

# Renewal

"There is no  
easy formula for  
this renewal."  
— Lewis Mumford

April 12, 1982

New Values, New Politics • Mark Satin, Editor

Volume I, No. 21

*In the nation, around the world*

## Beyond Protest Marches; Erhard Eppler; That Vote in Vermont

An estimated 23,000 to 50,000 people marched in Washington, D.C. March 27 to protest U.S. policy in El Salvador. The demonstration was the largest on El Salvador since a march on the Pentagon last May.

Many "transformation-oriented" activists have begun to question the *politics* of these demonstrations. RENEWAL was in Washington March 27 and can report that, like RENEWAL's editor 15 years ago, many of the demonstrators favored an outright guerrilla victory. Few chose to speak of the pain, or defend the legitimate claims, of all parties to the conflict. Also, many of the demonstrators demanded that our military aid monies be spent, instead, on increased social services in the U.S. Few seemed aware of the dangers inherent in pursuing an ever more "serviced" society with ever-increasing dependence on social service professionals.

Other transformational activists have begun to question whether the protest march is an appropriate political *form*. In the current *Yoga Journal*, John Amodeo, a Bay Area psychotherapist, puts it well when he says, "The key to generating widespread social transformation is not through the peace marches and loud political demonstrations that marked the 1960's, (but through) the cultivation of a radical self-honesty and a willingness to communicate our real feelings and experience to those whose lives we touch."

But the fact remains, U.S. domestic and foreign policy is desperately in need of change. There is still a need to register disapproval with U.S. policies — and in ways that reach many more than "those whose lives we touch." Developing a transformational *political* alternative may depend, in part, on developing protest mechanisms that are more effective than mass demonstrations and more consistent with our values.

In the case of El Salvador, one alternative to marching on Washington could be participating in the "underground railroad," a national network of support for Salvadoran refugees.

Centered in southern Arizona, the underground railroad stretches deep into Mexico with links to many major U.S. cities with large Salvadoran communities — Los Angeles, San Francisco, Las Vegas, Houston, New York, Washington. Various "conductors" provide Salvadoran refugees safe passage through Mexico, help in crossing the U.S.-Mexican border, and food, lodging

and transportation once the refugees are here.

The U.S. portion of the "railroad" consists of lawyers, ministers, church groups, off-hours social workers, and hundreds of "ordinary people" with spare bedrooms.

The aid and comfort this network provides is in violation of U.S. law. The State and Justice departments say the Salvadorans cannot qualify for asylum unless they can prove they will be persecuted at home. Fear of the widespread and indiscriminate violence in El Salvador is insufficient grounds for asylum.

On March 24 — three days before the demonstration in Washington — several U.S. churches quietly but firmly established themselves as "sanctuaries" for Salvadoran refugees. Among them: the Arlington Street Church in Boston (617-536-7050); the Community Bible Church in Lawrence, N.Y. (516-295-4268); the Luther Place Memorial Church in D.C. (202-667-1377); the First Unitarian Universalist Church in Los Angeles (213-389-1356); and the University Lutheran Chapel in Berkeley (415-843-6230). Presumably, Salvadoran refugees cannot now be arrested in those churches.

So far, little has been reported about the underground railroad. But because of recent crackdowns, organizers are debating whether to publicize their efforts. Their hope is that by doing so they will demonstrate the lengths to which ordinary people are willing to go to protest U.S. policy in El Salvador (and U.S. immigration policy!). Marches in Washington cannot convey so strong a message.

In our last issue, we reported that a number of U.S. Senators are beginning to "float" transformational ideas. None of them has gone half so far as Erhard Eppler, a member of the West German Social Democrats' 13-member executive committee.

In North America Eppler is known as the voice of West Germany's peace movement. In West Germany he is also known as the one establishment politician who can always be counted on to raise the deeper political issues — those having to do with value and lifestyle changes and our obligations to the Third World. Here is a typical passage from a recent speech in Bonn:

"As long as we do not question our patterns of production and consumption at home, we discourage all those who are searching for independent self-reliant

development alternatives in the Third World. Only if we find alternatives to a chemo-technically perfect cure-all kind of medical practice can we save the Third World from a type of practice they can never afford. Only if we make public transport competitive with the car can we hope to spare the South a traffic chaos they can never pay for. . . ."

Eppler, 54, served as Bonn's development aid minister under Willy Brandt and dates his transformation from that time, saying that contact with the Third World "changed my attitude toward things in the first world." A clash with Helmut Schmidt over the level of West German foreign aid caused Eppler to leave the government two months after Schmidt became chancellor in 1974. "His state of consciousness is completely different from mine," Eppler says of the chancellor.

Last month, Vermonters in 143 towns discussed and passed a nuclear arms freeze resolution. Their success led to the introduction into the U.S. Senate of a roughly similar resolution, co-sponsored by Ted Kennedy and Mark Hatfield.

The national media presented the Vermont vote as the result of a successful grassroots effort that engaged thousands of people in a debate over nuclear arms. Many Vermonters see it differently, however. "The issue was not nuclear arms," Deborah Brighton, 32-year-old Vermont forester, told RENEWAL. "The issue was, what is a 'local issue'?"

"As I carried petitions door to door, I was terrified that one of my neighbors might be a nuclear physicist or defense expert or bomb buff who would want to argue about the fine points of bombing. But my petitioning experience was generally wonderful. The only arguments I had to counter were not about nuclear war, but about whether or not we, the people of Charlotte, Vt., could ever do anything about it. . . . In most of the 18 towns where the resolution was officially discussed and not passed, the reasons were generally that town meetings were to discuss schools and firetrucks and not to question our national leadership. . . ."

"It seems to me that the real success of the grassroots arms freeze resolution drive is not the introduction of the arms resolution in the Senate, but the realization by thousands of Vermonters that a national issue is a local issue, and that we can do something about it in Charlotte, Vermont."

## Kaleidoscope

## Groups pursue cooperative, corporate, revolutionary strategies

The Community Forum on Shared Responsibility, in Toronto, is a network of representatives from about 30 different community organizations — from the Toronto Working Group for Native Concerns to the Toronto Bathurst Lions Club. It is an exceptionally broad-based version of the kind of network people are talking about setting up in various U.S. cities.

"We have been meeting for two years," David Walsh, Forum rep for King-Bay Chaplaincy, told RENEWAL. "(We) publicize community initiatives through newspaper advertisements — we publish one full-page advertisement every four weeks — and discussing the proposed advertisements gives each of us a chance to express our ideas and assumptions. . . .

"One of (our) major problems is how to establish contact among the (more than 400 groups in our area). Our strategy has been to give support or solidarity to groups that are struggling with issues that are important to the future. We find that by becoming involved with issues related to 'social justice,' we are able to establish our credibility as people who want meaningful change and are not just another group of middle class intellectuals philosophizing about the future" (Walsh: Community Forum, Top Floor, 49 Wellington St. E., Toronto, Ont., Canada M5E 1C9).

Planetary Citizens has received a grant toward the costs of conducting the first

computerized and comprehensive worldwide census of alternative, experimental and intentional communities. "In the search for alternative futures," says Donald Keys, registrar of Planetary Citizens, "we need to tap the immense contributions of (these) living embodiments of a better world" (777 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017).

The multi-million dollar Ford Foundation is beginning to support grassroots community initiatives, Ellen Gilligan told us last week in D.C.

Gilligan is an assistant program officer for the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), incorporated three years ago as a joint effort of the Ford Foundation and a number of private firms. Since June, 1980, LISC has approved spending of over \$6 million — and raised over \$20 million more. It has given technical and/or financial aid to nearly 90 local groups from coast to coast.

So far, most of LISC's loans and grants have been decidedly down-to-earth — not the kind to attract attention in the media. Two typical examples: \$8,000 to the River East Revitalization Program of Toledo, O. "to provide for consultant services to develop alternate uses of a commercial building"; \$100,000 to the Japanese-American Community Center of Los Angeles "for professional assistance in preparing and implementing a five-year business plan."

"We're not interested in playing 'big brother' to local organizations," Gilligan

told us, "and we're not interested in political grand theory. Basically we want to encourage and support local organizations in achieving business discipline and skills, without which . . ." (Gilligan: LISC, 1828 "L" St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036).

The National Organization for an American Revolution (NOAR) has just released its three-years-in-the-making, collectively produced and "constantly snow-delayed" basic political statement, *Manifesto for an American Revolutionary Party*.

NOAR is the first transformation-oriented revolutionary organization; its leadership includes such prominent black activists as James and Grace Lee Boggs and James McFadden (see RENEWAL #15). The first part of the Manifesto is a fascinating attempt to synthesize a savage critique of "capitalism" (never precisely defined) with such third wave ideas as local self-government, personal responsibility, non-materialistic values, and "human scale" institutions. The middle part attempts to establish the right and need for revolution; the last part discusses very specifically how a revolutionary party could be built.

According to one NOAR spokesperson, the *Manifesto* represents an "important challenge to all those who think that networking and discussion groups can all by themselves bring about the transformation" (NOAR: Box 07249, Detroit, Mich. 48207; *Manifesto*, \$2).

## New World Alliance update

## Alliance's "Bill of Responsibilities" complements Bill of Rights

The New World Alliance has created a "Bill of Responsibilities" to supplement and "complete" the Bill of Rights.

Principal author of the bill is Jeff Cox, a former Governing Council member of the Alliance, who has been managing editor of Rodale Press's *Organic Gardening* magazine (circ. 1.2 million) and is currently director of electronic publishing at Rodale.

"It occurred to me in one of our meetings that everyone is talking about rights," Cox told RENEWAL. "But rights are just the obverse of responsibilities — they go hand in hand. It occurred to me that rights without responsibilities are nothing but license and responsibilities without rights is just totalitarianism."

"I realized we had a Bill of Rights in the Constitution and since we were trying to do some new political thinking, maybe we could use a Bill of Responsibilities."

"It took me about two weeks to write (the Bill), and I had more fun with it than anything I'd ever done. I'd never worked as hard on anything, either — and it's only one page long!"

"When I sat down (to write it) I said, well, the Founding Fathers when they started their process had used the idea of the pyramid — they were giving their vision a three-sided development. So I wanted to break

(my vision) down to three basic responsibilities. I put down Father-Son-Holy Ghost, body-mind-spirit . . . finally I put down truth-beauty-goodness and that seemed doable."

"I found it somewhat painful (working with the Alliance), not because I was edited — I'm an old editor — but people were jumping into a very carefully constructed web of thinking with broadaxes and without really thinking too much about it. But finally I just said well, look, I'm not going to keep my ego invested in this. It was an interesting process. . . ."

Here are some key passages from the current version of the bill:

"As a human being, I have inherent rights. The free exercise of these rights promotes awareness of my inherent responsibilities. . . for truth to myself, for the beauty of the Earth, and for goodness to others."

"For truth to myself. Because truth defines reality, and reality is what works, I will accomplish more of lasting value for myself, the Earth and society if I take responsibility for everything I think and say. I will take no benefit for myself at the expense of the truth. . . I can only follow truth, not possess it."

"For the beauty of the Earth. Because beauty is the perception of harmony, I will

minimize waste from the flow of goods and energy under my control. I will depend as much as possible on my own property for food, energy, and other life supports, thereby contributing to social stability. . . .

"For goodness to others. Because service to others whether personal or through political and social institutions is goodness to others, my concern for everyone else's welfare must be equal to my own. . . ."

A hand-calligraphed edition of the Bill is available for \$1 from: New World Alliance, 733 15th St. N.W., Ste. 1131, Washington, D.C. 20005, 202-347-6082.

## Renewal

RENEWAL is published every three weeks except the first week in August by Renewal Inc., 213 Shawnee Ave., Winchester, Va. 22601, 703-667-6895, in cooperation with the New World Alliance. The opinions expressed are the editor's own and are not necessarily those of the Alliance.

Subscriptions: \$15 a year in the U.S. (\$19 first-class postage), \$19 in Canada, \$12 Third World, \$22 elsewhere. Back issues \$1 each. Also available: Mark Satin's *New Age Politics*, \$6; the Alliance's *Transformation Platform*, \$6; Renewal Inc.'s 1981 Transformational Book Awards press release, \$1; Renewal Inc.'s address list of over 1,000 change-oriented periodicals on self-adhesive labels, \$50.

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## Marien: awesome guide to the literature

Michael Marien's *Future Survey Annual, 1980-81* (World Future Society, 4916 St. Elmo Ave., Bethesda, Md. 20814, \$25 pbk.) can only be described as awesome. Subtitled "A Guide to the Recent Literature of Trends, Forecasts, and Policy Proposals," it lists and describes ("abstracts") virtually every book and article published from late 1979 through early 1981 that might possibly be of interest to anyone who cares about the future.

Marien's abstracts — there are nearly 1,500 in this volume (and 1,600 in a previous volume) — are thorough and "objective" and quite often lengthier than the longer reviews in RENEWAL. They are arranged according to 16 non-traditional categories that were obviously designed to encourage academic discipline-hopping and profession-hopping; among them are "International Economics," "Defense and Disarmament," "Spatial Affairs" (urban trends, housing, transportation), "Children and Education," "Communications," and "Shaping the Future."

The chapter on "General U.S. Directions" includes a section on transformational perspectives ("decentralism/eco-humanism") as well as liberal ("true democracy/socialistic liberalism") and conservative ("economic freedom/limited government") — the first time transformational perspectives have been given equal billing in a major reference work. In fact, the "decentralism/eco-humanism" section is as long as the other two combined — suggesting where the intellectual action is in the 1980's.

Don't skip over Marien's deceptively brief introduction. In it, he seeks to show that — despite *Future Survey Annual's* 1,500 books and articles — we are a basically "non-communicating society." Widely divergent views may exist in many areas, he explains, but there is little or no evidence that authors respond to each other's arguments or perceptions. "There is little debate, little genuine dialogue, and few attempts at bridge-building." Marien would have *Future Survey Annual* serve that bridge-building function: "This book seeks to improve communications by creating a neutral forum that crosses barriers between academic disciplines and professions, between specialized scholars and "popular" writers, between books and periodicals, and between 'establishment' and 'non-establishment' viewpoints. (It) should be particularly useful in suggesting the breadth of our problems. . . ."

Then there are three fascinating charts. The first lists the "major hopes and fears" cited in the 1978-81 literature; the second lists "55 ways to end the energy crunch" (each is explored by at least one book or article in the 1978-81 literature); the third demonstrates that two schools of thought are emerging as to the direction our society should take in the years ahead. Some would have us create a "service society"; others would have us move toward a "more self-reliant society." These positions are said to have superseded the more traditional positions of left and right. "As additional evidence of our non-communicating society," adds Marien, "these two schools of thought have never engaged in any serious debate and scarcely even recognize each other." Let's engage consciously and intelligently in this debate! is the subterranean theme of this remarkable book.

## Salk and Salk: contours of social change

If you want a simple, clear introduction to the whole "transformational" perspective on social change, you can do no better than Jonas Salk and Jonathan Salk, *World Population and Human Values: A New Reality* (Harper & Row, \$16).

The creator of the Salk vaccine and his anthropologist/songwriter son have given us a book that summarizes, in approx. 100 pages of text and 66 simple graphs, many of the arguments in many of the books we've been reviewing on these pages.

On one level, the book is a commentary on U.N. projections and assessments of world population trends, prepared at the request of the U.N. On another, deeper level, the book is a meditation on the connection between trends in many key areas (not just population) and changing human values.

The book is divided into five parts. Parts I and II examine global demographic data and present evidence of an "epochal change" in world population trends. Part III examines the changes in attitudes and values that these "epochal" changes are said to be generating.

According to the Salks, there are two distinct epochs in history, a time of progressive acceleration of growth ("Epoch A") and a time of progressive deceleration ("B") — and we are now at the point of "inflection" or transition between the two. (That's why there's so much trouble in the world.) Epoch A was characterized by, e.g., control of disease, "persistent expansion," competition, win-lose philosophies,

and short-range thinking. Epoch B, by contrast, will or could or should be characterized by control of fertility, "dynamic equilibrium," collaboration, win-win philosophies, and long-range thinking.

Part IV shows that it is in *everyone's* self-interest to adopt the collaborative, win-win attitudes that are said to be appropriate to Epoch B. For example, "improvements in health care, education, and economic viability in the less developed areas will help in ameliorating population pressures, which would benefit the world as a whole."

I found Part V, "Reconciliation," moving partly just *because* of the stark simplicity of text and graphs. It seeks to show that human needs will once again be integrated with material considerations; local, small-scale organizations with large-scale; traditional ways of life with modern; Eastern thought with Western; art with science; and so on.

Along with its clarity and simplicity, there's a little sleight-of-hand in this book. For example, we are only told — never shown — that demographic and other socioeconomic changes are causing value shifts. The relationship could be just the reverse. Or there could be a complex, far-more-difficult-to-describe mutual interaction. Another example: sometimes the Salks assert that the shift to Epoch B is *already* happening, sometimes that it's *going* to happen, sometimes that it *needs* to happen. This is not just quibbling. An effective political strategy requires clarity on these points.

## Villoldo and Dychtwald: visions of change

Oh no, I thought, when I received my review copy of Alberto Villoldo and Ken Dychtwald, eds., *Millennium: Glimpses into the 21st Century* (Tarcher, \$9 pbk.). Not another collection of essays by the same New Age superstars saying the same things they were saying five years ago.

How wrong I was about this exciting, challenging, and thought-provoking book. In his introduction, Dychtwald himself states, "I wanted more from these people than their 'stock,' time-tested information. I wanted to hear more of their uncertain, unproven, risky ideas . . . their dreams and private intuitions." As a result, 18 essays by people as diverse as neuroscientist Karl Pribram, theologian Harvey Cox, and night club comedian Timothy Leary range freely and fascinatingly over what might or could or should soon happen to self (Part I) and society (Part II). Among those essays that managed to stir my own political thinking:

Jean Houston criticizes "liberal" education for throwing programs at problems so that we now have programs in moral education, global education, health education, etc. with no attempt to integrate this material into an "interdisciplinary instructional program" and no attempt to educate the "whole child" via programs "that develop both sides of the brain, that evoke both reason and imagination, thinking and feeling, body and mind";

Willis Harman shows that full, 40-hour-a-week employment for all is an impossible and undesirable social goal, and discusses two alternatives — transfer payments (especially to

creative individuals and the socially committed) and appropriate technology-plus-voluntary frugality — either of which could maximize justice and maximize human development;

Don Mankin questions whether people can lead healthy and fulfilling lives without meaningful work;

Rick Carlson shows that our current medical care system was *never* the only or best available system, and discusses what a more "holistic" medical system might look like (including — crucially — how it might be administered);

Frederick Pohl explores ways the new technology can extend and deepen democratic decision-making.

If there is a central thread or theme running through all these essays, it is that — as Dychtwald points out — "we as a species are far from having completed our evolutionary development." In their concluding essay, futurists Barbara Marx Hubbard and Barry McWaters celebrate the fact that we are now for the first time capable of consciously designing our future as a nation, as a planet, and as a species: "The prophecies of old will be fulfilled as universal humanity embarks on the adventure of conscious evolution."

The strengths of this book are directly responsible for its weakness: most of the essays are so intuitive, suggestive or personal that there is little attempt made to connect visions with trends. What are the concrete social and economic forces (classes, institutions, etc.) that might support the authors' visions? It would be nice to know!

## Partners plan "investment vehicle" for social change

Patiently and determinedly, Harold Vogt and Christie Rinehart are criss-crossing the country with one thought in mind: creating an investment vehicle for New Age enterprises.

Vogt, a 56-year-old psychologist from Wichita, Kans., is phasing out his practice to work full-time on the project; Rinehart, from southern California, is already working for CONSYNC, the clearinghouse she and Vogt founded two years ago.

"There are many people interested in putting their money into things that really do make a difference," Vogt told RENEWAL over strawberries and soup last week in Washington, D.C. "They do need a return, a profit, but they'd be willing to settle for less of a profit if they thought their money would be used for purposes that were transformationally coherent."

"In fact, I'm not ready to say you'd make less of a profit if you're doing things in a transformationally coherent way. What we're really talking about is creating a different time frame for profit. . . ."

Vogt and Rinehart have spent the last couple of months finding the people who could help them design and launch their project. Among those who'll be advising are *In Business* editor Jerry Goldstein and Gainesville, Fla. economist Carter Henderson.

"There are three phases of the project we're working on now. One is the identification of as many already-existing New Age businesses as possible. Another is identifying investors who are interested in making these kinds of investments. A third is the actual design of some alternative enterprise systems."

"Many New Age businesses are too small to attract venture capital. There's nothing wrong with that, but suppose a person wants to invest a million dollars in a transformationally coherent enterprise? So even before we launch our investment vehicle it is important to come up with some really innovative designs of some new forms of enterprises — in health, education, food, housing. . . ."

"So (our) capital venture company will not just be concerned with money. In fact, we define 'capital' to include knowledge, people — power and money; and at this point, the first two may be even more important than money. We might have to spend as much time recruiting and training entrepreneurs as (we will) finding money. . . ."

"In working with many New Age groups that are political, I found people ended up not even talking to one another. If we approach transformation from an ideological point of view I think we'll always have division. Thus, the transformation will most likely occur on an economic basis rather than an ideological one" (CONSYNC: 523 Camino de Encanto, Redondo Beach, Cal. 90277, 213-375-8086; Vogt, 316-265-6676).

## Transformational Book Award nominees

Fifteen books have been nominated for consideration in RENEWAL's second annual "Transformational Book Awards" contest.

This year's Award covers books published in 1981 in the U.S. or Canada. A cash prize will be given to the author whose book is judged to have had "the potential to contribute most to the reconceptualization of politics, along human growth, decentralist, and world order lines." In addition, the top five vote-getters will receive certificates of "appreciation and respect."

Last year the judges were 70 university teachers and think-tank associates; this year that number will climb to 100.

The 15 nominated books were selected by a regionally balanced panel consisting of: David and Elizabeth Dodson Gray, co-directors, The Bolton Institute, Wellesley, Mass.; Michael Marien, editor, *Future Survey*, LaFayette, N.Y.; Belden Paulson, professor of political science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; Judith Ellison, executive director, Congressional Institute for the Future, Washington, D.C.; John Fobes, lecturer in political science, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill; Edward Lindaman, president emeritus, Whitworth College, Spokane, Wash.; and James Ogilvy, senior social scientist, SRI International, Menlo Park, Cal.

Each panelist was asked to name up to 10 books they thought deserved consideration in the Awards. Books were considered "nominated" if they were named by two or more panelists. "Under this scheme, it's almost too easy for books to be nominated," one panelist told RENEWAL. But we decided it was better to err — if at all — on the generous side.

A number of panelists thought that, as one of them put it, "1981 did not produce new and original books in the way that 1980 did." Another panelist put it even more strongly when he said, "I don't come up with 10 that

seem to qualify for 1981. (Maybe) the lack of other nominees is a helpful signal as to what we have seen — or not seen — happening in 1981."

The next step in the Awards will be to send the ballots to the judges. Results of the balloting will be published in RENEWAL's annual "summer books issue."

The fifteen nominated books:

Lester Brown, *Building a Sustainable Society* (W.W. Norton, \$15; reviewed in RENEWAL #14);

Gary Coates, ed., *Resettling America* (Brick House, \$15 pbk.; reviewed in #16);

Norman Cousins, *Human Options* (W.W. Norton, \$10; reviewed in #18);

Duane Elgin, *Voluntary Simplicity* (William Morrow, \$6 pbk.; reviewed in #9);

Hazel Henderson, *The Politics of the Solar Age* (Anchor, \$9 pbk.; reviewed in #10);

Michael Kidron and Ronald Segal, *The State of the World Atlas* (Simon and Schuster, \$10 pbk.);

Robert Lee, *Faith and the Prospects of Economic Collapse* (John Knox, \$7 pbk.);

Niels Meyer et al, *Revolt from the Center* (Marion Boyars, orig. Denmark; \$8 pbk.);

Jonas Salk and Jonathan Salk, *World Population and Human Values* (Harper & Row, \$16; reviewed on p. 3);

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *The World Challenge* (Simon and Schuster, \$15);

Harold Shane with Bernadine Tabler, *Educating for a New Millennium* (Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, \$6 pbk.);

Henryk Skolimowski, *Eco-Philosophy* (Marion Boyars, \$7 pbk.; reviewed in #6);

Bruce Stokes, *Helping Ourselves* (W.W. Norton, \$5 pbk.; reviewed in #5);

Alberto Villoldo and Ken Dychtwald, eds., *Millennium* (J.P. Tarcher, \$9 pbk.; reviewed on p. 3);

Daniel Yankelovich, *New Rules* (Random House, \$16).

We'll be reviewing the rest of these books in future issues!

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Renewal Inc.  
213 Shawnee Ave.  
Winchester, Va. 22601

Issue No. 21

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