can tell your sincerity more quickly through music than they can through words. If you're around a bunch of Aborigines, there's not always much talking. You'll always hear about people saying, oh the natives are just jabbering. Quiet. Because the message goes, you learn telepathy when you're a young Aborigine. You're taught telepathy. When the people are together, they know each other so well... each other's story, they know how someone's been sick or sad or hungry 'cause they've known it from before, so when you're with a group of them the next level of communication is music. You play a song... a song that they know, and they listen to your voice and I think they can tell a lot about your character straight away.

I now work in Adelaide at the Aboriginal Community College. It was started in 1973. We offer a second chance to Aboriginal adults who for one reason or another have led a most unsatisfactory life and do not have much education. We offer them education in ways that are meaningful to them. I'm hired by Aboriginal people, and the curriculum is worked out with Aboriginal people. I started out as a country western guitar teacher, much to my good luck. Because I didn't have to make all the mistakes that a white man makes talking to an Aboriginal person. We played music, and we shared stories through the music. We got to know each other quite well through that. Then I began to teach English and report writing. When I go to the bush I appreciate Aboriginal people teaching me how to survive in the bush. When they come to the city I teach them how to survive

SOUTH AUSTRALIA:

An Interview with John Stokes



in the white man's world. But that's something we all have to learn. The Aborigines are surviving, and as a friend of mine put it, "their survival under these conditions today is a victory in itself."

PB: I get a feeling that repression of Aboriginal people in Australia is catastrophic... probably hard to describe the totality of it, but could you take a shot at it?

JS: I could give you one incident, and it's very closely tied in to someone I knew, the chairman of the Aboriginal Arts Board, Larry Lanley. He came from Mornington Island, which is an island off the north coast of Queensland. He was a most eloquent spokesman for his people, probably the most. He said, "We need the land to be Aboriginal in our mind" and that his people would be the folk heroes of Australia's future.

Three weeks ago Larry dropped dead of a heart attack at age 54. But how did that happen? Well, Queensland is one of the more repressive states of the seven states in Australia. Several years ago, Larry Lanley was the chairman of the Community Council. He had organized the people so that they were trying to save money working on their own projects, and actually determining their own future within the limited freedoms allowed to them. The Queensland government could not stand for it. So they pushed a liquor concession through legislation and established a canteen on the island. Within six weeks it was goin' full guns, with three flights a day to the mainland, bringin' grog into the community.

PB: This is where there hadn't been alcohol on any scale before?

JS: No. And they quickly undermined Larry. They were all rationed. Everybody got six cans of beer a day, and so at the end of the night a can of beer was going for 20 to 30 dollars. That's how they took the money away.

PB: The government consciously introduced alcohol as a means of suppression?

JS: Oh, most certainly. It's a day-to-day event in Australia. They undermine all Aboriginal projects, and I'm not exaggerating. They fund projects like schools, community development schemes, etc., let the thing get going and then more often than not, cut funding or wait until Aborigines move into management positions and then accuse them of mismanagement because the thing is working. The government keeps the ones they want. But worst of all, the old adage "divide and conquer" is used against the people—something directly opposite to a sharing tribal structure—and this is very damaging. My students appreciated one editorial in a past *AKWESASNE NOTES* that stated how native people here now saw the breakdown of family and tribe as "more dangerous to us than uranium."

Michael Helm: What was the draw for Aboriginal people in patronizing this canteen? Why were they taken in?

JS: Because the culture has been undermined in so many different ways. It's the Aboriginal person's way of saying Goodbye. Basically, if you asked an Aboriginal person why they're drinkin', they just say I'd rather die than live like you. I'd rather die a painful death like this and remain Aboriginal, than be stuck in what you're doin' to me. So the people go to drink. Right now the young boys in the community are sniffin' gasoline. And it's hard to stop. You can't lock up gasoline. Just because there's nothing, the culture's been wiped out. The paternalistic white culture comes heaviest on the men in Aboriginal culture. When there's no men to instruct the young boys in initiation, then the young boys are free, and they don't want to go through initiation. They don't want to have their foreskin cut, they don't have anybody to teach them the stories, and so they become lawless. They come to fear their own law.

PB: The gap between what we tend to call Global Monoculture, which is Western, white, industrial age, and Fourth World people's cultures, is vast. Could you speak to that? Why someone would become a suicide rather than join global monoculture.

JS: Well, that relates to Larry Lanley. How he died. What happened with the canteen was that about a month ago another murder took place. Another murder. This is of an Aboriginal person by an Aboriginal person. Directly related to the grog and the breakdown of the culture. And Larry Lanley, chairman of the Aboriginal Arts Board, and on the National Aboriginal Council, and a member of committee after committee after committee, because there're so few people and so much work to be done, had flown up in early January to Mornington Island, and he was addressing the com-

munity saying we gotta get rid of this canteen because it's killin' us. And he dropped dead of his heart attack in the middle of his speech.

PB: That's an answer to the question I asked. I think what I was getting at was how the frames of reference of the global monoculture are opposed to those of the native people.

JS: Point by point right down the line.

PB: Like who am I? Where am I? What am I doing? What do I want?

JS: How am I connected to the earth? How am I connected to my children and my family? In every way, in every step. Marshall Sahlins the economist puts it this way. There are two ways to satisfy wants: desire less or produce more. I've heard that D. H. Lawrence, when he was writing about Taos here, said that the gap may be irreconcilable. I'm not sure. But I do know that at the Aboriginal Community College we try to teach Aboriginal people to be proud of their culture, and we're often accused of being an apartheid institution. But what we find is that when Aboriginal people are given the opportunity to learn pride in their own culture, among their own people, it doesn't matter who teaches them. If it's a white man or a black man or a South African or an Indian or an American. They'll take all that. But what they do learn from that process is how to be more tolerant of whites. Because rather than become more racist, they become more understanding.

MH: Is there the equivalent of a reservation mentality with regard to Aboriginal people in Australia comparable to what native peoples in the United States have experienced?

JS: Almost exactly. If you look at the stages of the white settlement of Australia, the first step was genocide. Aboriginal people had what the white people wanted, and that was the land. So it was almost a complete wipeout of the race. The next thing that happened was they found that some of the people were still there. So they herded them up onto reservations, and they thought, "they'll surely die out here." They went through the whole cycle, the poisoned blankets, and the alcohol, and the rape of the women. And all the things that we know so well about genocide. And they still didn't die. The next stage was, we'll educate them to be white people. We're just at the end of that cycle now. The people that I work with are fifteen years off the reservation. They were all herded together, all the different peoples were herded and pushed together. Yet the interesting thing about Australia is that 200 years is nothing. The last 200 years compared to 40,000 to a million years is nothing. If you scratch the most urban Aboriginal, you're gonna find the dreamtime again.



Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Demonstration, Adelaide 1980.

One woman put it this way. "Look at our side. You lot came here, found us naked and told us we were not even human because we didn't have clothes. So you gave us clothes. But you didn't say you had to wash the clothes or replace old tattered ones. So you called us dirty abos or whatever. And we got lost, but we never lost ourselves. But now, what are you lot up to? We've just gotten the clothes thing down pretty well and you're out looking for nude beaches! You see that's why we can't trust you white-fellahs. First you follow one thing, then you follow another. You are confused because you don't know the right way anymore. Still you force it on me. Think about it. Our problems are our problems. And your problems are your problems."

MH: Can you better describe what dreamtime means?

JS: That's a big question. The dreamings are the way. From them come all laws, beliefs, rituals, behavior patterns and attitudes that determine life. The term "dreamtime" is a rather imperfect conceptual translation of the Aboriginals' sense of an eternal present. The dreamtime ancestors, who were sometimes human and sometimes animals performed certain deeds as they made the world. To hold to these ways perpetuates the world. This is dreamtime. To come into dreaming is to come into being. So, dreamtime is the structure of all the connections between time, space and life on the planet. All time exists simultaneously. But remember, dreamtime is not something which just happened long ago. In the rituals and dramas, the actors actually become the ancestral beings. Their active participation is the key. "As it was in the dreamtime, is now and ever shall be." Dreamtime is now.

PB: The thing that strikes almost anybody that's sensitive to first peoples and native ecosystems, about Australia, is that it has been impacted later and heavier than other places. I use the expression, *British Texas*, to speak about Australia. I got the feeling that even though 200 years is very short there's an accelerated process going on. That Australia underwent a very strange phenomenon of relatively early settlement clinging to the coast that is just now setting up to dominate the entire continent with a superimposed Industrial Age culture. And that that's a crisis situation in Australia, right now.

JS: You're right. It's a crisis. But it can still go one way or another. I'd have to place the plight of the Aboriginal people somewhere between the American Indian people, who were contacted some 400 or more years ago, and the Brazilian native people who are being wiped out right now.

PB: Somewhere between, but closer to Amazonian, probably.

JS: Certain features of the Aboriginal struggle make me think that the Brazilian scenario of the total destruction of native people, just because they met us, is not a pre-destined conclusion. There may be another outcome, drastic but not necessarily the end. I like your term "British Texas." Imagine you had your consciousness today, but lived in Abilene, Texas in 1820. Imagine what your perceptions of the day to day destruction of Indian people would be like. If you are like me, you would say "how do I stop this," rather than simply thinking, "let's document this destruction." One thing that keeps me hopeful in Australia is the incredibly small population. On a continent the size of the United States you have only 15 million people, something like half the population of California. There's room for mutual accommodation and respect.

MH: How many are Aboriginals at this point?

JS: Nobody really knows for sure. Estimates say there were some 300,000 people living in nomadic and semi-nomadic family and skin groupings over



every inch of Australia at the time of European contact. There may be that many now, but in a reconstituted form. They're very tough. Because they've been through it all now. The encounter took many different forms. Coastal tribes disappeared quickly, others had more time. There's a tribe alternately called the Waramulla or the Waramunga people, who were still spearing people who traveled through their country, in 1935. In the northwest corner of the state of South Australia, right in the center of the desert, there's a place called Amata where the tribal law still is going on. If you transgress the law you put out your leg and they stick a spear through your thigh, if that's your punishment, and you take it and then finish, and don't dwell on it. The tribal law in some places is still very strong. Juxtapose that with the fact that ninety-one percent of the total Australian population is urban.

PB: What percentage of the Aboriginal population would you guess is rural?

JS: Nearly 40 percent. Hard to say.

MH: Are these more able to keep their culture intact than urban Aboriginals?

JS: First I should say that a very interesting process is taking place. The urban people, fringe dwellers, semi-tribal and tribal peoples are realizing that their struggle is a unified one. But the diversity of Aboriginal culture, which grew from the people and from the diverse place "Australia," is still there. What is good for urban people may be bad for bush people. And tribes living in their "country" have different needs from a neighboring tribe. The people need to find their own solutions. One solution for people living on reserves and in bush communities is known as the *outstation* movement. For weeks or months or however long, they go off into the bush and teach the children the old ways, renew the Dreaming. The old men have learned it's harder for people to steal their land if they are actually living on it. I was very interested by Ray Dasmann's notion of "outlaw areas" where people can live under their own law. Urban Aboriginals are looking at large tracts of land known as Crown land where the whites aren't settled. And no one's asking for land that isn't traditionally theirs anyway.

MH: Let's talk about the new Australian Cinema. How does that relate to Aboriginal people?

JS: As you've seen in the papers, I'm sure, Australian cinema is really maturing now. And as these films are seen around the world, the feedback has been

that Aboriginals are far out. Now, that's a very superficial type of appreciation. To get non-native people to appreciate the native people that they have displaced is a very big problem. So film is helping the Aboriginal cause in one way. It's part of a process that also saw three Aboriginal delegates address the United Nations last year over mining on sacred land at Noonkanbah in the Kimberleys. "Globalizing land rights." On the other hand, movie producers continue to discriminate against Aboriginal actors, writers and film makers in a very well-known manner. One way is simply not to recognize them at all. For example, the promotion for *The Last Wave* mentioned Richard Chamberlain but not the tribal Aboriginals whose story the movie really dealt with.

MH: How have European Australians related to films like *The Last Wave* and *Walkabout*?

JS: Well, they're considered cult movies. *Walkabout* is a mythical movie and must be looked at as such. At the end the Aboriginal actor David Gulpali, sings himself to death because of what he's seen through saving the two white children. He sees a road for the first time and in a flash intuitively all of western culture. Now *The Last Wave* is a story which is trying to say that the Aboriginal culture exists underground, underneath all of the concrete of Sydney, and that it's still going on. Well, that's true.

PB: So in spite of its science fiction ending, *The Last Wave* had a lot of authenticity in terms of cultural friction or nonadaptability.

JS: Well, yeah, in a way. Peter Weir is a very fine filmmaker and that was his dream, but it was quite a believable thing. As I said, you scratch the surface and it's very deep, that culture's very deep.

MH: How did the Aboriginal peoples relate to these films?

JS: They see them as very superficial. And besides, they said, why should the Aboriginal spirit man die at the end? Why should he be killed? The film that would be best to talk about, that most people know and who the reviewers in America seem to love, is *The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith*. I had the pleasure of taking 65 Aboriginal people to see that movie, and we walked out with bad feelings.

MH: What did the Aboriginal people say?

JS: Well, they reckoned that it set the Aboriginal movement back another twenty or fifty years. Because there was not sufficient grounds given for why he killed these people. What frustrations were playing in that boy's mind? There was a man named Jimmy Governor, and he did all those things. In real life, a book was written from newspaper accounts, then a book was based on that book and Frank Scepri made a film from that. But the frustrations that beset an Aboriginal person, especially a half-caste at the time when the movie was made or now, today, in the city, is something incomprehensible to somebody who has not walked with an Aboriginal person down the street.

PB: John, you don't belong to any so-called primitive people and neither do I. We're working our way out of global monoculture back to something. Forward to something. How have you been able to relate the destruction of inhibitory culture in Australia to the destruction of other expressions of the web of life there? I've heard for example that the Great Barrier Reef is going very quickly. There's nothing like the Great Barrier Reef. It is probably the largest most intense formation of its kind in the biosphere, and that it's going very quickly. Is it continuous with the destruction of native



people that's going on? What about that?

JS: Well, I guess I can give a simple answer to a difficult question. That is that if you ally yourself with native people you necessarily learn politics, economics, banking, agriculture, anthropology, geography, zoology, etc. And if I work with the Pitjantjatjara people, teaching them English, and if somebody is killing them in any number of ways, building anything on their land, building a jetport at Ayers Rock or mining on their tribal land, it's all connected to them. Because the Aboriginal people are the land, the land is the Aboriginal people.

MH: So they feel the exploitation of the resources, as a personal pain?

JS: What you do to the land, Australia, you do to the Aboriginal people. What you do to the Aboriginal people you do to the land, Australia, and what you do to the Aboriginal people in Australia you do to yourself. Because to be Australian is to be Aboriginal, to be American is to be a Native American.

MH: What do they call themselves? I mean like Australia is a Western European word.

JS: Ah, that's a very interesting question.

PB: I think from a Greek root. *Austro* means south. The south continent is what it means.

MH: What's their name for their place?

JS: Well, there's some things I ask and there's some things I don't ask Aboriginal people. One thing I'm trying to figure out is how much did everybody know about everybody else. Now, the first part of the answer is, they don't want to be called Aboriginal people anymore. That's a white man's name. The people in South Australia, call themselves Nungas. "I'm not an Aboriginal, I'm a Nunga," 'cause that identifies them in place. The people in Queensland are Murrays. The people in West Australia are Nungas, the same spelling, but pronounced different. The people in the Northern Territory are still so closely linked with tribe that they can say "I'm Gunwinggu, I'm Aranda, I'm Pitjantjatjara, I'm Walbiri. All different names. They only want to be part of their own group. And over in Sydney and Melbourne, they like to be called Kooris.

MH: Do each of these people set the boundaries of their lands along natural, bioregional kinds of criteria? Things like mountain, river, deserts, and valleys. The cups of Watersheds?

JS: When the Europeans arrived, the Aboriginal people "owned" every inch of Australia, that is, different groups had ritual responsibility over their "country." They had worked all their

problems of land out so that even though they fought over other things, they didn't fight over land. People had a ritual estate and a somewhat larger economic estate which they shared with their neighbors. Coastal people had more concentrated resources, so their country was smaller than say a Central desert tribe which had to wander widely for food and water. So, boundaries were set in a way to ensure the survival of all the various peoples.

MH: When I asked you about reservations earlier, you said that there was an exact parallel between the development of a reservation containment strategy with regard to native peoples in Australia and what has happened in the United States. Is it also the case that having instituted that policy now those reservations are being further exploited in the same ways that say Lakotas in the Black Hills are?

JS: Yes it is. I think the people you would have heard most about lately would have been at Noonkanbah, the Yunggoru people. Noonkanbah is a sacred place where people from all the way to Queensland, through the Northern Territory, over to Noonkanbah come, because that is where the spirit of the sacred goanna lives. The goanna is a lizard. Now, what happened at Noonkanbah is that Charlie Court, who's the premier of that state, decided that he would go in and he would drill at that place, without permission. So he sent a convoy of drillers to drill there. But the interesting thing was, it wasn't because there was any oil there. He only wanted to check what the public outcry would be; because they've got diamonds, they got oil, they got gold, they got everything there in the Kimberlys. So he wanted to test the public opinion for the future. Well, the Aboriginal people all along the route tried to stop that convoy, but the drillers were given police protection right on through. The truckers traveled without license plates so that they couldn't be identified. The union said don't do it, everybody said don't do it. The Aboriginals stopped 'em at the gate and said don't go any further, a hundred of 'em on a truck, sideways across the road. And police came in and removed them, and they started drilling. Now, they didn't find anything at Noonkanbah. But the dreamtime goanna—finished, gone, disturbed.

And in another place where there's uranium, the myth says there are eggs, and if they're disturbed, then what's in the eggs is gonna come out and destroy the world. The Aboriginal people have been shifted from pillar to

Continued, column 1, Page 6

AUSTRALIA, continued . . .

post, but they still find themselves sitting on what the whites want. The Aboriginal people, ever since the Department of Aboriginal Affairs was set up, have been controlled by that department.

Now, I know that the Bureau of Indian Affairs in America was controlled by the Department of War and I'd say that what we're talking about in Australia is roughly the same thing. There are some programs set up that do aid Aboriginal people. I can't condemn it across the board. But, in general, there's a new push on now to stop the Aboriginal people.

PB: Under the current prime minister?

JS: Under the current prime minister, Malcolm Fraser. (Gough) Whitlam, if you remember him, was the premier in 1975. He had the "ridiculous" scheme of buying back Australia from the multi-nationals and making Australia Australian, and many other socialistic ideas. In what could be described as the quietest coup d'état in recent history, Geoff Whitlam was ousted by the CIA and Queen Elizabeth. Whitlam's economics did not appeal to the multi-nationals. So we've got Fraser now. And many Australians now essentially consider themselves a 51st state in the union.

MH: So Malcolm Fraser is in the same position with regard to Australia perhaps as the Shah of Iran was. . .

JS: Something like that, yes.

MH: I mean in the sense that a coup, whether subtle or direct, was instituted for purposes of insuring the capacity to develop resources in Australia for the global monoculture machine.

JS: That's right. Now, you've got a gentleman named Rupert Murdoch who controls most of the papers, the media, in Australia. He also controls a large portion of the transportation network especially the airlines.

MH: Didn't he also buy out London Times? And the New York Daily News?

JS: Yes, the London Times and the New York Daily News. He lives in New York.

MH: Is it possible that Murdoch is just simply part of what we might call the global monoculture infrastructure? That to even talk about him in terms of being Australian is perhaps a camouflage for more integrated multinational forces?

JS: Can I say absolutely? . . . So Absolutely. American companies play a big role in Australia. King Ranch is over there—some Aboriginals protested what they call "Texas style nigra bashing" to Jimmy Carter in 1979—AMAX company, another called Utah Mining. And lots more. The Wall Street Journal is the place to look for this sort of information, because the names change but the thing remains the same. The British multinationals like Vestey's have a large interest in Australia. And you've got growing Japanese involvement—everything from tourist resorts to nuclear waste dumping sites and petrochemical plants.

The way that I've thought to fight multinationals is multi-culturally. If the white Australians were to ally themselves with the black Australians, you would have a solid front. Frank Hardy, an Australian communist, has written a book called *The Unlucky Australians*. It concerns his involvement with the Gurindji people of the Northern Territory who walked out of their jobs as stockman (cowboys) for the Vestey company in the early 1960's. They struck for



For the past couple of years George Tukul has actively worked with and helped to train over 150 "structurally unemployed" low-income people in Hackensack, New Jersey. The focus of the work has been to make more than 2000 low-income homes more energy efficient via the installation of weather-stripping, caulking, storm windows, insulation and some solar panels. What follows explores some of the constraints within which his CETA-based program has operated and points out the necessary cultural shift which would make possible a bioregionally-based urban energy policy.

George Tukul: People, who are living in Hackensack on fixed incomes, are currently paying more for the operating costs of their houses than they are for their mortgages. That's a general rule. When I say operating costs I mean heating, refrigeration, hot water, and simple appliances.

Michael Helm: Has your program changed that at all?

G.T.: To a certain degree, on the sustainability issue but not on the budgetary one. Our people are using less energy, but fuel price hikes are going to catch the conservation effort two years down the road. I'm not clear all the time if the people living in those houses are making sense out of how and why we appeared there, and for what reasons. Economic necessity tends, for them, to be very, very immediate. People understand dollars and cents very well. What they don't understand are what types of cultural ideas, what kinds of technological ideas are really going to get them out from underneath the patterns of economic hardship. They're thinking about how to pay the fuel bill. In that context the idea of solar energy has less to do with the idea of sustainability than it has to do with buying dog food or heat. I want to relate the idea of sustainability to a sense of being in a certain place, of taking care of it, and seeing it become more alive.

One of the things that we did several years ago was try to move from certain energy conservation activities to low cost passive devices. In terms of future planning we learned some interesting things. Interacting with certain technologies is going to make us more aware of certain geographical, climatic, and environmental factors. We have to be aware of the way the sun moves through the sky. We have to be aware of how and where our house is situated. We're going to increasingly ask why the zoning board and the local planners 30 or 40 years ago didn't take into consideration solar access, which is a very important legal question right now. The nuances are specific to place. But we can make some pretty credible generalizations about how a certain uncon-

equal wages and conditions. But Hardy realized to his shock, they were fighting for their land, their pride, their language. By the simple move of going on strike, the Gurindjis changed race relations in Australia forever. They walked to the banks of Wattie Creek, to DAGURAGU, and their leader Vincent Lingiari said, "We'll stop here. This is our place." Vestey's and the government tried every trick in the book to get them back to work, but they held out. Even when blind men were taken off the pension and when rumors were circulated that Wattie Creek would be bombed. And supporters in the south were demonstrating in the cities, col-

PASSAIC WATERSHED:

An Urban Interview with George Tukul



sciousness about geography, about housing, about site, about climate has severely limited future possibilities for building sustainable communities out of what exists.

One of the questions we're all going to wrestle with, either in terms of our personal situation or community lives, is how the planning attitude, which represents a certain type of epistemology, has severely influenced and defined what is possible in the future. And one of the tests of our intelligence is going to be our ability to see what types of possibilities exist within those limitations. We will have to accept those limitations, to a certain extent, and simultaneously build other types of power bases. When I say power I don't mean political power bases. There are going to be some very important questions of how power is supplied to communities, of what the energy sources are going to be. To really get a fix on the problem, you have to go one context wider than the problem itself.

MH: Is that Tukul's law?

GT: It's more Bateson's. The appraisal of energy availability, the communication of a power generating scheme technologically, will be with a low energy focus. It is probably going to be

lecting money for the people, while Gurindji spokesmen gave speeches to trade unions and other groups. When Vincent Lingiari heard this, he said, "Now that's good. We'll fight Vestey here and you fight him down there." In the end, Gough Whitlam gave the Gurindji back their land. He poured a handful of dirt into Vincent's hands at Wattie Creek and said, "Here's the title to your land." But now I hear that claim has been contested. It's an ongoing thing. But the Gurindji demonstrated that a small group of people can fight.

MH: In the second issue of *RAISE THE STAKES*, we printed a report from the Black Hills and also an excerpt from Russell Means's speech on Marxism.

the most reliable one to redefine short term gain to long term health. I think that what Peter Berg and I are talking about is (in *Renewable Energy and Bioregions*) a more comprehensive framework for understanding community energy planning. One which has a different cultural focus to it. That's where it's going to swing. It's finally going to swing on how people perceive themselves as energy producers and energy generators. And at a certain point there has to be a technology that is keyed to that self image and community image.

New York City, for example, is obviously consuming more energy than it's producing. Where is that energy coming from? Who's paying for it? Who and what is being hurt by it? What are the long term repercussions or the real costs of keeping that relationship as it is?

MH: So the first priority is an accounting of what the real costs are.

GT: Accounting would be a good word to use if accounting was somehow connected to accountability, not to a budgetary statement. Our problem right now is that we don't have a symbolic system. We don't have a method to ground it. One of the things that Peter and I explore is a bioregional model. We're trying to ground an idea of accountability which deals with quantity within a non-budgetary framework. There have been carrying capacity studies done in Oregon and Florida.

MH: What about in Hackensack?

GT: We haven't done carrying capacity studies in Hackensack. We have done a natural resource inventory. What we've tried to do is show people what is there.

MH: Can you describe the inventory?

GT: The inventory is a listing, not a count, of soil conditions, wildlife, climate, and includes available resources for power systems based on renewable energy. Natural resource inventories as carrying capacity are really planning tools. State and local planners have gotten off on using these kinds of techniques to learn about the place where they live, and more specifically, to try and make some sort of intelligent decision on land use. Carrying capacity and natural resource inventories have traditionally been land-use planning tools. We want to have the Bergen County Planning Board be able to make use of a document bioregionally. We want to fix a reference for people who live in Hackensack so they can see what is there in 1980.

MH: What about an historical perspective?

GT: Actually part of the resource inventory is what was there. The major thing though is what is there now, for purposes of making intelligent decisions. Resource inventory, believe it or not, is a negative conception. It's

there so people know what they lose when they develop a swamp area like the Meadowlands. That's the cost. We're proposing that a natural resource inventory can become a positive statement and not a negative statement when it's combined with the idea of carrying capacity. Carrying capacity is a definition of the appropriate load on a certain region. I would make the argument that at present energy density is as important as population density in judging how resources in a region can be utilized for meeting the power requirements of a bioregionally-based society. Other people are going to make population types of arguments, because they are missing a low energy sustainable vision of what the culture is about.

MH: Don't you think using the phrase, low energy, given the ethos of the society which we live in is really just treading uphill. Nobody wants to be low energy. It sounds like you're depressed, and it's not just a question of semantics. In a way, everybody wants to continue to grow on some level, whether it's awareness or something else. There are many definitions of what that might be. Ray Dasmann, for example, has talked about eco-development as a way of dealing with the idea of progress. He wants to grow in terms of the number of species that we can sustain, in terms of a richness and diversity or life.

GT: Well, growth is a funny concept. It can get very complicated. There are two different, at least in my life, ideas of what growth can be. We've seen a great deal of one idea, which is the industrial type of growth. The second type of growth involves the pathways of energy, through which work can be done, becoming more diverse, more stable, more self-corrective. The way an ecosystem evolves through different stages of succession, I take that to be a criterion of health. The idea of health is not really whether I'm neurotic or not, or whether our communication is fucked up or not, the question of health means me plus the environment. Me plus my people plus our environment. □□□

ANNOUNCEMENT

We're looking for environmental literature. We are seeking poetry, short fiction and autobiographical material that tell the story of the resource exploitation and environmental degradation of the American West, as well as the on-going movement to encourage some measure of sanity in our approach to the natural world. We plan to publish an anthology of environmental literature this fall. We would like manuscript submissions from "knowns" and "unknowns" alike. Payment is negotiable and the deadline will be about the first of September.

Sincerely,
Reuben J. Ellis

THIRD WORLD RANCH
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Means said that he saw Marxism as being but the furthest side of the industrial revolution. He felt that an alliance between a Marxist perspective and a native peoples perspective was incompatible with the preservation of traditional cultures. How do Aboriginals feel about this?

JS: Well, I think Means is right to a large extent. Communist governments do not necessarily have a good record when it comes to native people. Communism is a reaction to industrialization. But it lacks something. "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" is just not enough. It should go like this: "From each according to his responsibilities in the tribe, to each according to his needs and the tribal re-

sources." One Aboriginal man said to me, "if we can't learn to treat people as people, and treat each other as people, we're gonna end up like America or like Africa." That was very interesting to me. They don't really see a model that they want to follow. I've heard an Aboriginal person say to me though, we got to reinject the notion of the tribe into the communism because it's the one that's comin' round the world now. But that's a real politik type Aboriginal view, because that's lookin' at what's happening. What they would really like to do is ally themselves to none of them. What they would really like everybody to do would be to Aboriginalize themselves. Then the conversation will really get interesting. □□□

In the West water is the scarcest, most limiting resource. Nobody knows this better than Peter Warshall. Over the past decade he has been, through his contributions to CoEvolution Quarterly and the California Water Atlas, a pioneer in helping us to understand how water policies affect the health of a bioregion. As the talk printed below illustrates, Peter has become an inhabitant of the Sonoran Watershed. In what follows he explains why some fundamental changes in water, energy, and growth attitudes are urgently needed.

SONORAN WATERSHED:



A Talk by Peter Warshall

Water. Let's go over Tucson. There are little wells and there are deep wells. These deep wells go about 1000 feet underneath the surface of the earth. Every summer when it rains, some of that water gets back in and refills the cup. In Tucson, there is a whole bunch of water that can't be refilled. It's buried beneath the rock and it's as if you had a rubber ball full of water or a balloon full of water. Some of it is called fossil water because it was laid down a long time ago and cannot be replenished by rainfall.

Underneath the surface of Tucson, there are 14 cubic miles of water. After that's gone there's no more water in the Sonoran desert. So you have to kind of think that's what Tucson has. Every year we use about 3/7 of a cubic mile for irrigation and for Tucson to grow on. Every year the rain puts back about 1/7. So every year we're actually using up about 2/7 of a cubic mile of our limited water supply. If we could get all this water out and pump it all out, Tucson would have water for another 100 years. That would be the length of the civilization called Tucson. Rather a quick, short civilization.

Unfortunately it isn't that easy. Some of this water is so far down that you can't pump it out with the kind of pumps that we have right now. 2000 feet becomes very difficult. So the politicians argue, how much water do we actually have? Well let's go over it. Pumping limits the amount of water. Some of the water is undrinkable. It has salts in it, it has too much fluoride in it, and some of it is even radioactive. These are the natural limitations.

Then there are other limitations. First, the Papago Indians own a large amount of this water. It's under their land. Tucson is dewatering Papago water because the groundwater is all connected. No one bothered to put up a barrier between it. The Papago have sued the city of Tucson and any moment the Supreme Court could say that Tucson can no longer take any water from the Papago reservation. So that's a very political reason. They're not paying the Papago for the water which is one of the reasons that they're being sued. The Papago really don't mind the water being taken, they'd like to be paid for it.

The other thing is that Tucson is growing. It's the second or third fastest growing part of the nation. Tijuana is the fastest growing place in the Sonoran desert. Texas is the fastest growing state and Tucson is the second or third fastest growing city. The Chamber of Commerce, which likes to say there are lots of people coming, says there are 2,500 people settling here every month. So each year the population grows by 25,000. As that happens, more and more water is being pumped faster and faster.

The other thing that's limiting it is land subsidence. Land subsidence is occurring between Tucson and Phoenix because if you take so much water out, the earth doesn't stand up anymore and just collapses. There are big cracks. This is really important in downtown Tucson which has very large buildings because that's where the land is sinking fastest. When I say sinking, I mean an inch or two a year as the earth is drying up.

So when you come down to all of that, it means we really don't

have that much water. You can't pump out so much that you start causing downtown Tucson to fall apart. You can't pump out too much before the Papago sue you. Who knows how fast you can grow before you just become too large. So that's the politics of Tucson. And some politicians say that we have 100 years with 14 cubic miles of water, and other people say we only have 20 years because after 20 years Tucson will be growing too fast, there'll be too much undrinkable water, it'll be too deep, and the Papago want the water for themselves to grow their own crops. Tucson is the second largest city on the earth surviving solely on groundwater. The first largest is Beaumont, Texas. We don't have surface water, that's why underground water is so important.

A big "solution" of course, is to bring in water from someplace else. And that's the second politics of Tucson: where can you get more water? Right now, on the Colorado River, you could put a child's boat in a pipe in Denver, Colorado and it would wind up in two weeks in Tijuana, Mexico. You could put a little boat in the Rogue River in Oregon and in two weeks it would wind up in Phoenix. The whole of the Colorado River, which is the main river of the Sonoran desert, has been plumbed with tunnels, pumps, and aqueducts from Boulder, Colorado to Tijuana, Mexico. From Oregon, probably in a few years, to Tucson.

Tijuana gets part of its water from a dam in Baja and gets part of its water from the Colorado River that is canaled across the Mohave desert to San Diego and then is pumped across the border to Tijuana. Tijuana is growing at a rate of about 5000 people a month. You go there and you can't even tell who lives there and who doesn't live there. Tijuana is the staging point for people coming into the United States both legally and illegally. As you probably already know, from San Jose, California to Galveston, Texas is really almost a part of Mexico. It was part of Old Mexico. In many places the predominant language is Spanish. There's been a tremendous movement of Mexicans back into this area. There's been a kind of reinhabitation of the old Mexico by the new Mexicans. And that's occurred in the last 10 or 15 years.

Tucson puts 85% of its water into agriculture. There's one big river that comes down, the Colorado River, that is fed from outside the desert. The water doesn't come from the desert itself. It comes from the Rocky Mountains and this then becomes a water source for the Sonoran region.

Sonora has always imported water in a sense, naturally. They did it because there is no real water in the Sonoran desert, but it does come in from outside the region itself. So all of these rivers, which are the main rivers

of the Sonoran desert, are fed by the mountains, the Sierra Madre of Mexico. These are the main rivers: the Concepcion, Sonora, Rio Yaqui, and Rio Mayo. There's not too much groundwater in southern Mexico. As you get up into northern Mexico, it's almost all groundwater. Everything is plumbed in northern Mexico very much like the United States. If you go to Mexicali, you'll see big, flat, open agribusiness growing cash crops. Crops like tomatoes. Because it's warmer as you go south. In Sonora, tomatoes make it to the market two months earlier and will still be on the market two months later. When you eat a tomato, no matter where you are, in December, in the United States, it comes from this part of Sonora. Again the politics of water and agribusiness. It's a great debate, because once you go over the border you can use pesticides, you can use any kind of agricultural practices. The Mexican government doesn't have any rules. So these particular farms, 10 miles over the border, are out-competing American farms in the tomato business.

At their own game, because it was Americans who taught Mexicans how to do this, but they don't have those kind of restrictions on their crop growing that American farmers have. So tomatoes are the big crop because of the season. The other big crop, the largest crop, is cotton. Cotton is an international crop. The cotton being grown is not for the United States, it's mostly for the Japanese market right now. So it's a cash crop and it varies very much every year. Cotton uses about half the water of the Sonoran desert.



Mexico has different politics, of course. It's people are poorer, they need more food. So in Mexico they grow corn. In the United States corn is grown in the Great Plains, not in the Sonoran desert. In Mexico, corn is a big crop and that's part of the Mexican policy to feed its own people before it gets into cash crops like cotton for export. So there are big differences. Those differences are partly based on the fact we have one big river in the United States, but in Mexico they have these little short rivers. So the engineering has never been as great in Mexico. They've never had the monumental desire to build Hoover dam...

Let me say this about the Colorado River: as the water comes down, it gets so hot in the desert that the river evaporates. You know if you evaporate water, you concentrate the salts. By the time it gets to the Mexican border, it's so salty that a big water war between Mexico and the United States has resulted. The United States has been able to win that war until Mexico discovered oil. And if oil and water don't mix, they really don't mix in this one. Now the U.S. wants the natural gas and oil, and Mexico wants less salty water. So the politics are shifting with Mexico having a bargaining point it never had before.

This is how it goes. Part of the water goes through the continental divide, backwards into Denver. Denver and Boulder live on the Colorado even though it's on the complete other side of the mountains. Out of the Colorado goes water to Los Angeles and San Diego. 10 million people live off the Colorado in that direction. Las Vegas has water coming from the Colorado. Salt Lake City has water from there. Mon-



tana has water coming from the Colorado. The Colorado is over-committed.

In 1934, the first dam was being built on the Colorado River by Los Angeles. They did it without asking anybody's permission. They just went out there and built it. And so Arizona, in 1934, declared war on California and sent a militia up the Colorado River on rafts to Parker Dam with cannons and machine guns. Unfortunately the river was so low they got stranded in the middle of the river and then had to be rescued by the workers from the dam who helped them set up camp near the dam. Then the minute the dam touched Arizona soil, the Arizona army took it over and the Governor declared a state of siege and they stopped work on the dam. It went to Congress and Congress authorized the dam officially. That's the kind of water war that's been going on since the 30's.

Right now, the Supreme Court has given Arizona a million and a quarter acre feet a year of the Colorado. It's all been allocated. Every drop of the Colorado River has been allocated very carefully. Unfortunately it was allocated in the 1930's and 40's when rainfall was much higher than it is now. It was based on a high rainfall. So since the 40's, nobody has been able to meet their obligation because nature hasn't cooperated. Arizona doesn't use its allotment, that the Supreme Court gave it, because it's never had the aqueduct to use it. But that's what Tucson wants to build now. Once that gets built, Southern California, especially San Diego and Orange Counties, are going to have to cut back on the Colorado water because they are now using Arizona's allotment. That should happen in 1985. 1985 will be the first moment that the Colorado River is actually over-used in the sense that there will not be enough water to go around. We still won't feel it in 1985 because the dams are so large that we'll just start drawing down the dams. So the first people to feel it will be the people who like to go water skiing or take boats out on Lake Mead. There's going to be a huge bathtub ring where there was once water. So that's going to be the first indication of that.

The other thing that will determine what happens is if they start synthetic fuel development in the Rockies. Right now, the Rockies, where all the water comes from, is giving more water downstream to the desert than it needs to according to the law. If there's synthetic fuel development, coal development, they'll need that water. Oil shale is a kind of shale that has oil in it and you can extract the oil and turn it into gasoline and crude oil, but in order to do that it requires a tremendous amount of water.

When you get down to Yuma you have so much salty water for Mexico that two things have happened. The U.S. has planned to build the largest desalinization plant on Earth. It has not been authorized by Congress because it is so expensive. It's based on nuclear power and the price of it is just like everything else, has gone through the ceiling. So at this point what the farmers are required to do is not put their leftover irrigation water back in the Colorado. It's too salty. So the United States built a 60 mile long aqueduct to bypass the Sonoran desert right to the ocean. You see, right now it's real hard for them to meet their obligation to Mexico because the water is so salty and the only way to do it is by releasing more water upstream. So you have to send a lot more water than you wanted. Still, it's a matter of cost. Right now, desalinization is not cost-effective. It's extremely expensive.

What is happening in the desert is that energy and water have become like a kissing cousin marriage. Everyone is going to fight over them, whether it's a good marriage or a bad one. On everything. It's a very controversial and ironic matter.

Yuma, for example, is one of these situations. How much oil should we spend, or coal power, to create clean water? There's really a question there. Conversely, up the Colorado it's how much water can we use to get more energy from oil shale. In Tucson, it's how much energy should we use to get deeper and deeper water because it requires so much energy to pump it up. Another situation occurring is that the largest use of electricity in the summer, in Tucson, is air conditioning, which is a water cooled process. It goes on and on with that water-energy trade-off.

QUESTION: Has there been any attempt to educate the people of Tucson to conserve water as much as possible?

It's been tried. It's in a state of flux right now. Certain things Tucson is doing are conserving water. It's very hard when you get a lot of people moving here from other bioregions of the United States who are used to having lawns. Lawns consume a lot of water. It takes about two to three years for someone to realize "Oh, I live here, I live here in the desert and it's not Ohio, it's not Oregon, it's not California. It's the Sonoran desert." So needless to say, it's a slow educational process.

Right now water conservation is not greatly encouraged by organizations like the Chamber of Commerce. They really want Tucson to grow and they don't want anybody to say, "Oh, you're going to have to watch the water in Tucson." More people might not come. □□□

ABIORIGIN

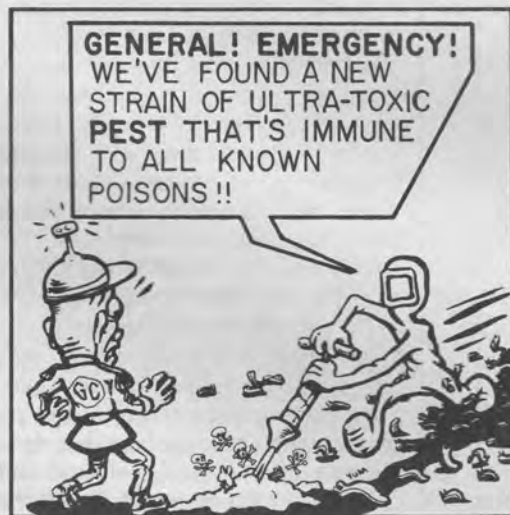
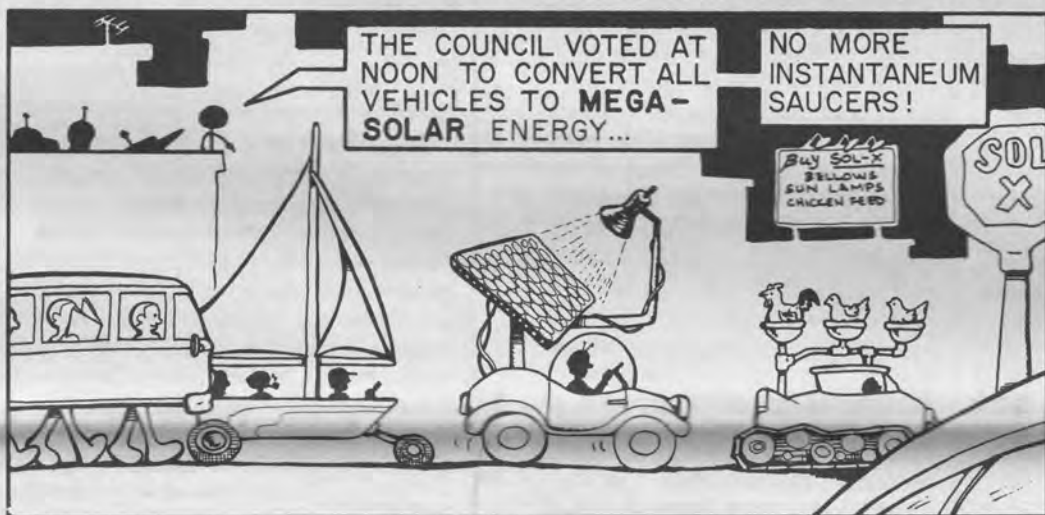
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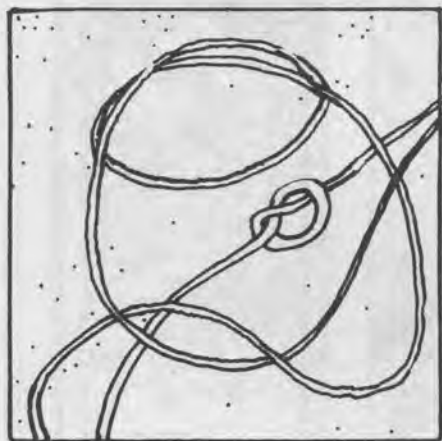
A Talk by Peter Berg

The Resources Agency of California and Office of Appropriate Technology recently co-sponsored a presentation by Peter Berg of the themes in Renewable Energy and Bioregions: A New Context for Public Policy. In the interest of clarifying the "natural energy" perspective of RE & B and to encourage bioregional advocacy before government administrators, the complete text of that March, Sacramento talk follows.

All of us have to relax a little from the trauma of energy: from feelings that there's an Energy Crisis or energy shortage, or that Reagan has got to find new oil. None of those are pertinent concerns. There are some good reasons to be concerned about the way we use energy that are related to the facts that fossil fuels are running out, nuclear plants are dangerous, and burning coal is extraordinarily dirty. But people have known these facts for a fairly long time. There's no justification for sudden trauma, and if we get into a trauma mode we won't be able to accomplish the massive shift in social consciousness and direction that the negative aspects of our current use of energy make inevitable. It is inevitable that the way we live and the goals we share will shift from dependency on fossil or nuclear fuels. The questions are *where* we will move, *what* we will do specifically, *how* we will feel about it, and *what* will be the resulting effect on our notion of civilization.

Energy has become more dominant in our society than the forces that previously shaped social change. Social problems, the conflict of social classes, the issues that used to power major social movements, have become more ambiguous and diffuse in late industrial society. In our society,

Energy became a socially dominant force as a consequence of the radical transformation of the concept of energy during the industrial age. Human beings haven't always been dependent on so few energy forms as today. Marco Polo drove to China on horses, donkeys, and camels. Christopher Columbus was powered across the Atlantic by the wind. The primary fuel for Napoleon's army was hay. If you wanted to do anything that required light after sunset before 1850, you burned animal fat. A concept of energy existed *then* that was obviously effective and had nothing to do with fossil or nuclear fuels. We need to remind ourselves that energy isn't necessarily a kilowatt or a gallon. It's not something that burns you if it spills, or shocks you if you touch a wire. If that's what energy is, Marco Polo would never have made it.



Fundamentally, "energy" is a shared conception of the way a culture intersects solar income. All cultures intersect solar income in some way, and the way that is done determines the ideas and language of energy. If you ride donkeys and use donkey droppings for fires, you're in donkey-energy culture.

There are two significant changes in the concept of energy since 1850. One is hardly given any importance, although it may be the principal change. Namely that full-blast industrial culture has generally used *extra-*

regional energy supplies. The second change is that these supplies have primarily been fossil fuels.

When energy was supplied from *within* a region it wasn't "regional" in the way that Americans tend to think of a region. It wasn't Southwest or Northeast or Midwest. It wasn't New England. Those are all colonial ways of looking at places, they don't describe *living* regions. They are essentially centralized perspectives of places. Southeast or Southwest are reference points which make sense only in terms of a center somewhere else. New England is an outpost colonial term. Is it England? No, but it's almost as good. It's New England.

Let me describe where we are now to contrast the colonial perspective with an idea of what a living region is. We're in *Shasta*. This institutional room, this rectilinear fluorescent space with its artificial fabrics and chemical furniture, is in a bioregion located on the Pacific Coast of North America that might best be named for Mt. Shasta located at the top of its major watershed. Shasta participates with the North Pacific Rim and the Pacific Basin as part of the planetary biosphere. A very distinct, integral part of the anatomy of the planet. There is such a variety of plants (and animals feeding on them) in Shasta that diversity is probably its most significant characteristic. The Sierra Nevada snow-pack feeds a broken-toothed comb pattern of rivers pouring into the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys, depositing topsoil hundreds of feet deep in some places. Shasta is agriculturally one of the most productive places on the planet because of the felicitous mix of soil, water, and warm Mediterranean climate. A mix which exists in very few places. Kept warm by the California Current, catching rain from clouds originating as far away as the Himalayas, it's a green desert with manzanita growing near Redwood trees. Shasta is a distinct, diverse and interdependent part of the planetary biosphere that deserves a unique social, political, and cultural identity to match its natural endowment. People used to have that here. People with such diverse names as Miwok, Maidu, Yurok, and Pomo. It would be possible for us to deliberately put our renewed culture into harmony with the natural flows of energy and life in the Shasta bioregion—in a process that could be called *reinhabitation*. We can become natives.

Before 1850 most peoples were bioregional, not colonial/regional. People lived in a valley and called it "our valley." They grew things that grew in Our Valley, spoke a different dialect or language than other people who lived in Their Valleys. They had bioregional watershed cultures. We've fallen into an industrial age Boeing jet, Hilton Hotel, Palm Springs golf course, three-piece business suit, MacDonald's hamburger culture. We've tended to smear this over living places, making indigenous people dependent on industrially produced resources and commodities. So much of the planet is currently impacted by this one culture that it should be termed global monoculture. It isn't, despite its arrogance and pretensions, the only culture. There still are more people primarily

involved with their own bioregional cultures than with global monoculture. They include Hopis and Kurds, Ubos and Warramongas, the border peoples of China, and numerous cultures in southern Soviet republics (where 90% of the people may speak their native tongue as a first language rather than Russian). In Europe there are still Bretons, Scots, Irish, Cornish, Catalonians, Basques, and Alsatians—all bioregionally-based cultures that are somewhat intact or capable of resurgence.

Bioregional cultures have been based on natural energy flows that are native to their locations, intersecting solar income through what might be thought of as a bioregional energy policy. They use native woods or peat for fire. They may use adobe, bamboo or bundles of grass in construction. They use things that are naturally renewed and budget their use. At least they do if they haven't been too overwhelmed by global monoculture's fossil fuel.



A reinhabitory culture can follow a renewable energy policy with solar and appropriate technology when two important considerations temper the use of that technology. The first is that renewable energy *cannot* be used to simply reproduce the goals of industrial society. If we produce solar cells in Texas and transport them across the United States and to the rest of the global monocultural world, we're going to eventually end up with new garbage dumps full of solar cells. A lot of cheap labor is going to be necessary to make them in Texas, probably from across the Mexican border. Someone will also have to import a lot of things into Texas that have been dug up elsewhere. If a renewable energy policy duplicates the goals of industrial society, none of it will actually be renewable.

The second point is that the main purpose of a renewable energy policy is not simply to produce power or fuel. It doesn't produce quotas of either kilowatts or gallons of gasoline. Its purpose would be to restore and maintain the bioregion of the adaptive culture employing it because renewable energy won't be renewed if the bioregion is allowed to deteriorate.

Anyone who works in a department of California state government, who realizes that Shasta is an interdependent part of the biosphere—of the planet's web of life—and has to push a single program or try to establish one piece of information, deserves a lot of sympathy. They must have tremendous conflict. Energy policy is directly related to natural resources. If you're in the Department of Energy, someone else is in the Resources Agency, and you will be competing for different things. It could be mental torture to sincerely try to affirm a sense of interdependence.

However, energy considerations are tending to dominate social, economic, cultural and social considerations presently, and they will do so even more in the future. When we have to decide whether to send troops to a Middle East war or whether to let old people freeze in winter, something has happened. This isn't "Defending Democracy". It's not extending civil liberties. It's just trying to make it through to the next year and pay those energy bills. Dividing out energy considerations from those of natural resources will be ultimately self-defeating. We have to be weaned from fossil fuels and nuclear power because fossil fuels will run out and nuc-

lear power will continue to be dangerous, and the purpose of a rational energy policy will be to do that.

Renewable energy policy, in our situation, must include transformation toward a decentralized post-industrial society. It would be jive to say that the State of California can have a renewable energy policy if territory bounded by the State isn't districted according to bioregions.

The conceptual presentation that Planet Drum Foundation prepared for the California Solar Business Office, *Renewable Energy and Bioregions*, contains the basic ideas of a *bioregional model* to shape energy policies, and *figures of regulation* to carry them out. The anthropologist, Roy Rappaport in "Pigs For The Ancestors" pointed out how among primitive people in New Guinea each individual balances a personal idea of success with a social notion of ecological reciprocity. They understand economic accounting in terms of how much water, how many pigs, how much grass, how many yams are being consumed. And those factors play a part in rituals addressed to the ancestors, which is a form of species identity; an accounting of belonging to the human species within the web of life of a specific bioregion. That's much more complicated than anything that's done in state government by any individuals or computers. That's very complex, beautiful and delicate accounting. Perhaps we can stumble our way out of narrow mechanical monoculture back onto that voluptuous terrain. If we follow a bioregional model and develop figures of regulation that work, we've got a life-centered culture.

A transition will require priorities for a renewable, bioregionally-based society and reinventing corresponding social activities. Here are some examples of what these priorities and activities might be, activities to become native again. First, getting solar space and water heating into low-income people's homes. Not just trying to help meet fuel costs on a low budget, that's duplicating fossil fuel industrial age goals. We need to ask how solar heating could be provided in a way that uses native materials of the region. The construction, for example, of new

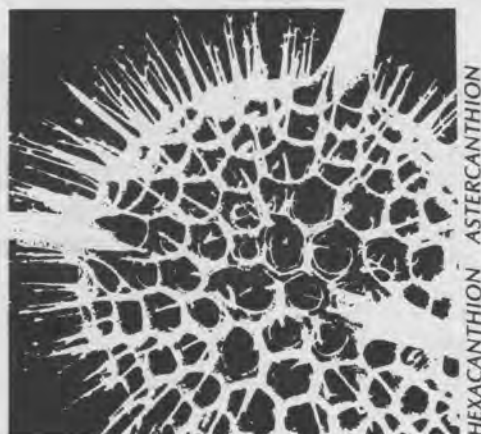


houses out of adobe is worth considering. Adobe is a material that is close-by and provides good thermal mass for passive solar designs. It can be recycled easily into the soil, helping to close broad bioregional loops in natural energy flows. Who might work on such a house? Neighbors. What style of house might they build? The kind that they've gotten into their heads. How did they get it? By making mistakes. Why do they do it? They like each other and live out of each other's pockets, which is always essential to the fabric of a real culture with resonant feedback loops. "That's a good-lookin' house we made together! Yeah, you're right."

Personal identity would change in a renewable energy society. Ivan Illich calculated how much personal income is used to support an automobile—the garage, gasoline, payments, repairs, insurance, and so on. It turns out that something like a quarter of personal income goes into automobiles. If you didn't have an automobile you wouldn't have to work one-quarter as much. Extending his analysis of how labor serves automobiles to other areas, personal identity in a bioregion with a renewable energy policy would

From HAMMERING IT OUT

By Michael McClure



HEXACANTHON ASTERCANTHION

The last volume of Olson's *Maximus Poems*—like Mallarmé's unfinished, open-ended *Le Livre*—is in part a poem about the architecture of the poem itself. In that way it is much like an organism. A creature is about itself. A living organism is perceived as a very complex chunk, or lump, or bulk, or motile body of reproductive plasm. And of course it is that. The most rewarding view of the organism, and of organically complex works of art, is that which is comprised of several equally valid views.

A way of seeing an organism, other than as a lump or bulk of self-perpetuating protoplasm (and there's nothing wrong with that), is the view that the organism is, in itself, a tissue or veil between itself and the environment—it is also simultaneously the environment itself. The organism is what Whitehead and Olson would think of as a point of novelty comprehending itself or experiencing itself both proprioceptively and at its tissue's edges and at any of its conceivable surfaces.

There is, in fact, a central force in the organism and it IS the environment.

The organism is a swirl of environment in what the Taoists call the Uncarved Block of time and space (a sculpture universe in which time and space are not separated into intersecting facets by measured incidents).

The veil, the tissue (or the lump or bulk), is created by the storms from which it protects itself—and is itself the ongoing storm. Herakleitos saw it as a storm of fire, the raging of an active and energetic principle.

The organism is a constellation (like a constellation of stars or molecules) of resonances between itself and the outer environment. The organism is a physical pattern of reflections and counter-reflections that we call a body and we see it clearly as a physiology. Ourselves. A rosebush. An amoeba. An apple.

• • •

Shelley begins his ode *Mont Blanc*:

*The everlasting universe of things
Flows through the mind, and rolls its rapid waves,
Now dark—now glittering—now reflecting gloom—
Now lending splendour, where from secret springs
The source of human thought its tribute brings
Of waters,—with a sound but half its own,
Such as a feeble brook will oft assume
In the wild woods, among the mountains lone,
Where waterfalls around it leap for ever,
Where woods and winds contend, and a vast river
Over its rocks ceaselessly bursts and raves.*

In that energy structure Shelley allows his intellect—at its highest capacity—stimulated by conversations with Mary, Byron, and their entourage, to become a system through which energy passes to organize the system. In the process of almost onomatopoeically recreating the wild mountain scene in the music of the poem, Shelley creates a new poem shape. In it he may, in fact, be the voice of the universe that has broken through his person to sing itself in a previously unexpressed way. The poem may be a complex molecule of perception.

Shelley continues:

*Thus thou, Ravine of Arve—dark, deep Ravine—
Thou many-coloured, many-voiced vale,
Over whose pines, and crags, and caverns sail
Fast cloud-shadows and sunbeams: awful scene,
Where Power in likeness of the Arve comes down
From the ice-gulfs that gird his secret throne,
Bursting through these dark mountains like the flame
Of lightning through the tempest;—thou dost lie,
Thy giant brood of pines around thee clinging,
Children of elder time, in whose devotion
The chainless winds still come and ever came
To drink their odours, and their mighty swinging
To hear—an old and solemn harmony:
Thine earthly rainbows stretched across the sweep
Of the ethereal waterfall, whose veil
Robes some unsculptured image; the strange sleep
Which when the voices of the desert fail
Wraps all in its own deep eternity;—
Thy caverns echoing to the Arve's commotion,
A loud, lone sound no other sound can tame;
Thou art pervaded with that ceaseless motion,
Thou art the path of that unresting sound—
Dizzy Ravine! and when I gaze on thee
I seem as in a trance sublime and strange
To muse on my own separate fantasy.*

These lines seem to be the energy of the universe expressing itself upon the complex organism of Shelley's body as if he were a typewriter of pure protein spirit. It is the river below and the glacier above in their immediate energy forms—and the clouds passing over—and the movement of storms over the peaks—and the burst of pines from the dark subsoil into the vivid air—that are the most present charges. It seems that way, for that is what Shelley paints with his sensorium and sense of music. But there is also an older, deeper energy source present. Beneath the mammal-human biography of Shelley's life there is a very ancient consciousness expressing itself in his imagination—as his imagination is liberated by the inspiration of his surroundings.

Many billions of years before the present all the physical matter in the universe exploded (goes one story) from a single super-dense ball. The turbulence of the exploded matter, drifting through the space that it created, was not evenly spread and densifications of matter took place in certain areas of space. The densifications became complex and compact and they in turn exploded; the product of the explosion was the original, simple material plus new assemblies of that material that were more complex. As these expanded through new space, and previously created space, there were further densifications of both complex and old material—and probably more explosions and the creation of yet more complex matter out of the simpler materials. This matter densified into galaxies of stars. Then planets densified in place around stars. Because of the ur-ancient energy of the very first explosion, which still operated in more and more complex manners, reconcentrated energy streamed from the stars across the surface of this planet. The surface of Earth complicated itself into very new molecules which in turn took miraculous shapes. These then crumpled themselves for their own preservation and extension of energy. They created a negentropic dancing film that a biologist friend calls rainbow mud—of which we are a part—of which Shelley was a part. The material of Shelley was in the original primeval explosion and went through all the densifications and expansions and complications. Then, in 1816, the material of the universe in a point of novel self-comprehension (as all points are novel) stood in the stance of poetry admiring itself from primeval past to most modern retreating glacier and roaring river—and naturally played upon itself and sang.

Small wonder that William Carlos Williams believed that poetry is in things and there is poetry in a wheelbarrow glazed with rain.

be quite a different thing. Something more like the personal identity of primitive people, who don't really have one job, but do a lot of things extraordinarily well. There are signs that this is happening, there are more people who do a number of things well and drop out from some of those once in a while



to do some of the others. They play music, do carpentry, plan community projects, give childbirth lessons. People would have more roles in a renewable energy society.

There would be greater localism of concerns in a renewable energy society. This is difficult for many people to accept because they would like to think that, if it really gets too heavy, they can always go to Hawaii. But the localism that's implied by using only renewables would put different prices on illusions like that. It might be very expensive to go to Hawaii, it might take a year of your time. You might have to do it fairly slowly and you might transform your personality along the way. When you got there you might decide that you really didn't like it that much, you might want to come back and it would take another year to do that. Right now we



can get away with a lot on a short-term basis. We have very cheap prices for some really valuable stuff. Aluminum is incredibly expensive to produce from an energy point of view, but you find it littering the highways. We cook highly processed foods in containers

made from it that we are supposed to throw away. We must be getting away with this because we're ripping somebody off, somewhere else.

The possibility that we could belong to diverse and interdependent cultures instead of exploiting each other and the biosphere is a goal worth attaining. We don't have to keep Bolivian miners doing what they do, we don't have to destroy the island of Noumea for nickel, or tear down the Amazon jungle for pulpwood. We can be something different than a bunch of neurotics living in sardine cans and butchering the planet. Using renewable energy in a way that restores and maintains bioregions can be the local foundation for a mutualist planetary or biospheric "civilization" of diverse interdependent peoples. □□□

graphics by Nancy Eckel

AESTHETICS

CITIES: SALVAGING THE PARTS



Morris Berman • Gary Snyder • Ernest Callenbach • Murray Bookchin

*The contemporary megalopolis is in trouble. Social services are deteriorating, housing is increasingly unaffordable, crime and pollution are up. Fear, apathy, and alienation pervade the air. One response, in the United States at least, is that many people (and their problems) are moving out of densely populated urban centers and into smaller, semi-rural, towns. For the first time in a hundred years—according to the 1980 census—we are experiencing a net urban decline. Still, there is no doubt that the majority of us will continue to live in urban landscapes for the foreseeable future. What the nature and possibilities of a reconstituted city life might be, as well as what models the recent past might have to offer, is the subject of the transcribed and edited panel discussion that follows. **

Morris Berman: We've talked about the whole question of backing-off from a high-tech society. Sometimes, in our discussions, I have the sensation of pastoral romanticism. The attempt to capture a society, a golden age, where people lived happily in community environments and never fought and there was no alienation. How much of bioregionalism or the movement for an ecological anarchy involves a rather utopian attempt to turn the clock back: to get out of an age that's become too complex, too frightening, too difficult?

Gary Snyder: David Brower of the Friends of the Earth is commonly asked the same question. This is the "we can't go back to the Stone Age" ploy and it's one of the simpler diversions used to oversimplify what is clearly a serious question. David Brower used to answer that question by saying "I don't want to go back to the Stone Age, I'd be satisfied with the twenties". If you recall living in the twenties, the population was half of what it is now and there was a working system of public transportation in this country. It would not, however, be shameful to say "go back," nor would it necessarily be utopian or romantic since utopia is a word which implies a future-projected, ideal society, and the past happens to be real and not ideal. So talking about the past is by definition not utopia. It simply is talking about the causes that lie behind us

and it might be useful to consider some of those rather sophisticated pre-fossil fuel technologies as models of what we could do after we run out of fossil fuels.

Oddly enough, we are so spaced out in our condition as of this decayed twentieth century, that we literally do not know how our grandparents got along. How did they keep the food from spoiling? So the past is actually useful to us as a body of information about alternative transportation, technologies, and diversified and sophisticated agricultures which kept cultigens growing that were appropriate bioregionally before they were washed out by agribusiness. There were, for example, 300 species of apples around the year 1900 and now you're lucky if you can buy more than 5 kinds of apples at the market. (There are nurseries that will supply 25 or 30 varieties of apples. There's one nursery in upstate New York that deals with what it calls antique species, if you want to get some of those earlier ones like Northern Spy.)

I could go on at some length but the point that I'll make, and I'll quote Wendell Berry, is "the first principle of intelligent tinkering is to save all the parts". The past happens to be a parts bin and we have actually lost some whole bins with those parts, and we don't know which we're going to need. One of these days we may have a real need for some little old part out there in an old parts

bin underneath a blackberry bush that we forgot all about.

From there, then, we do indeed look forward. So, to talk about "contemporary bioregional, decentralist, anarchist, alternatives," one cannot help but mean that you look at societies that *were* bioregional, that *were* decentralist, that did not have States, class structures, or taxation, or kings, or priests. These societies may not have been precisely ideal according to some suburban liberal's notion of values, but they were real. They were not utopias, but they were real and in some cases they might have something to teach us. In fact, a good deal of 17th and 18th century democratic and also Marxist thought is informed by the mind-boggling discovery by mercantile Europeans that there were societies out there without priests and kings. The noble savage was a very revolutionary injection of alternative possibilities into Western thought. That's actually part of the history of thought. It's up to us to make good use of the information of the past.

Ernest Callenbach: I'm curious how many people in the room grew up in a small town or a rural area? A third maybe. How many of us still have the kind of folk society origins that make it easy to understand the kind of thing that has been talked about here? At the risk of being immodestly autobiographical, I would say that I'm one of those people too. I come from a town that had about 300 people in a good year, about 90 miles downwind from Harrisburg and Three Mile Island. I think that it is hard for people who grow up in cities to have what you might call a fundamentally, biologically-oriented way of looking at people. To me the reason why anarchism makes sense goes from biology towards anarchism. If we look at ourselves as an animal species and ask what a decent state of welfare comparable to that of happy wild animals would consist of, we have to start thinking about something that looks like anarchism. So you can come at this structural question, this organizational question, from both ends. You can come at it from politics, as Murray Bookchin does; or you can come at it from a biological view, which is where quite a lot of scientific and population ecology type people come from.

The fact that most of us, in our society, are now urbanites is very scary to me. It seems to me that it leads us away from a trust in the land. It's hard to have a feel for a bioregion if you haven't really lived in contact with the earth, or what we can legitimately call an agricultural way of life. Ultimately all societies are agricultural. This morning somebody was saying that only four percent of our population produced all the food to feed the rest of the ninety-six percent of us. This seems to be a very perilous situation; psychologically, morally, and politically. The consequences of that are one of the reasons why a conference of this kind is necessary. The rest of us in alienated urban life have to get back into thinking about the real problems which are essentially solar. All organic things on the earth are produced from solar energy, they're inevitably agricultural and come from plants.

Audience Participant: I came from a city in Texas and the only thing I could think of when I was about thirteen was how to get out of there.

Morris Berman: That's a good question. How many people want to go back? The community that I came from in upstate New York was really stultifying, really repressive. Everybody knew what everybody else did. And if I hate the anonymity of the large city, there's a positive trade-off as against living in a community that's very claustrophobic. On the first day of the conference,

Ray Dasmann gave an address in which he said "you know, traditionally, city air may be polluted, but the air is free air, it's the place of culture and contact and change and excitement." I agree with what Ernest said about a certain urban cut-offness and a perilous situation. But my mind is embedded in asphalt and steel and I have a hard time seeing through these things to the grass. There's a loss of freedom in a recovery of community and I sort of fear that stultifying claustrophobic environment.

Murray Bookchin: I am going to make a defense of the city, even though I don't believe we have cities anymore. That's an important point. I came from New York. I'm 58 years old, and in the 1920's and 30's we had a life, an energy and a vibrancy (and also an agriculture) which has been totally destroyed since the end of the Second World War. I still recall the Italian gardens and the goats in the North Bronx. I recall the ease with which we could use that system of public transportation, to which Gary alluded earlier, and go to the end of the city in a matter of about a half hour and go out into the green space that separated one community from another around New York. I can recall the beautiful wild meadows that have now become mercury mines. I can recall the small neighborhood grocer who gave us credit and the shoemaker who knew us. I can recall the druggist we called "doc", who took out whatever alien body that got in our eye. I can recall the physician who sat by our bedside and nursed us and just didn't simply diagnose us and give us a shot. I can recall some of the rich experiences in which villages existed within New York City to form a rich, varied, composite of communities. And finally, I can recall the extent to which the largest amount of food we got was grown *within* a fifty mile radius of New York City. And it's now totally gone. We were not dependent on an Imperial Valley or anything like that.

It's not that urban life has become more complex, but that it's become grossly simplified. The horrors of New York today, and of the areas around New York, are the huge shopping malls in which you can't buy what you want or what you're looking for because everything is packaged in plastic. Everything is mass-produced and everything is mass-consumed. And everybody goes through a form of mass transportation that massifies them. In the subways and the trolley cars, we used to talk to each other. On those forms of transportation there was a vibrant rich life. Now we have urbanization. It's flat, it's grey, huge shopping malls, immense roads, people holed up in cars. People talking to each other and no longer writing. Actually, not even talking to each other but communicating through electronic devices of one sort or another. This absolutely horrifies me, that we have now lost our sense of what constitutes a city. I really think that is one of the things that has to be recovered. As Gary pointed out, I'm not afraid of going back and picking up to go forward again. I don't want to start from where we are. That's futurism. I'm a utopian and there is a difference between the two. I want to go back and start all over again to go forward and at that particular point I would redeem the city. Remember just one thing, the greatest works that came out of Florence in the Renaissance, came out of a city of 40,000 people.

Gary Snyder: I'd like to carry on just a little bit more with the direction that Murray is going. What is it that we like about cities? What is it that we want from cities?

Audience: Culture. A whole lot of culture at once.

Gary Snyder: A whole lot?

Audience: Variety.

Gary Snyder: Culture with a capital "C". How many times have you been to the opera in San Francisco? (NO RESPONSE) Well, we're going to start out with language and the way people use it. How many times have you been to the ballet? (NO RESPONSE) O.K., you don't need a city that has opera or ballet. Next, you want to have a place where you can hear someone play guitar in a coffeeshop maybe. Is that it?

Audience: How about opera in a coffee-shop.

Audience: Libraries.

Audience: Other people.

Gary Snyder: Now the number of people in this room isn't much. You can round up this many almost anywhere. In the middle of Utah you could round them up. What we want out of cities is some culture, some diversity, and some conviviality. You can't find it in most American cities. As it happens already, what you're looking for when you come to town or live in town is a network of probably not more than five hundred or six hundred really sympathetic people. Murray gave the figure of forty thousand for Florence as the total back-up and support system and beyond that a watershed of farms. You will have cities by the river crossings, by the mouths of the rivers, where agricultural fields and forests come together, and you'll always have a few cities that are there because it's a site of religious pilgrimage. But what we look for in the city does not require one-tenth of what is invested into what we call cities now. That should be clear. Secondly, there is no reason why a city can't be within three days walking distance from wherever you are. In fact, we can describe the city as no more than a function. It does not require permanent buildings or permanent locationing. What it requires is a gathering of people and a sharing of skills. It requires a deference to culture, a number of people who can play musical instruments, a number of dancers, and a number of storytellers. That's culture.

Audience: What about money?

Gary Snyder: That's not culture. They had big cities before there were monetary systems. Nomadic herding society, for example, generally moves in bands of twelve people or less. Once or twice every year these bands have a gathering by the banks of the river where they put up the tents and have two weeks of market, music, storytelling, exchange, and gene-pool scrambling. That makes a city for them. That's really what it's about.

Audience: What about restaurants?

Gary Snyder: I'll describe all these other possibilities; we know they're there. If you want restaurants, you go to someplace in Asia or Europe where there are hundreds of little restaurants and a street life. You can walk around to eat fifteen different things in one block. That's a city. In bioregional, ideal, Northern California utopia, there will be by the shores of San Francisco Bay, some little Japanese-style bars. Each one will hold about eight people and there will be about a hundred. Each one will serve some different seafood delicacy out of the Bay.

I'd also like to make a little clarification about the stultification and the deadliness of turn-of-the-century, American, small town, farm-life. It is commonly the experiences we hear from our parents and grandparents about the farm: "I slaved all day over that hot stove" or "over the laundry in that wash tub and I wouldn't go back to that." It's not a satisfactory sample to reject small-town, rural life on. You must realize that rural life at the turn-of-the-century was already a hard, alienated life that was suffering under Bible-belt Christianity and a very difficult economic system with in-



terest rates and bank loans dominated by Wall Street. There was no tradition of agricultural culture to make life delightful. There were no get-togethers of adolescents with lots of music and a little sex and a little fun that made it delightful to stay home on the farm. So people went to the cities.

If you want to look at alternative models you can pull out fifty or sixty. I'll just mention one. Indonesia. Indonesian village culture. Three rice crops a year and lots of people. Everyday after work the people congregate down to the little pavilion in the center of the village and they practice music and dance until eleven or twelve at night. The people who are good at certain instruments work with those and little girls start learning their dance steps. They do this seven nights a week. They are rehearsing for the ballet or opera. Once or twice a year the whole village puts on an elaborate dramatic musical production. For themselves. No spectators. Now that is what you call Culture. The stultification of turn-of-the-century American life was part of 18th and 19th century colonial, capitalist, imperialistic value systems. You have to go out further and back farther to see what the delights of rural small town life might be. We have to remind ourselves that in viable living communities, where people are practicers and not spectators, you're never very far from a musician, a dancer, or a storyteller. Much of what we seek in the city as culture we don't have at home or in ourselves which is where we should have it.

Murray Bookchin: I'm one of those characters that lives on the dark side of the moon and the voice that you're going to hear is the haunting voice of the dark side of the moon.

I have a close association with Puerto Ricans in New York. And you can't hit the bottom of the social and economic ladders lower than that, other than the blacks in Harlem and other parts of Bed-Stuy. These are the people who are not ever going to go near a place like Scarsdale, who won't even be admitted into Scarsdale. Not many of them are even aspiring for a piece of the pie, which is a mythology about them. They're aspiring for the dignity that comes with that, and most important, they're aspiring for power over their lives. That's what they feel more than anything else. They feel the agonies of powerlessness.

And it's been possible working amongst these groups to encourage not only a belief in something more than a piece of the pie, but in an ecological awareness of the most beautiful sort on the Lower East Side. They are building solar collectors and windmills on top of New York City tenements, growing gardens, developing and living in communities, and developing a deep sense of commitment to their own culture. They call themselves *New Yoricans*. Because they're not accepted by Puerto Rico, since they're living in New York, and they're not accepted by New Yorkers, since they're regarded as Puerto Ricans. Their community has come about from not only an acute ecological consciousness, and a social consciousness, and a moral consciousness, but also an intense political consciousness. If we don't learn from them, and they have a lot to teach us in this respect, we will not be the force in this society we should be for deep-seated change.

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A few regional models are beginning to appear in Northern California that support the idea of ecological and agricultural diversity as an ideal in land-use planning.

MONTEREY BAY AREA: NATURAL HISTORY AND CULTURAL IMPRINTS
Burton L. Gordon
The Boxwood Press
183 Ocean View Blvd.,
Pacific Grove, CA 93950
321 pages • \$5.95

Gordon utilizes a strong historical emphasis to examine the interrelationships between people and nature through their different traditions of land-use as influenced by food habits, economics and culture. This information provides the current inhabitants of the Monterey Bay Region with a representation of what their area used to be and what it is evolving into and enables them to employ a "species-rich biota based upon multiple food-chains" as a useful planning concept. **RCW**

ENDANGERED HARVEST: THE FUTURE OF BAY AREA FARMLANDS
People for Open Space
46 Kearny
San Francisco, CA 94108
78 pages • \$5.00

This is a report of the Farmlands Conservation Project of People for Open Space which documents the loss of rich and varied farmlands in the nine counties surrounding the S.F. Bay Area. Saving Bay Area farmland is addressed as a regional responsibility. A nine-county approach is suggested as an "exercise in regional home-rule" with ideas on how to bring it about. **RCW**

GUATEMALA! The Terrible Repression and Its Roots in the U.S. National Security State
A special 72 page issue of *Green Revolution*.

Green Revolution
P.O. Box 3233
York, PA 17402
72 pages • \$1.50

While North American media focuses on El Salvador, the major story informing Central American politics may well be in Guatemala. This beautiful country, with its 60% Mayan population, is currently the scene of a brutal undeclared war. The reason? Oil and Nickel. Guatemala, it is now known, has larger deposits of oil than Alaska. *Guatemala!* goes beyond documenting the latest multinational scam. It contains a wealth of cultural and political information. But more importantly, it shows why El Salvador is receiving the hysterical attention of the Reagan Administration. **MH**



AN EVERY DAY HISTORY OF SOMEWHERE

Ray Raphael
Island Press
Star Route #1 Box 38
Covelo, CA 95428
195 pages • \$9.00 postpaid

Ray Raphael believes real history is not the limited, human, event-oriented script of Western civilization and he turns his hand to the task of originating a model of a broader, everyday history in relation to its surroundings. In an *EVERYDAY HISTORY OF SOMEWHERE*, we're presented with tales from a wide variety of people, plant, and animal species, seasoned with natural history, ethnobotany, biogeography, good tools and hard work. Douglas fir, river, deer, original inhabitants, settlers, old-timers, new pioneers and hip paisanos are all represented equally in this northern Californian scheme of things through legend, description, personal narrative, beautiful line drawings and a proud and thoughtful design.

Mr. Raphael illustrates through his everyday history how we can finally trade in our periodic episodic flashes of anywhere for the ordinary, ongoing, everyday love of our own somewhere. **RCW**



DECENTRALISM:

POLITICS

Is It Possible As A Central Government Policy?

by Jacques Ellul

The subject of devolving state power back to regions, whether as home rule or some increase in local decision-making, evokes widely different responses in Europe. Although taken with utmost seriousness by many regional ethnic groups, it is either repressed or treated with bare indulgence at the national level. Jacques Ellul brings the same critical perspective to decentralism that marked his cold analysis of technology and propaganda. We are grateful to Alan Al Louarn, a Breton activist in Rennes, for clipping this article from the newspaper *Ouest France*, and assume that Ellul's negativity about the current central government approach to decentralism is taken by some as support for self-generated regional autonomy.

Everyone recognizes the disastrous nature of extreme centralization in our modern states and their administrations: it is worse in France than anywhere else. It would seem that decentralization is desirable, that decision-making powers should pass to regional or local levels, and that power should return to citizens who have become subjects. But desirable as they may be, is it possible to realize these good intentions? We must be clear, and not let ourselves be trapped by rhetoric. We must remember the failure of President de Gaulle with the regionalization referendum in 1969: the "French People" didn't want regionalization. That was a good illustration of what happens to desires for decentralization (including criticism of the central government)—when the opportunity is presented, it is rejected.

I know the ambiguities of this referendum and the unsatisfying character of the bill; nevertheless, its existence was significant. Now we have an incredibly weak bill for the development of the responsibilities of local governments. The text [of the latest proposed bill] doesn't even contain an allusion to a region or regionalization. And the general nature of the bill is one of prohibitive regulation concerning the evolutionary nature of regional reforms affirmed by the vote in 1972. The further we go the more we find that they try to control everything on the local level, and the regional councils are relegated to "national partners." So much so that we must ask ourselves if, in the end, the regional councils won't simply become agencies to legislate taxes to finance decisions taken by the central government. Furthermore, a certain number of resolutions (concerning the police, for example) are interesting, because they actually show an increase in the power of the central government. The content of the [proposed] bill is, in many regards, in disagreement with the intentions inferred in the title. In any case, if there's a reduction of financial controls, the local tax base remains with the central government. And whether we like it or not, whoever pays commands. We've experienced this numerous times in our relationship with government administrations.

It seems to me that, in the current political arena, any declaration of decentralization is a trap and a lie. I see four fundamental obstacles to it. First, and in all cases, it will never be anything but a *conceded* decentralization. This means that the central power, in its magnanimity, will gladly give some power, some sector of decision-making, to the group or institution that it chooses and designates. But it goes without saying that it's the central power which outlines the limits and jurisdiction of power, and which always remains able to revoke it.

In the second place, who gets the power over decentralized decisions? Presumably the local political elite. Local representatives and representatives of the central power (deconcentration of power perhaps but the difference becomes even more fictional). However, in the current situation and in view of new problems (for example, forest management, nuclear plants), it's not at all certain that the leaders, even the local elected ones, represent the real sentiments and opinions of the people. On the other hand, these local leaders often become small potentates as valueless as the central government. One would never consider giving even *one decision-making power* to the citizen! The central government doesn't want to deal with anything but existing institutions.

The third obstacle comes from the explosion of public projects in our society: electrification, telecommunications, the highway system, armaments, etc. Do you imagine that these decisions will be left to local authorities? If a town isn't in agreement with a highway construction plan, will it be listened to? The great technical and economic enterprises, which are the only ones that have any importance in our society, can never be decided by decentralized processes. There is one last unfortunate point. Nothing is more uncertain than the person at the bottom. Are common citizens willing to assume their responsibilities and enter the arena of real decentralized decision-making. It's so much easier to call on the government for everything and still retain it as a scapegoat. Before the revolution which is essential to achieve a true decentralization, regionalization (or at best—autonomy) each of us must first say his "mea culpa."

SCIENCE & ETHICS

NO GUARANTEES

by Tom Birch

The essence of the modern "civilized" technological worldview, which is non-ethical, is to gain control over others: people and nature. The essence of an ethical worldview is to establish ties or relationships. An ethical worldview requires the refusal to gain control over others.

What's necessary in order to have a situation that makes it possible to have ties or maintain them? There has to continue to be an other, another person or nature. What's necessary in order for there to be an other? That's where wildness comes in. Wildness is the center of otherness. It's found in others and it's found in ourselves as others. We have to "allow" it in others and we have to allow it in ourselves.

When you try to control people, or when you attempt to control nature, the result is to inevitably alienate yourself from them or it. Rather than being productive in terms of instituting relationships it's counter-productive. It destroys relationships. Our society has become introverted in regard to the natural world and its members are introverted in regard to each other.

One of my main experiences of the unknown, the unpredictable in nature has been with rocks. Rocks come down the mountains for no apparent reason when you're climbing up there, or somebody can knock one loose up above you at any time. You have to watch them carefully—if you're lucky enough to know that they're coming—to see which way at the last moment. You can't predict how they're going to move. It's astounding to suddenly have one hit next to you when you're in a steep place.

When you're really relating to people and not your idea of what they ought to be, you don't "understand" them. To think that you do is only self-deception. You have to relate to them continually. This is also true of nature. A trip into the wilderness can show that nature is obstinate and difficult: bad weather, lots of hills to move heavy packs over. Nature defi-

nately makes its otherness known when we undertake a real relationship with it. One of the important things about direct contacts with wild nature is that they can awaken in people the possibility of real contact with other people. It's not a "wilderness experience" but rather an experience of otherness. No matter whether you're in good shape, no matter how many miles you can walk in a day, you discover that the land is making its otherness felt right through the bottoms of your feet. That carries over into seeing otherness in other people—to recognize that they are there—difficult sometimes, but good, and that they participate in the unknown by being ultimately unknowable, never fully knowable.

Trying to know and say everything that's possibly relevant about something is trying to gain control of it. There's no opposition and there's no otherness. All that's left is our symbolic world, and we become prisoners of it. After that there's no connection with other-realities. That's why we enter into an alienated state when we try to seek control. It destroys the world. It takes a real switch from the technological view of the world to see that we are together here with others and that all the members are necessary in order for all of it to exist. We and them have to be in a living open-ended relationship.

In relating with nature or another person, there are certain places where we have to tread very carefully. There are certain realms of psychic-physical space in other people where it would be morally wrong to push too hard. The same holds for nature. The fact that wilderness areas have been established is perhaps an oblique recognition of that fact. It's not that we



can't relate to those places at all, but we have to be very careful because they are sacred places that hold the essence of otherness. They are sources that from a technological point of view are very unreliable because you can't ever say that anything more is ever going to come from them. They might be hands-off spaces sometimes. There are some facets of things and people that should be left alone. Nature's otherness continues to exist in wilderness areas, and one of the things we have to do to fight technological domination is to make sure we don't lose it.

Wilderness areas are often mountainous places where resources development hasn't been established. That's a disappointing fact in some respects because there should be more accessible wild places as well, but it's not totally bad because mountains are obvious places to establish sacred reserves. It's a good place to start

because mountains aren't the sorts of places where we normally belong. We're valley creatures. We can go to the mountains to be reborn and find definition. We can bring that back so that we can see wildness every place. Ultimately our front yards are shot through with wildness and the whole world is sacred.

Things that are good for us may or may not happen as a result of going into wilderness. That also obtains in making ourselves available to human relationships. But making ourselves available to the possibilities of otherness may be what existence is all about. Technology can't cope with that because making yourself available doesn't guarantee anything. You can't define what you might run into and have to respond to beforehand. You can't devise a technique for guaranteeing that we do make ourselves available. What does technology do in the case of wil-

derness? It supplies us with a lot of baggage, all the rip-stop equipment to make a so-called "wilderness experience" possible. That's what people come to expect a "wilderness experience" to be. But that isn't what it is. There's no such thing as the "wilderness experience." There's no technique to guarantee that it can be made available. You have to be as Thoreau said, "graced to be a walker," to be out there and available to what may happen.

A continuing thing about wild nature is that rather than gaining an experience with a manufactured kind of risk it teaches the absurdity of that approach. You discover how real risks are when a rock explodes as it hits next to you. It's not just risky in some physical manner. It's thoroughly risky because you might learn something that could be devastating. You have to take the risk continually of dying and being reborn. □□□

NOTE from the Editor

Response to the first two issues of *Raise The Stakes* has been encouraging. Clearly, people are looking for a new way to accurately express planetary realities. The idea of a diverse and interdependent planet/region identity is one whose time has come. The notion of a bioregion—with its decentralist emphasis—is providing a cultural and political framework that both encompasses and transcends key elements of the outworn Left/Right debate. People want the option of being free, and yet connecting to a larger sense of community that is in harmony with natural processes. Almost everyone is disenchanted with centralized Corporate Capitalist and Socialist Managerial Governments—entities that have operated within the arbitrary boundaries of the nation-state and the imperative of unlimited industrial expansion. But, disenchantment is not enough. We have to articulate and begin implementing a post-industrial identity.

The first three issues of *Raise The Stakes*—through its Circles of Correspondence and Magazine sections—have emphasized North America and Europe. It is now up to you, our readers, to help flesh out the further particulars of a planet/region identity. We especially invite new correspondents to contribute from bioregions and watersheds situated within the Asian, African, and South American continents. We encourage, for our magazine section, articles detailing the workings of reinhabitory institutions like urban, community-renewal groups, watershed restoration projects, agricultural cooperatives, and examples of successful liaisons with local governmental structures. We need to increasingly root our ideas in working examples. Heady conceptual talk, by itself, is not enough.

We also want to involve creative members of the scientific community in our debate. We would like to publish findings from the natural sciences as well as thoughtful articles about what the relationships are between scientific investigation, ethical behavior, and protection of the biosphere.

Finally, many of you will have thoughts and questions about what appears in *Raise The Stakes*. While you might not have the time or inclination to write feature articles and reports for us, the questions that are occurring to you are valuable. Beginning with *Raise The Stakes IV* we will provide a discussion page where you can share these thoughts. Besides providing continuity between issues, this discussion will hopefully suggest new editorial directions. Fan letters are welcome, too. They give us juice. So, get involved. Send contributions to *Raise The Stakes IV* by August 15th, 1981.

Michael Helm

P.S.: Jerry Mander's article on *Mass Media* and Lenore Kandel's poems will appear in *RTS IV*.



WHAT IS PLANET/DRUM FOUNDATION

PLANET/DRUM began as a series of North American Bundles . . . people in different parts of the country putting out messages about where they live, and how they live, with member-species consciousness, as opposed to master-species consciousness. Reinhabitory culture, restoration of the biosphere.

Messages from the Pacific Rim Alive; Backbone—The Rockies; New Orleans delta land; the San Francisco Bay Area watershed.

Then *Reinhabiting a Separate Country: A Bioregional Anthology of Northern California*, edited by Peter Berg, representing "a growing, well focused reinhabitory consciousness exemplifying an emerging genre representing a vital and widespread new method."

Next, a conference in San Francisco—"Listening to the Earth: The Bioregional Basis of Community Consciousness." Parts of the proceedings appear in these and earlier pages of *Raise The Stakes*, and they will soon be available in book form . . .

Moving abroad . . . Michael Zwerin's *Devolutionary Notes*, a first-hand account of a movement that is redesigning the map of Europe . . . "Is devolution like revolution?"

It became time to RAISE THE STAKES—we began publishing the PLANET/DRUM REVIEW, with circles of correspondence, regional reports, planetary news about where people live, how they live, sharing ideas, exchanging information. This is the second of three issues to be published in 1981 . . .

Public policy . . . Peter Berg and George Tukel wrote *Renewable Energy and Bioregions* which put forth bioregions as the appropriate location for determining energy and technology choices.

PLANET/DRUM is a vision of communities living within the natural cycles and energy flows of their particular bioregion—whether urban or rural—as participating members of the biosphere. A number of individuals and some communities have already adopted bioregional stances—they have 'reinhabited' their regions, they have chosen to 'live-in-place' with the intent to restore, preserve and sustain their place in the biosphere. How about you?

PLANET/DRUM WOULD LIKE TO HEAR FROM YOU

What is your sense of the nature of your bioregion? What is going on that enhances your region's livability—or detracts from it? What is the work needed to restore it—to reinhabit? What watershed restoration or bioregional community consciousness projects are you involved in? How can we help?

WE OFFER

- A beginning list of members in your area
If you want to correspond with them, meet them, organize and work together, let us know. We will help you get together. Send us new names to add to the list.
- Speakers, workshops, conferences. Let us know.
- Networking, through RAISE THE STAKES and through correspondence.

PLANET/DRUM FOUNDATION is committed to furthering the development of bioregionalism as a movement. We have become organized, and we have expanded. With your support, your ideas, your energy, we will continue . . .

Richard Allen Chapman Program Director

RAISE THE STAKES

. . . is published tri-annually by Planet Drum Foundation. We encourage readers to share vital information, both urban and rural, about what is going on in their native regions. Send us your bioregional reports, letters, interviews, poems, stories, and art. Inquiries, manuscripts, and tax-deductible contributions should be sent to Planet Drum Foundation, P.O. Box 31251, San Francisco, CA 94131 USA. Telephone (415) 285-6556.

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- Beyond Architecture
- Fourth World Conference
- Regional Updates
- Poetry



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"The book serves as both pioneer and genre model . . . representing a vital and widespread new ethos."

—NEW AGE MAGAZINE

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• *Nuclear Order 239*, a reprint. Gil Baille's essay discussing centralized control and nuclear power, with Martin Carey's drawing. Two pages, high quality xerox. \$.50.

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• *So to the "Fourth World"*. A single sheet with Martin Carey's graphic vision — *Mountain Man II* and Raymond Dasmann's Fourth World Proposal. \$1.00.*

• *Raise The Stakes: The Planet/Drum Review, No. II* (Winter 1981). Contains regional reports from Quebec, Northwest Nation, The Black Hills, Brittany, Northumbria, Scotland, Samiland, and northern California. Feature articles include: Reconstituting California by Jack Forbes, Eco-Development by Raymond Dasmann, The Suicide & Rebirth of Agriculture by Richard Merrill and the Limits of Population Control by Stephanie Mills. \$2.00. • • •

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EDITORS' STATEMENT:

**PLANET
VS
GLOBAL MIND**

We are at an historic watershed in terms of the way we consciously relate to ourselves as a species and to the otherspecies of the *Planet*. The liberal universal identity notion, that a person is an abstract member of the *World* and should divest him or herself of any sense of localism or "provincialism," has run its course. People are realizing that it's only when they bring an identity rooted in specific places that they have anything genuine to share. After all, the whole point of being international and cosmopolitan in perspective is to be able to go somewhere (or receive a visitor) and say, "This is my culture, my place, and I share it with you, and what is your culture about?" If everyone denies and relinquishes their own specific cultural identity, then the benefit of an expanded human identity is lost. Everyone becomes a displaced person instead. Let's raise the stakes and demand a diverse, interdependent planetary identity. The only place a homogenized sphere is appropriate is on the flat surface of a pool table or pinball machine. The planet mind is more beautifully complex and alive than that.

Michael Helm

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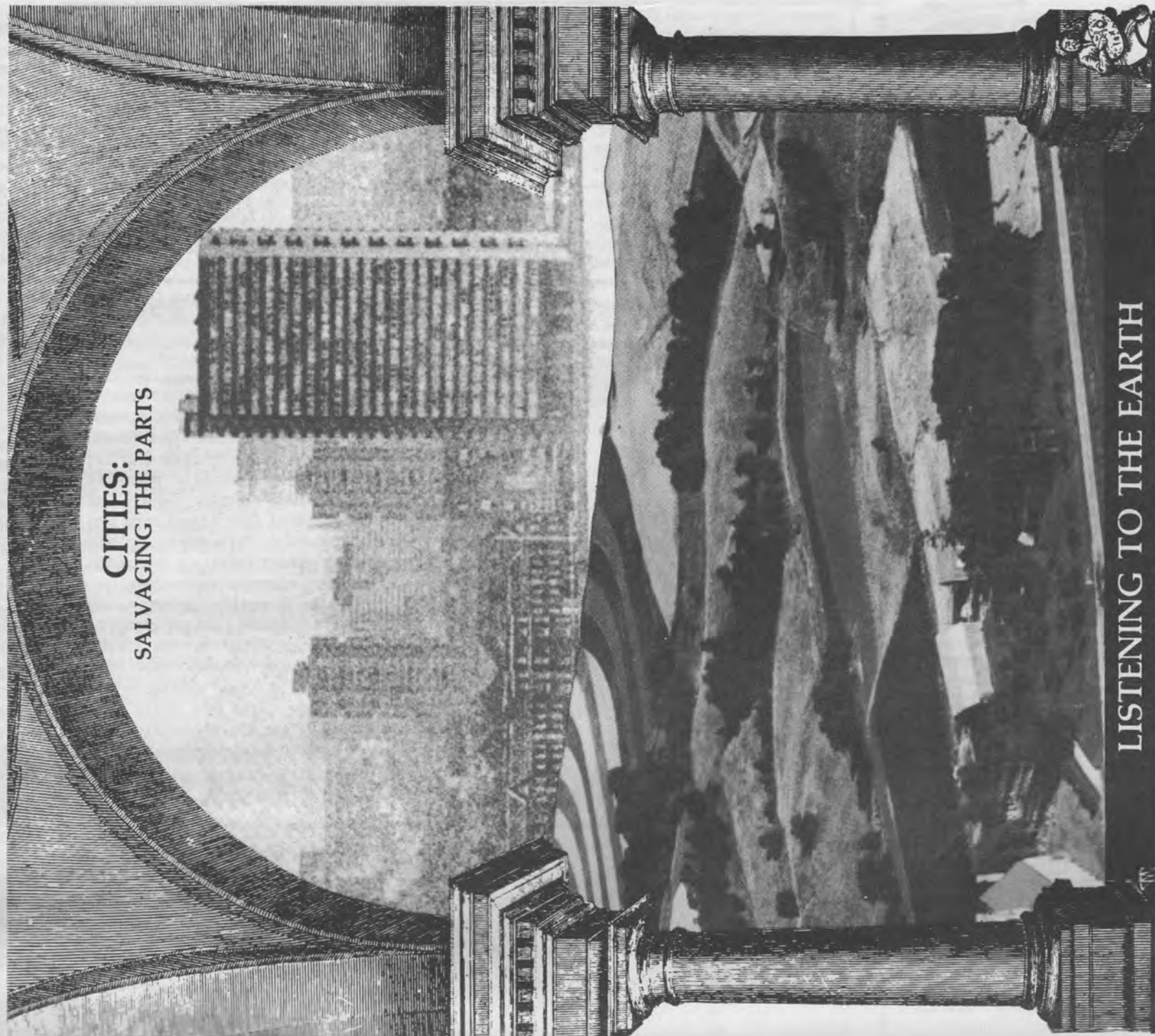
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