Special Issue:
A REPORT ON
AHP'S 12-HOUR
POLITICAL PARTY:
A CALL TO ACTION
FEBRUARY 10, 1980

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Association for Humanistic Psychology
325 Ninth Street, San Francisco 94103
415-626-2375

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AHP exists to link, for support and stimulation, people who have a humanistic vision of the person, to encourage others to share this view, and to show how this vision can be realized in the life and work of all.

Membership in AHP is open to anyone who shares these values and wishes to support our efforts.

AHP offers a monthly Newsletter, a quarterly Journal of Humanistic Psychology, an annual meeting featuring both the theory and the practice of humanistic psychology, regional and international meetings, local chapters and groups around the world, current lists of colleges with humanistically oriented programs, and of growth centers, an extensive bibliography of books in the field, yearly Roster of AHP members, reprints of selected materials at low cost.

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Introduction

The issue that remains is for us to remove the blocks that exist to use of those elements, to use of our wisdom. Those blocks are human blocks, blocks of fear, blocks of greed, blocks of misunderstanding. Why does humanistic psychology address itself to this? What better could it address itself to? I ask you. The people speaking here today are very gifted, and have worked for personal change, for social change, for political change for many years of their lives. They have been asked here today because they are passionate people. This is not an intellectual or cool movement.

This is a movement. Heretofore there have been many brilliant and disparate voices that have spoken out on all the topics gathered here today. Starting today my hope is for a unification of all the reform movements that we represent: the people who want to change the environmental conditions of the planet can be linked to the people who want to change the environments within the homes of America, who are interested in how husbands and wives relate, and the rights of children; that all these forces could come together; and that we as humanistic psychologists will be part of that force, and feed energy to it to begin its coalescence today. That is the exciting prospect, that the possibilities are right in our hand. The excitement is here; the energy is here; a great deal of knowledge exists.

Let's devote our energy to clearing away the blocks to our brilliance and to enacting the needed changes in a human and kind way.

Each of six caucuses at the Political Party presented a position paper in the printed program, and we reprint those, followed by the statements made by each caucus leader. Then we print the reports from each caucus which gave one. Throughout the issue: selected comments from the participants. Party co-host Jacqueline Doyle's introduction which she made at the meeting is on this page; co-host George Leonard's philosophical summary which begins on page 5 was written after the event.
Special Issue: A REPORT ON AHP'S 12-HOUR POLITICAL PARTY: A CALL TO ACTION FEBRUARY 10, 1980

Presenters


Ernest Callenbach: Writer; editor. Author: Ecotopia.

Elizabeth Campbell: Social psychologist; futurist; Executive Officer of the Association for Humanistic Psychology.

Price Cobbs: Psychiatrist; writer; management consultant. Author: Black Rage and the Jesus Bag.

Jacqueline Doyle: Psychologist; sex therapist; Member, AHP Executive Board.

Dorothy Fadiman: Artist; visionary; Filmmaker: Radiance.

Marilyn Ferguson: Editor; publisher of the Brain/Mind Bulletin; writer. Author: The Aquarian Conspiracy; The Brain Revolution.


Willis Harman: Associate Director, Center for Study of Social Policy, SRI International; President, Institute of Noetic Sciences. Author: An Incomplete Guide to the Future.

Jim Hickman: Research psychologist; specialist in psycho-physical interaction and physics of consciousness; just returned from intensive study in USSR.

Martha Hock: Environmental activist; Director, Citizens United for Responsible Energy (Des Moines, Iowa)

Janet Johnstone: Human rights activist; Director, Western Regional Office of Amnesty International.

George Leonard: Writer; President, AHP; Vice President, International Movement Arts Center. Author: Education and Ecstasy: The Transformation; The Silent Pulse; The Ultimate Athlete.

Rollo May: Writer; psychologist; founding sponsor, AHP. Author: Love and Will; Man's Search for Himself; Power and Innocence; The Meaning of Anxiety.

Donald Michael: Professor of Planning and Public Policy; Professor of Psychology, University of Michigan. Author: On Learning to Plan and Planning to Learn.

Michael Murphy: Writer; Director, Research Project on Supernormal Physical States. Author: The Psychic Side of Sports; Jacob Atabet.

Carl Rogers: Educator; therapist; writer; founding sponsor, AHP. Author: Client-Centered Therapy; On Becoming a Person; On Personal Power.

Natalie Rogers: Psychotherapist; group facilitator. Author: Emerging Woman: A Decade of Mid-Life Transitions.

Theodore Roszak: Writer; teacher. Author: Person/Planet; Unfinished Animal; Masculine/Feminine; Where the Wasteland Ends; The Making of a Counter-Culture.

Mark Satin: Political organizer; writer. Author: New Age Politics: Healing Self and Society.

Virginia Satir: Writer; family therapist. Author: Making Contact; Your Many Faces; Self Esteem. Co-author: Helping Families to Change; Changing with Families.

Will Schutz: Teacher; writer; Director, Center of Holistic Studies, Antioch University. Author: Profound Simplicity; Joy; Here Comes Everybody.

Leni Schwartz: Painter; designer; environmental psychologist.

Judith Skutch: President, Foundation for Inner Peace; Member, Board of Directors of the Congressional Institute for the Future. Publisher: A Course in Miracles.

Peggy Taylor: Editor and Publisher, New Age.

Sim Van der Ryn: Architect; Director, State Office of Appropriate Technology; Founder and President, Faralones Institute; Professor of Architecture, University of California at Berkeley. Author: foreword to The Integral Urban House: Self-Reliant Living in the City; The Toilet Papers.

John Vasconcellos: California State Assemblyman, 23rd District; humanist; writer. Author: A Liberating Vision: Politics for Growing Humans.

Frances Vaughan: Psychologist; psychotherapist; Professor of Psychology, California Institute of Transpersonal Psychology. Author: Awakening Intuition; Beyond Ego: The Transpersonal Dimension in Psychology (to be released Spring, 1980).

Sketch for a Humanistic Manifesto

by George Leonard

We live in extraordinary times. What has long been apparent to many is now becoming obvious to all. The era of fast economic growth and assured material progress has ended. Even if a clean, practically limitless energy source such as nuclear fusion were developed—not a likely prospect over the next several decades—the ecosystem would be unable to bear the consequences of unbridled growth. Open space and nonrenewable natural resources are running out. The rate of increase in technological efficacy, with the significant exception of information technology, has already slowed down. With these changes, with this turn in our growth curve, all else in our society must also change: how we behave, what we value and how we solve our problems.

What we face, in fact, is nothing less than a transformation in the way we live. This transformation will be difficult, dangerous and by no means certain of a benign outcome. But it offers the peoples of the advanced industrial nations, especially those of us in the United States, a rare opportunity: to recognize a shift in the current of history and to take the lead in setting a new compass course for the benefit of all humankind.

The following proposals, inspired by but not limited to recent deliberations within the Association for Humanistic Psychology, are presented as alternatives to present policy and, possibly, as first steps toward a transformed world.

Energy and Economics. The time has come for a new economics, based not on the increase of supply to meet increased demand, but on the reduction and rechanneling of demand. One of the most courageous actions the President of the US could take would be to renounce economic growth as the basis of our social and economic health. It is imperative that the American people be informed candidly and clearly that the consumerist binge is over and that we face a lowered standard of living, in material terms, over the years to come. Only in the context of this understanding can we move effectively to create economic stability and social justice.

We can start with a basic reform in our system of taxation. The present system rewards growth, waste, loss, inefficiency and the ruin of natural resources. We need to reward efficiency, conservation and innovation. We need to ameliorate the social dislocation and individual hardship that inevitably will accompany the shift to a no-growth or slow-growth economy. To these ends, we should place our present income tax, social security, welfare and the like under a single system, with negative income payments for those below subsistence levels.

To promote the conservation ethic, we should exempt all barter and sales of second-hand goods from taxation. To reduce inflation and enhance international relations, we should phase out tariff barriers and import quotas. We should make the recycling of water, metals, paper and glass the rule rather than the exception in our daily lives.

We should gradually reduce military spending, the most extravagant and senseless drain on the world economy. (See next section.)

While tax incentives and other legal means should be employed to reduce demand and conserve energy, we can and should also look to social persuasion and especially to the inspirational power of the presidency as a means toward a conservation ethic. It is most surprising that the President has not yet made an all-out appeal to the American people for voluntary fuel conservation. Such an appeal would set specific goals. It would promise feedback as to the progress of the program. It would present the positive side of conservation in monetary savings, reduced pollution and better health. It would ask for the cooperation of key members of government, industry, labor and the media. And the initial appeal would be followed up by action and encouragement on federal, state and local levels.

Our worst mistake would lie in understimating the ability of the American people to rise to a real challenge, and thus gain a renewed sense of community. The current challenge is real, and it is urgent.

If we are willing to give up the failing dream of economic growth and to conserve whole-heartedly, we can gain the option of relying more and more on renewable energy sources. According to a study by the Union of Concerned Scientists, the sun could supply from 15 to 33% of US energy needs by the year 2000. The transition to such sources as solar and wind power will be costly, but we must begin it now, before fossil fuels become even scarcer and more expensive. We should increase gasoline taxes until demand falls to the point where we are importing only some 10% of our oil. These tax monies will go toward the conversion of our economy to renewable energy sources. While the windfall profits tax should be continued, we might offer two for one tax write-offs for domestic exploration; we need oil to power the conversion to a lesser need of oil. These measures might be painful, but they would buy us nothing less than a liveable future.

Plans for synthetic fuels should be scrapped, since the production process is expensive, polluting, ecologically damaging and technologically questionable. An estimated 5% improvement in average energy efficiency can save more oil than could be produced from synthetic fuels by 1990.

Nuclear power plants pose unacceptable risks to human life and health. Moreover, they are expensive and inefficient. There should be a moratorium on the construction of nuclear plants and a phased decommissioning of existing plants. The breeder reactor, with its huge inventories of plutonium, would pose unparalleled risks to society in any large-scale program, with little relief from
the problems besetting our current generation of reactors. It should not be developed.

Foreign Relations. In spite of the obvious perils, we should take the lead in creating an atmosphere of trust and openness in relationships with other countries. Toward this end, we should work to empower such global organizations as the United Nations and the World Court. We should encourage free and open cultural exchange with other nations, especially with those we consider adversaries. We have allowed an Iron Curtain of ignorance and lack of interest to fall between us and the Soviet Union. We should work, as a beginning, to dismantle this barrier by means of increased travel between the two nations, more media reports on life in the USSR, and the enhancement of communications through all possible channels.

Current realities demand that military readiness be maintained, but not in overwhelming force; the best intelligence evaluations indicate that Soviet military strategy dictates no attack without high assurance of victory. In nuclear confrontation, such assurance is extremely hard to achieve. We should have the courage to take initiatives, even in the face of repeated disappointments, toward world disarmament. We must assiduously avoid any temptation to achieve first-strike nuclear capability. Such action would exacerbate international tensions. In any case, no long-term victory is possible in all-out nuclear war. Most of all, our national leaders need to cultivate a sincere and deeply-felt motivation toward the reduction of military expenditures.

Secrecy is as great a threat to world peace as is the ICBM. Therefore, we should develop a program toward the exchange of intelligence information with all nations. This process would be accomplished in graduated, reciprocal stages and would involve prudent safeguards. The safeguards, however, should in no way dominate these proceedings. Our strong intentionality should be turned toward the creation, not just of an open society, but of an open world. In such a world, the threat of conflict would be greatly diminished.

Perhaps the most critical immediate factor pushing the world toward war is accessibility to oil. The US should initiate plans for negotiations among the major oil-consuming nations concerning the fair and equitable distribution of this increasingly scarce resource. Communism as well as non-communist nations should be involved. These negotiations, if successful, would not only help head off military conflict, but would also serve to stabilize currencies and enhance international trade.

For practical as well as humane reasons, the US should be willing to offer appropriate aid, when requested, to less developed nations. This is especially urgent in cases of hunger and starvation. The sickness of a planet on which one-third of the inhabitants go to bed hungry every night eventually affects the health of even the richest nation.

Most of all, we must bear in mind that, sooner or later, a continued high level of consumption in the advanced industrial nations equals war. The fact remains that world peace and harmony depends to a significant extent on such things as our willingness to forego annual style changes in fashions and cars.

Decentralization and Deprofessionalization. Energy organizes society. The profligate use of fossil fuel has required large-scale corporate and governmental entities to produce and manage its high-energy output, and thus has helped create an unprecedented centralization of power. It has changed the purpose of social organization from the physical, social and spiritual needs of the individual to the needs of production and consumption. It has separated the human individual from nature. It has contributed to the breakdown of family and neighborhood by putting production and social control in larger institutions that tend to function outside of human considerations. It has created a mode of problem-solving—massive direct intervention through technological means—that is becoming less efficient and more destructive with every passing year.

The process of specialization and professionalization, aided and abetted by the growth of giant centralized institutions, has produced an excessive dependence on professional services. This dependence on "experts", whether medical, educational, legal or mechanical, reduces our self-responsibility and sets us up for exploitation through exorbitant fees.

But now a change is possible. The development of renewable energy sources such as solar and wind can contribute to the decentralization of society. The development of information technology and home computer terminals can make expert counsel widely available and allow an ever-larger proportion of the population to work at home.

To move toward a transformed society, we should encourage decentralization and deprofessionalization through every feasible means. We should remove the subsidies and special privileges that maintain unnecessarily large concentrations of economic wealth and corporate power. We should eliminate legal barriers to self-help that prevent people from doing for themselves many things they once did. We should, in fact, encourage the development of self-help groups in which the affected population (alcoholics, arthritis sufferers and the like) work to solve their own problems in their own ways. We should examine professional licensing procedures to make sure they are not being used primarily to produce service monopolies. We should, wherever possible, reduce paralyzing bureaucratic regulations on institutions and individuals. We should, in short, do everything in our power to return people's control of their own lives to themselves.

This means a new emphasis on human rights. The framers of the US Constitution were deeply concerned with the restraint of governmental powers. Today, with the growth of technology and the increase in centralization, those powers are vastly greater, and require even more stringent restraints. We must zealously guard individual rights to privacy and freedom of expression. We must work to assure equality under the law for ethnic, sexual and other minorities. In these turbulent years of transition, the guarantees granted in our Bill of Rights are more important than ever.
Health. The current reform movement in health care can serve as a model for transformation in many other fields. The giant medical establishment, which now eats up nearly 10% of our entire Gross National Product, is a prototype of conventional problem-solving. It grants authority to the specialized expert while denying it to the affected person, the "patient". It tends to see the patient in terms of a specific illness rather than as an entire system. It concentrates on attacking immediate symptoms rather than dealing with long-term, underlying causes. It resorts in most cases to direct linear intervention as a mode of treatment, generally in the form of drugs and surgery. It relies heavily on technology. It is sickness-oriented.

Through these modes, modern medicine has enjoyed certain spectacular triumphs. But success in any single line of development eventually reaches a point of diminishing returns. We see this today in the failure of such massive projects as the War on Cancer, in the increase in adverse drug effects and other iatrogenic diseases, in the inordinate costs and sometimes nightmarish results of complex life support systems for the terminally ill, in the impotence of the present system where the degenerative diseases, the "diseases of civilization", are concerned.

The health care reform movement, without sacrificing the best of conventional medicine, takes a more holistic approach. It has as a goal, not just the absence of sickness, but the presence of positive wellness. It sees the causes of most illnesses in the environment, lifestyle and emotional balance of the affected person. Perhaps most important, it holds that responsibility for your health and your body lies not with a physician or any other expert, but with yourself. Doctors and medical technicians are there to assist you in your quest for good health, but the buck stops with you.

The relationship between lifestyle and health is particularly dramatic. According to conservative estimates, an end to the abuse of tobacco, alcohol and automobiles alone would empty half the hospital beds in America. Changes in such factors as diet, environment and personal tension levels would empty many more. As little as a 10% change in lifestyle would do more to improve our national health than would any new drug or surgical procedure. The lifestyle changes needed are precisely those prescribed for a transformation in economics and energy policy. Personal health and social health are intimately joined.

The value of the holistic approach is beginning to be recognized by such major health care organizations as Blue Cross, as reflected in its new advertising policy and its sponsorship of holistic health programs. Might we hope, then, that even the most conservative institutions have the capacity, when their survival is threatened, to respond creatively rather than turning back toward an outmoded past?

Education and the Human Potential. Many signs of transformation are in the air. We see this in the ever-increasing number of people engaged in holistic health and voluntary simplicity, in the millions engaged in personal growth and consciousness-changing practices, in the dramatic development of self-help groups, which now claim 15 million members.

At the same time, the forces against transformation in America seem powerful indeed. Certain economists and politicians urge us, against the best evidence, to fuel up with nuclear power and go for another round of fast economic growth. Meanwhile, millions of Americans are emptying their savings accounts in what may be a final spasm of consumerism, to the accompaniment of numerous books and seminar sessions that teach "money consciousness" and offer rationalizations for greed. Competition, manipulation and intimidation are celebrated as ways of relating with others, whether on the personal level or in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Such anti-transformational manifestations might simply be the death throes of the old order. The end of every evolutionary line of development, be it biological, artistic or social, is marked by grotesque extremes, as seen most vividly in the last days of the great reptiles. Still, this is no time for easy assurances. The outcome of the next few decades, even the next few years, is far from clear.

One of the most disturbing signs of these times is our current neglect of children and education. In a vain attempt to perpetuate automatic personal prosperity, millions of Americans today seem willing to sacrifice the quality of their children's schooling for lower real estate taxes. Too many of us seem willing to deprive our children of the "extras"—art, music, drama, languages, physical education—so that we can go on enjoying the "necessities" of greedy consumption. We forget. Teachers are not incidental to our society but the very heart of it. Children are our passport to the future. If we fail in educating the new generation, there can be no humane future.

Relatively inexpensive computer systems are coming on line that will make the visionary dream of truly individualized education a reality in teaching the basics of cultural knowledge. At the same time, new techniques for teaching the basics of living—matters as simple and utterly crucial as how we sit and move and feel and relate to others—are becoming widely available. The time is overdue for a new dedication to education.

The coming decades, if a humanistic transformation is to take place, will require people who truly love and enjoy learning, from birth to death: learning to read and write and figure, yes, but also learning to enter states of being in which we are tingling and fully alive, free at last from the pangs of wasteful consumption. And any viable New Age will certainly require an education that teaches the new generation to be sensitive to the needs of others, and of the planet.

Here is the challenge: a rechanneling of our energies from the exploitation of material resources to the full development of human resources in an atmosphere of openness, honesty and trust. From this can come, not a lowered, but an ever-rising standard of living in terms of how it feels to be alive. Our potential to learn, to love, and to build a more humane society is far greater than we can imagine. Developing this potential will call for courage, imagination and persistence, for it will take us to infinite frontiers along the rich and varied common countryside of humanity. In spite of all the difficulties and dangers, whatever the odds for success, let us join this great adventure.
The Person

by Carl Rogers

In 1978, in Spain, we had a workshop of 170 people from 22 different nations. It was a very exciting workshop, with differences in language, differences in culture, differences in religion and sharp differences in economic views. It was a workshop that had to be conducted in two languages, with other languages frequently being used also. The participants included an ardent group of Marxists and at the other extreme, conservative businessmen, such as the foreign manager for Reader's Digest.

In the early portion of the workshop, the Marxists were sure that a humanistic, person-centered, client-centered approach would surely be turned into a tool of exploitation of the workers; it would reduce their anger, and would defuse the Revolution. They called a special political meeting which I attended, where I learned a good deal. Toward the end of the meeting, they asked that I make clear my own political stance. I said that I would like them to give me until morning because I would prefer to give them a written statement to avoid misunderstanding or being misquoted. So here, with a little editing, is that same statement.

I have been very much involved in the politics of the workshops we have conducted in recent years, workshops numbering from 65 to 220. Increasingly, I and the staff have been able to implement our political views in those groups, which have lasted from one to three weeks. Let me state in summarized form what I mean by politics. To me, politics involves the question of where power is located, who makes the choices and decisions, who carries out or enforces those decisions, and who has the knowledge or data regarding the consequences of those decisions. It means the strategies involved in the taking of power, the distribution of power, the holding of power, and the sharing or relinquishing of power. I've often listened in these workshops and elsewhere to fluent and articulate discussions on political issues. Yet almost never do I hear any discussion of the politics of the family, of marriage, of the school, and only rarely the politics of the workplace. Yet when a father decides what is proper behavior for the family members, when the teacher tells students what subjects they're to learn and how rapidly to learn them, when the director or manager of an organization personally makes the policies for that organization, these, to me, are political acts. They are also political acts that deny the rights of the individual.

I believe that my own political views are best exemplified in the way that I and my colleagues have conducted ourselves in the workshops I've mentioned. Applicants are told in advance that the program will be
developed by all of us, including the staff, when they arrive. They are asked to set their own tuition. They are
told the estimated expenses per person must be covered if the workshop is to be held; they are asked to
consider this in relation to their own financial situation and
what they can afford; then they decide what they will pay.
In a recent two-week workshop, the estimated cost per
person was $300. Some people paid nothing, most paid
from $100 to $400. Some paid much more, and one person
paid $1,200. Thus far, we've always broken even finan-
cially. I've described this at some length because it
illustrates how, in regard to a most fundamental economic
issue, the person makes his or her own responsible
decision.

"When participants arrive, it continues to be our aim to
keep with the individual the power that he or she has, or
potentially has, for decision-making. Thus they choose
their own rooms, and whether they wish to use a unisex or
cultural bathroom. And they meet as a total group to
decide how they wish to invest their time in the
workshop. These meetings are often initially confused and
chaotic. The processes and needs sometimes run at cross
purposes. The staff experiences and lives this confusion
with the group as equal persons, and as facilitative
persons. Gradually each participant realizes this is "our"
workshop. I have influence on it. I am an important part of
it. Tentative plans emerge. People take initiative in
forming small groups or meeting their needs in the large-
group. An organic process takes place and the workshop
finds its suitable form. Thus persons retain their own
power and become aware of their inner strength that they
had not realized. It's sometimes a frightening thing to
realize: I have a chance here to make decisions for myself.

"Consequently, participants at first often accuse the staff
of not having done enough planning, signaling that the
group is eager to relinquish its power to the staff. Then
they realize their own power: sometimes some of them
begin to use that power as weapons against others. They
make choices they regret. Every consequence of my use of
my power and your use of your power is evident and out in
the open. We realize how incredibly diverse are the
needs and needs of individuals. Yet gradually there
takes place a process which, to me, is extremely elegant,
like a beautiful piece of craftsmanship. The group moves
closer to making decisions which take into account the
needs and desires of every individual. It is not
compromise, but willing, mutual accommodation. In one
workshop, one decision was taken by a vote, which, of
course, left the minority dissatisfied. But the group never
did that again. Always the group tends to move away from
oppressing anyone. This applies in major decisions, and
then in such troublesome minor issues as smoking during
community meetings. Various ingenious solutions have
been worked out in this latter situation in ways which
work hardships on neither smokers nor non-smokers. To
draw a political example such as these from workshops
may seem trivial, but, I believe, our political ideology is
best demonstrated in our small behaviors, not in our party
labels nor in highly intellectual abstractions.

"Let me summarize my own political ideology, if you
will, in a very few words. I find that for myself, I am most
satisfied politically when every person is helped to become
aware of his or her own power and strength; when each
person participates fully and responsibly in every decision
which affects him or her; when group members learn that
the sharing of power is more satisfying than the endeavoring
to use power to control others; when the group finds ways
of making decisions which accommodate the needs and
desires of each person; when every person of the group is
aware of the consequences of a decision on its members
and on the external world; when each person enforces the
group decision through self-control of his or her own
behavior; when each person feels increasingly empowered
and strengthened; and when each person and the group as
a whole is flexible, open to change, and regards previous
decisions as being always open for reconsideration."

That's my platform. I suspect that some of you regard
these statements as hopelessly idealistic. But in my
experience, especially when a facilitative climate is
provided for a group, the members choose to move in
somewhat the ways that I have described. In some of my
writing, particularly in my recent book on personal power,
I have given examples showing the effectiveness of this
kind of politics in the marriage relationship, in the family,
in schools, in workshops, in the management of business. I
don't know of any political party or government which
operates fully on this basis, but I do believe there is a
movement toward more participation in government, and
a growing distrust of authoritarian institutions of every
kind. So I do not despair.

This political creed of mine does not grow out of any
political tract, or any general ideology. It developed out of
my own experience in which I discovered how richly
rewarding it was to entrust persons with power, with
responsible freedom of choice. As I look about, I find
support for my views in the most diverse places. I find
these views reinforced by the so-called experimental plants
of Proctor and Gamble Corporation, where workers are
trusted to make decisions and to be responsible. I don't
think the heads of that corporation understand what's
going on, but they have permitted a remarkable
development. I have read carefully the exploits of Carlsen's
Raiders in World War II and I had myself interviewed
bomber crews in that same war. In each case the most
astonishing achievements came where hierarchical
authority was shelved, and each person was made responsible for
contributing all he could to the enterprise. I read of the
remarkable leap in creativity and productivity in the early
days of the People's Republic of China, under Mao
Tsetung, and I had a chance to observe that where trust
was placed in the peasants and workers, and they were
given a great deal of autonomy.

It appears to be true, in my experience and that of
others, that persons have enormous capacities for learning,
for achievement, for creative problem solving, for
disciplined effort toward a goal. All these capacities appear
to be released in the political atmosphere I have described.
My political stance is idealistic, and radical, but in my
experience, and that of others, amazingly constructive
potentialities come into fruition when persons are able,
even partially, to put these political principles into
operation.
The Family

by Virginia Satir

One of the things that I have lived with all my life is that whenever anyone wanted anything done, they should let George do it. Then if he did it we should worship him and give over our power to him, and if he didn’t do it, we should kill him. And I think in a way that’s the basis of some of our difficulties.

For me, the political process is the name that I give to that process which defines how the essential variables of an entity are organized, administered and controlled or directed to achieve a certain goal. I was surprised to learn after I’d worked with families for a long time that the same process is present in the organization of the individual, in the family, in the community, in the state, in the federal government and in international entities. The differences are in the kind of variables that have to be put together, and that are unique to that particular entity. For instance, in the individual we are dealing with the body, the mind, emotions, heart, senses, interaction with others, the context in which people live, which is made up of light and sound, color, temperature, air, space and time, and our soul (we haven’t figured out all the parts of that one). In a family we’re dealing with the variables of people first—father, mother, child, work, shelter, food, recreation, education and people at various stages of development. In the community we’re dealing with variables of church, school, work, traffic, transportation, municipal services, police. In the state we’re dealing with similar variables except on a vaster scale. And the same thing can be said for the federal and international governments.

These variables are always present. They’re always in balance. The question is what price does each part pay to keep the balance? This, of course, represents a system, and in recent years, we have come to understand something that technology understood a long time ago about a system: it’s not anything you judge, it’s something that you try to make work. I’ll give you a very oversimplified definition of system. A system is an action, a reaction and an interaction among a set of essential variables that develop an order and a sequence to accomplish a goal. I don’t need to go into it at this moment how these different systems can operate, or how the system has many forms of operation.

Present society has for the last 2,000 years been operating in a system which requires deprivation, annihilation, denial and rejection in order to keep the balance going. For us the question becomes how do we intervene to develop a different kind of system, a different kind of order and sequence of the variables to accomplish the goal of having an end, a family, a state, an individual kind of system which nourishes each individual member and human being, and at the same time, stimulates them to the greater evolution of ourselves?

I’d like to speak briefly about something else. Have you noticed that all political systems are peopled by people? And that every one of these people in that position, whatever it is, were born as babies. What they learned about how to be people came from what they were taught. It is as simple as that. And if most of us are taught similar things, then we come up with similar things. I’ve often wondered how could it be that we could continue to put up with what we put up with? Then I learned that we put up with it because that’s what we’re taught to do. Most people were taught that relationships were hierarchical, with somebody on the top and somebody on the bottom. Of course, what else could you expect from that but a power struggle?
There are still a lot of people who don’t think that a four-year old and an 84-year old are equal through the navel. Most people are taught that to be a self you have to conform to something, which means that you could only show those parts which are okay. That means the rest of them have to be cut off, hidden or denied or some other way put out of vision or manifestation. We’ve been taught that the explanation of any kind of events, the why of anything, is very simple, if you’re just smart and know and and are bright enough and do the right things; you’ll know the answers. What it really has meant is that we have decided who’s in power and that person says, what is the reason. A common familial thing is, when something happens, I say I know why you did that; don’t argue with me because I’m your mother or your father; I know. A system that’s built on these kinds of belief systems, these ways of operating, has to have power struggles, has to have resentment, has to have a foundation in fear; it can’t avoid it. Whenever we’re bound in fear, we have to constantly keep worrying about our security. It also means that we cannot count on our boundaries. Interestingly enough, if I can’t count on my boundaries, I can’t deal with ambiguity.

The rejection, the denial, and the ignoring of some persons always has to go on; what I found is if some persons are ignored or denied and the self-esteem is injured in them, it is also injured in the other people. We haven’t known that for a long time. For example, the authoritative father, who demands what his family shall do, is probably the loneliest character in the world. But he’s got rules; he can’t acknowledge his need for closeness, so he dies instead of some peculiar disease.

There is another piece of this, and that is the maintenance of this kind of system depends upon continuing a dependency/independence situation. That is, once you’re young you never get older. You’re always too little, too. So there’s no way to begin to be “equal”. Where does the peerage come in? Interdependency, for the most part, within this set of operational beliefs is based on bargaining and threat.

Within this frame, also, there is usually a question of whether it is the individual or the group, and it is not possible to have both within this set of operational beliefs. You have to have one or the other. Privacy is something that one earns as a privilege within this frame rather than just a right; or, privacy is a punishment. I don’t know if any of you were brought up with that “Go to your room, dear, you’ll cool off.”

We’ve forgotten that our fingerprints show us that none of us in this whole world is a duplicate. Each one of us is unique in our evolution, in our growth. The same set of beliefs really teaches us that roles are our identity so we talk about father, mother, doctor and so on, rather than seeing those as tasks. A role is nothing more than a task, but we’ve been behaving as though it were an entity, an identity for ourselves.

Giving and receiving help within this frame becomes a matter of malevolent or benevolent dictatorship. It is sometimes called love. It’s based on power. Support—financial, emotional or physical—comes with it. I’ll support you if I’ll give you this if. To have a kind of self-worth that will risk taking personal responsibility within this frame can only come through acquiring power over others, acquiring money, influence, and therefore becoming a substitute for one’s self. All of us know that those are things outside of ourselves and there’s nothing we can take with us. The natural outcome of this is that we distrust people; we lack integrity; we do immoral things, like war; we become defensive and, worst of all, we stagnate our human resources. I’m overdoing this only slightly. We become the proverbial sheep, who must be looking for a leader, helpless, fearful and apathetic.

By our beliefs, what we believe about people and what is possible, we have created a political system, which at worst destroys human beings, and at best, accepts them at the status quo, with no provision for making it possible to do the kind of creative things that we beautiful human beings are capable of. We have learned all this from babyhood; it feels like second nature. Actually is is mostly learned.

I’ve been in many places where I have been amazed to see what can happen when people decided that they were of worth. I cannot give you worth, I can only help you to begin to believe in your own worth. It lies within this kind of frame that individual survival is perceived to be obtained through pleasing others. To please others, we won’t rock the boat. We’ll put down others so we can show ourselves. And we will manipulate others, put them on the end of a string.

We need a massive educational program, which both in its process and its content develops self-worth as a basic matter and absolutely germane for the development of human beings. This system also needs to develop individual power as a matter of standing on one’s own feet, feeling whole, feeling of value, being able to engage in meaningful conflict which can come out with something that will be useful. I teach all my students that disagreement and conflict hold within it great gifts, if we know how to get at them.

This same education would develop a joining in awareness with others; it isn’t just me, it isn’t just you, it’s you and me. This would teach people how to develop initiative which means you rock the boat every time you do it; and that people get applauded for doing it. The fear of rocking the boat squelches any initiative.

We need to develop the permission for people to have power. We are shot through with the negative relationship of power to people—that if you have power, it has to be destructive. We haven’t yet gotten the idea into the universe that power by itself makes us stand up and not be like wet spaghetti. We have: to take a look at the uses of power; it’s like electricity—it can be used to light this room or to electrocute a body. We need to differentiate between the thing and the use of the thing.

In conclusion, we need to have a balance of male and female energy. That means that we need more female bodies, literally, but that’s not enough. We need to develop the female energy in the male and the male energy in the female, so that we can have full energy.

The family is a microcosm of every single problem that we see between nations and cities anywhere, and that’s where we learn it. We need to change it. We start by believing in our own worth and that of others.
Recognizing that respect for the human dignity and the equal rights of all persons is the foundation for freedom, justice and peace in the world; and recognizing that freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion and expression are not only rights but correlative duties to extend to all others, we affirm the tenets of human rights as codified by various United Nations Covenants. These rights include not only civil and political rights, but also economic, social and cultural rights.

Humanistic psychology is primarily concerned with human development, and seeks to give priority to human needs in all areas from the personal to the planetary. Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs provides a developmental framework for viewing human rights: a) survival and safety needs (civil, political and economic rights); b) needs of belonging, love, respect (cultural rights, pursuit of happiness); c) needs for self-esteem and self-actualization (given a supportive environment, we believe persons will develop as self-determining, self-actualizing, socially responsible human beings. If the basic needs/rights are denied, human development is thwarted).

Global Interdependence

In a world of undeniably increasing interdependency, progress—indeed even survival—cannot be achieved without cooperation with and understanding of all peoples. We recognize that human loyalty must now be expanded from loyalty to the person, the smallest unit, to humanity as a whole. We believe that a continued focus on self-awareness and consciousness-raising is a necessary step toward new personal/political awareness and action; that the creation of a more humane world can be accomplished only when citizens denounce repression as reprehensible; and that progress toward enjoyment of human rights is related to the development of a humane world order, to improved trans-national institutions, to economic development of developing nations, to reversing the arms race and to non-violent conflict resolution.

Therefore, we call for: a) Mobilizing professional support for colleagues suffering under repressive regimes, demand the release of political prisoners, condemn all use of torture; b) Identifying publicly groups, agencies and governments that consistently violate human rights, and urge channeling of US foreign aid, loans and other support to governments that respect human rights; c) Promoting human rights through educational programs and materials, through forming coalitions and through incorporating human rights concerns in our organizations; and d) Committing ourselves to reducing our inappropriate consumption of world resources and thereby help redress the growing economic imbalance among nations.

Rights of Minorities

As humanistic psychologists who are actively working to expand the human potential, we particularly wish to give support to all minority groups struggling for basic rights:

Women
Women are entitled to the opportunity to full personhood, which means they must have the freedom to choose to be in charge of their own bodies, psychologically and physically; to choose to enter any educational system, career or profession, including home managing; and to choose to be fairly remunerated financially for any work, including home management.

To this end: a) We support the UN Declarations on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women; b) We particularly request the immediate ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and pledge our efforts to boycott any state that fails to ratify ERA; and c) We commit ourselves to publicly addressing issues of cooperative parenting, job sharing, child care, salaries for home managers, and abortion. These issues have a profound impact on the rights of women.

Gay/Lesbian

The highly mobilized current gay rights movement might well serve as a model for humanistic psychology in its effort to translate concern over human needs into action to implement human rights. Lesbian women and gay men, not dependent on conforming to traditional sex-role expectations, feel competent and worthwhile as human beings and challenge the nuclear family effectiveness as a bulwark against change in social values and in power relationships between men and women.

We call for equal protections under the law through congressional legislation, executive orders banning discrimination in employment, appointments of open gay/lesbian citizens to regulatory boards and agencies, repeal of anti-gay “victimless crime” sexual laws, legal challenges to archaic immigration and naturalization law and prejudiced decisions in lesbian mother and gay father child-custody cases, funding for social service programs for gay youth and for unbiased research on homosexuality and gay-life issues.

Ethnic Minorities

We must not forget that in the US an underclass of ethnic minorities continues to fight for their basic human rights. Despite legislation and social programs this underclass has a daily struggle to attain the basic needs of survival and safety. Their very existence must remind us that in our country, human rights are denied to people based on skin color and ethnicity and we must work unceasingly through political action and personal commitment, to end this injustice.

Other Minorities

We also must not forget that the rights of the elderly, the handicapped, of children, of the mentally retarded, are too often ignored and too often denied in this country.
ELIZABETH CAMPBELL

Being a good humanistic psychologist, I thought I understood the moral issues involved in the worldwide human rights movement. As I began to investigate human rights issues, I found they are not clear nor is there agreement on what rights ought to be honored and protected. I have read the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights which was passed in 1948, as well as the various covenants on political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights. These international covenants are magnificent documents in support of human dignity and freedom. However, we have not come very far in honoring these documents in the international community, nor in the United States. Our country has still not ratified many of these covenants.

Some human rights are declared to exist—political and civil rights. Others are said to be rights that are to be promoted by the nations—economic, rights of livelihood. I am struggling with the following questions. Who determines who is to enjoy which of these rights? Are all these rights universal or only to be enjoyed by some? Further, who is to determine when rights are being denied? Assuming agreement on human rights as outlined in international covenants, are nations that don’t sign the covenants included? Are nations that violate human rights to be challenged? Is this interference in internal affairs as is often claimed?

A look at US human rights policy raises the above questions and more about what we believe as a nation and how we move in the world. Is the US and the West to provide the model for defining universal human rights? What about cultural differences? What about internal inconsistencies, the need to begin at home before we champion human rights around the globe? Once we have dealt with these tough questions, what actions can be taken at various levels?

What can I do as an individual? How can we act through the NGAs (Non-Government Agencies), through self-help groups? How can we influence government at the state, federal and international level? How can we work through the UN? Do we work as a nation unilaterally by withholding aid to nonconforming nations, and by boycotts? How do we monitor developments in human rights?

Abraham Maslow’s Hierarchy of Human Needs provides a developmental model for looking at human rights. It is a model that asserts human needs are to be given priority, and goes on to list these universal human needs. I hope that this humanistic model might be offered into the dialogue on human rights. We should be getting this perspective articulated in the UN and the US policy-making bodies.

IANET JOHNSTONE

We must be aware of and advocate against all forms of slavery, be it psychological or physical. Certain societies’ development gave us a tradition of respect for individual rights, and it’s no accident that we refer to these societies as advanced or enlightened. Recognizing their contributions to the advancement of personal freedoms, we note, nonetheless, patterns of repression within all those societies. The lesson is very clear. We must be vigilant to recognize repression.

I believe this decade is going to be a very turbulent one. Certainly its introduction with the holding of hostages for political retribution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the calendar are not auspicious. Even a cursory glance at a daily paper will show you that people all around the world are striving to achieve their rights and to end repression. It is clearly a growing awareness and demand that humanity has dignity and values, not just needs and uses, but the purpose of life is more than just reproduction, that there is a reason to human intellect and abilities. In light of this, it is incumbent upon us to be stronger in our voices and in our activism so as to ensure the full utilization of human capacities for reason and growth.

To me one of the most heinous forms of repression is arbitrary arrest and torture, even execution, for the crime of thought, of conscience, of belief, of race, of sex. Public opinion condemns Hitlerian subjugation—it is easy to do so now because the crimes were so blatant, so well documented, because it is so long ago that it is safe to condemn and because in retrospect repression is much clearer. But how many people and how many nations were silent witnesses to the early roundups of political dissidents, the clergy, the unionists and the ethnics. Nazi Germany of course arrested anyone who spoke out against the system, but what if everyone had refused to stand for the system? Could a few have really arrested the majority?

It is very easy to advocate such activism from the safeholds of Masonic Auditorium in San Francisco, but the point is that we need to be aware of the political mood, both domestically and internationally, to be able to make vital decisions which affect our lives and the lives of others. Today many governments around the world and of all political ideologies employ similar tactics against their citizens as Hitler did 40 years ago. People are kidnapped from their homes and made to disappear, sometimes forever. They are tortured, they are drugged and they are killed. Frequently perpetuated in the name of peace and freedom, these are really criminal actions done to punish an individual who has chosen to use intellect in a manner not approved by the ruling powers. Such officially sanctioned terror against the population is nothing short of an attempt at the ultimate form of thought and mind control.

Repression happens for any number of reasons. But when a government begins to narrow the spheres of permissible activity, thought or awareness, the system becomes locked into itself and entirely resistant to change. It no longer seeks or allows its citizens to seek alternatives for innovation. It cannot grow. Its rigidity, however, serves only to increase the chance that it will be forced

continued...
eventually to change, sometimes dramatically and drastically. Witness Nicaragua: for 45 years a family dictatorship told the people that they were too stupid to participate in political thinking, denied them political and economic opportunities and then turned around and accused them of lacking what they had been denied the right to acquire. When all attempts at dialogue failed, the people simply said "basta" and they fought. Thirty thousand people died to gain independence, and that does not include the people who died at the hands of the Somoa regime.

The effects of repression are devastating on the person immediately involved and also the families. I met an Argentine woman who was told that if she wanted to identify her daughter, alleged to have been killed in a shootout between the Argentine security forces and opponents of the government, that she could do so by going to a certain police station and examining her daughter's hands which were being held in a glass jar. Now I heard that story almost a year ago and I am still speechless after it. There is nothing I can say. The horror is absolutely incredible. Eventually this type of fear and trepidation are felt by the entire society and a network of terror permeates the entire atmosphere. People fear to speak out, they fear to think for themselves, they fear to be themselves. And what can this society produce then? Goods for export perhaps. But what in terms of human potential of understanding, of growth or progress? We speak about one world and we try to come to grips with our increasing interdependency with all nations. Yet when someone is being tortured in another country, people often say oh, but it is so far away; we have so many problems here; what can I do anyway against it? This is precisely what the torturers want you to think. It doesn't really matter whether it happens in Argentina, in Morocco or in any other country. It is a personal matter and we are all personally involved in the human family.

The most immediate and dangerous threat to health and human rights of all people in the world is nuclear war. As facilitators of the whole person, we should be in the forefront in helping the populace deal with their fears and feelings of helplessness with big government and with issues based on national security.

Doing things that are political doesn't always feel good; it's sometimes very uncomfortable to look at the bigger issues. Even if we don't have the solutions, and maybe just have a lot of questions, we needn't just do what we do best—I'll do that anyway. I also think that, in addition to doing that, we need to hang in there with the bigger issues, and look at them until we get some solutions.

I am concerned about a recent article in a chemical engineers' newsletter which suggested that old people be put to work in the chemical plants that cause sterility. A director of a Veterans Hospital said that the elderly could be organized into SWAT teams to clean up after atomic disasters, since they probably won't live long enough to suffer ill results. The rights of the elderly must be considered now.

We white Americans must accept our complicity in the oppression of non-white people all over the world and in our own country.

Did you know that every 8½ seconds a new American is born? That means that every 85 seconds a gay person is born in this country. That means that currently there are over 20 million American citizens who are gay or lesbian. One out of every four families in this country has a gay member in it, whether they know it or not. There are a lot of us, and we are everywhere. But, so is homophobia, or the unreasoning fear of homosexuality and homosexual persons. It is institutionalized in this society. It gets reinforced because gay people are challenging attitudes that are relied upon to perpetuate the status quo, to limit personal freedom, to punish diversity.

We're protesting laws that are designed to reinforce the power of the people who currently wield it. One of the major tasks that we have in making the protest effective is to challenge the inertia of our own group. We must constantly try politicizing people who do not feel in jeopardy, who are not in physical danger, who are not in a daily battle for survival, who do not identify with the oppression that creates a hostile climate in which they have to live their lives. And I think that is something we have in common with the primarily white, middle-class, college-educated membership of the AHP.

Ten years ago there was a conspiracy of silence surrounding who was gay, where we were and how many of us there were. We colluded in that silence. But that has changed. We now have a political agenda, and we have learned how to push it. We are beginning to be successful in organizing what was an invisible constituency; building a communication network; registering our voters; developing political influence as a community; running for political office ourselves. We are no longer silent vis a vis the Establishment. We must no longer be silent with you, unless you acknowledge and fight the homophobia in you you are part of our problem.
NATALIE ROGERS

It makes good sense to me that the humanistic movement has focused for the last decade on the individual and personal awareness. This is now being negatively dubbed as the "ME" generation and narcissistic. I want to say that I believe that the focus on self awareness has been an absolute necessity to new political awareness of action.

As I have become aware, and this has only happened by focusing on my self, I, as a woman, have discovered how I have been oppressed, how I have colluded with that oppression and what personal action I have taken to redefine myself and get myself out of much of that oppression. And as I take this personal action, I am affecting the political system. So, I say that redefining ourselves as women is a political act. And in my book *Emerging Woman* I described how this process happened for me. I don't want anybody to label me as selfish because I took time to understand myself in relationship to society. This is the first step to political action.

So I'm saying that if men redefine themselves, the overbalance of yang in the world and in this room perhaps could move into balance. Balance and equilibrium are my theme. On this personal level, I would like us to come up with some pledge statements that would help our immediate society to redefine the roles each of us, males and females, play. We need here at AHP to model new behavior, not just advocate it.

Here are a couple of examples of statements: as a woman I pledge I will not always ask questions; I will make statements about my thoughts and feelings; I will point out constructively each time I see or experience an imbalance of representation or power. Or, as a man, such statements might be: I will listen carefully to the thoughts and opinions of women; I will not expect her to view the world as I view it; I will not take up more than my share of air time.

The next step is to look at how we can affect a larger society. So, I want us to come up with an ERA statement and an abortion statement. But I believe that as humanistic psychologists and educators, we have a special mission to underscore the fact that women's oppression is linked to economic dependence on men.

I feel, and you can argue this of course, that we need a statement delineating how women's oppression and women's rights are linked to a lack of salaries as homemakers or home-managers, and a lack of job sharing or status. To put it in a more positive sense, we need cooperative parenting, which certainly benefits the child's view on the world. And by cooperative parenting, I mean the opportunity for men to be responsible for half, or whatever amount of time, of daytime care of children who are not in school. And I also mean the opportunity for men and women to have part-time, well-paid work outside the home, and be paid for work inside the home. I think that's very controversial and I don't know how we will come up with that. If we give men opportunities to be with their children half the time, and take care of the house half the time, you can be sure it won't take long to upgrade the status of homemakers, and somehow find a way for them to have salaries.

I think we need to look at all of the above with an eye to the most precious product we have, the children. What models of parenting, either by single parents or nuclear family, or extended family, or communities, can give children the love, caring, sense of worth, and identities that are in balance, that is, where they don't act on only their masculine or only their feminine side. It is imperative that as humanistic people we look to the future through the eyes of our youngest citizens. How they grow will be how they act. We must show them by our actions that the world can be a safe place to live, to explore, to create, to contribute.
Wellness

WORKING STATEMENT

Major Contributor: Rick Ingraschi

America is facing a health care crisis of unprecedented proportions. Health care costs are rising at a rate of more than one million dollars an hour. Actually, we don’t have a health care system—less than two per cent of the health care budget goes toward prevention—we have a disease-care system. Western medicine (also known as the medical-pharmaceutical complex), with its emphasis on the diagnosis and treatment of disease with expensive, complex drugs and technology in mechanized, impersonal environments, is no longer recognized as the only legitimate form of health care.

Holistic medicine is a new scientific model of medicine which recognizes and treats the essential unity of body, mind and spirit, the connections between the individual’s health and a healthy environment, and the need to emphasize disease prevention and health promotion. Holistic medicine integrates the positive contributions of Western scientific medicine into a more comprehensive model of health care, one which recognizes the value of alternative healing practices as well.

A health care system based on the principles of holistic medicine offers some real hope for solving our present health care crisis. Both Kennedy’s and Carter’s National Health Insurance plans do not go far enough—they are designed to prop up an ailing private enterprise health care system with public monies. Both of their proposals are highly inflationary, and they cannot work because they do not go to the root of the problem.

“The next major advances in health of the American people will come from the assumption of individual responsibility for one’s own health and a necessary change in lifestyle for the majority of America,” according to John Knowles, former President of the Rockefeller Foundation.

I. Make health education, disease prevention, and health promotion national priorities.

This would involve allocating a much larger percentage of HEW’s budget on primary prevention and health promotion. One of the first major goals is educating the public and health care professionals on the importance of choosing a healthy lifestyle—good nutrition, physical fitness, positive ways of coping with stress, creating healthy environments, and taking responsibility for one’s own health and well-being.

II. Make the elimination of social and environmental causes of illness a national priority.

We must recognize that much of our nation’s ill health is environmentally induced. Industrial pollution in its myriad forms has found its way into every aspect of our daily lives. The National Institute of Health has recently stated that 80 percent of all cancers are caused by environmental carcinogens. A recent study revealed that male sperm counts have dramatically decreased over the past 40 years, probably due to chemical pollutants such as PCBs.

It is clear that taking responsibility for one’s own health involves political and social activism. We can no longer entrust the quality of our environment to our governmental bureaucracies and to big business. All of us, individually and collectively, must use our political power and our social conscience to insure quality of our physical and social environments, and to eliminate the causes of environmental degradation. The health of our children and our children’s children will also depend on the decisions that we as a society make today.

III. Provide health insurance incentives for positive health practices.

This would involve rewarding people who live and practice the principles of good health maintenance through lower health insurance rates. People who choose to eat right, smoke cigarettes, drink excessively, etc., have the right to do so, but these unhealthy choices should be reflected in their health insurance bills.

Our present insurance policies should actually be called “disease-care insurance”, because they cover only the treatment of disease. Incentives for learning positive health practices and disease prevention activities (e.g., health days as well as sick days off work) should be implemented.

IV. Make freedom of choice in health care a national priority.

Allopathic medicine has had a virtual monopoly as the only “legitimate” form of health care since the Flexner Report in 1913. The public is now demanding the right to choose alternative (but no less effective or legitimate) forms of health care, and we must guarantee the right of the people to do so. The exercise of free choice in the use of mind-altering drugs must be met with education and therapeutic support, not with punishment and violence.

Health insurance policies should cover a broad range of holistic practices as well as traditional Western medical treatments. This would mean that holistic health practices (nutritional counseling, stress reduction training, massage, acupuncture, homeopathy, etc.) must be legitimized, and that licensing and standards of practice must be developed.
ST AND LORENA\n
STATEMENT ABOUT WELLNESS CAUCUS
by Peggy Taylor

It’s obvious that we’re facing a health care crisis in our society unprecedented in proportions. Health care costs are rising faster than we can keep up with them, and the solutions that the Western medical machine are trying to come up with are not working as well as people would like. At the same time as the Western medical establishment keeps trying to push forward its solutions, a holistic movement has been rising out of the grass roots; this holistic movement offers some real alternatives which are not as yet being widely recognized. Holistic health recognizes and treats the essential unity of body, mind and spirit, and it works on the connections between individual health and a healthy environment. We see health not as the absence of disease but as a state of vitality and personal actualization.

I feel that there is an openness on the part of the American people to look at alternative solutions to health care. I think now is the time for all of us involved in health care to bring our solutions forth.

The areas we propose to talk about in the Health Caucus are as follows: 1) wellness, which is making health education, disease prevention and health promotion a national priority; 2) dealing with environmental issues, which is making the elimination of social and environmental causes of illness a national priority; 3) coming up with an alternative health insurance plan which provides health insurance incentives for positive practices and which provides health insurance coverage for alternative treatments; and finally, an issue which I feel is most important at this point, freedom of choice. This is a question of establishing and insisting on the freedom of individuals in this society to make choices concerning our own health care and the health care of our children. At this point this freedom doesn’t exist in this society; a lot of people don’t recognize that. I essentially believe that each of us as individuals know within ourselves the answers to our own health problems and, I think we need to focus on this at this point.

George Leonard and Peggy Taylor

WILL SCHUTZ

I want to raise four points: First, what is holistic health? then I want to talk about truth, choice, limitlessness, and a health plan that will embody these ideas.

First of all, when people talk about holistic health, my first impression is that we all mean different things by it. As a first step we should find out exactly what we mean by holistic health. There are at least four types of holistic health discussions that I have found.

One of them is be nice to people, more or less humanistic. It is the one that most doctors talk about when they think of holistic health. That is, don’t let people stay in the waiting room too long and treat them like human beings. A second meaning is the use of alternative methods. We can also use acupuncture, rolfing, imagery, massage, and so forth. A third meaning is in terms of responsibility—patients are responsible for their cures, for getting well. A fourth meaning, and probably the deepest and most controversial, is that people can choose to be ill in the first place. It is this last meaning of holistic health that I advocate. For me holistic health means that we all choose our illnesses for very specific reasons, and these reasons can be delineated. When we become ill, there is a wonderful opportunity to learn why we chose to get ill, and therefore become much more integrated individuals.

The second point I want to make is that I think the basis of most holistic health approaches has to do with telling the truth. I believe that every illness is a result of a conflict of which we are not aware. Therefore, the way in which illness can be dealt with is to tell the truth, not only to other people but to ourselves. And the more truth we tell, the healthier we are. The second important principle, I believe, is the whole idea of personal choice. I believe that we choose everything in our whole lives, beginning before conception, going all the way through pre-natal, and then when we’re out of the womb. And we always have chosen that. The belief in that, or at least the assumption, is what will lead to incredible changes in our lives. Part of that belief is that we are, in fact, limitless, which I think is a very important aspect of this idea. We have only the limits that we believe we have. As we get over the idea of having limits and focus on the fact that we don’t, marvelus things occur.

The final thing that I want to talk about is a health plan that I’ll give you briefly in outline. There’s no way in which our health can be taken care of in the present Carter-Kennedy type approaches. No matter how much money and how many machines, people cannot be kept healthy, if they don’t cooperate in their own health. I propose to reward people for keeping fit. The way that would be done is to set up Wellness Centers or Fitness Centers; people would go have their health diagnosed and be given a plan for keeping themselves in good condition. At the end of the year they would again be tested to find out what percentage of what they could be that they really are. That is, if they’re as healthy as their condition allows them to be, then they get 100%. That percentage would be used as a percentage of health care that they are paid, if they go into the hospital. In other words, if they keep themselves 100% healthy and they do go to the hospital, they will get 100% paid for.

continued...
GEORGE LEONARD

We often think that the establishment can't change; it's too big, too powerful. Well, it really can change when it's threatened with bankruptcy or other dire things. The underlying reason why I think we can make some progress in re-allocating governmental and private funds towards holistic health and away from allopathic medicine is that it makes good economic sense. For example, Phil Lee, one of the world's leading authorities on preventive medicine, said, and I think this is conservative, that if we could suddenly end all abuse of tobacco, automobiles and alcohol, over half of the hospital beds in America would be empty. And that doesn't even address the incredible overuse of sugar, which has increased ten fold since 1900. What I would like to talk about is how we, through political action, can encourage re-allocation of funds from such things as massive wars on cancer and other diseases towards a massive promotion of good health.

I've often said that if only the United States Federal Government could give any of us who can go to television and the media just half of the money that is now being spent due to the adverse side effects of drugs in hospitals alone, then we could make a really tremendous change in the health of America. That would be 2.25 billion dollars; 4.5 billion dollars are being spent every year on the side effects of drugs and hospitals alone.

Already this kind of thing is beginning to happen. Only recently California's Office of Statewide Health Planning came out with a health plan that downgrades the role of hospitals and upgrades the role of changes in lifestyles. 

REDA SOBKY

The self-directed use of mind-altering substances must be met with right education and therapeutic support, not with punishment and violence. The war on drugs is still with us. The social cost of this war both in terms of human suffering and waste resources is still exorbitant. How can we justify breaking up a family by incarcerating a parent for simply being under the influence of a mind-altering drug, particularly when the individual is in the privacy of their own home, doing no demonstrable harm to anyone? Last year, there were 450,000 marijuana arrests. Do we want to support the immediate removal of the prohibition of marijuana? Alcohol and tobacco remain in the hands of free enterprise to promote and idealize. Both of these substances are clearly among the most poisonous of all drugs. Do we want to take a position regarding alcohol and tobacco advertising and promotion? On the other hand, professionally directed drug use is reaching phenomenal proportion. Everybody who seems to be having a difficult time and seeks help is given a diagnosis and recruited into patienthood. Pharmaceutical treatments continue to proliferate. And large sums of money are spent advertising to physicians their use to control or cure mythical mental illnesses. The medication is chosen by the physician and sometimes administered against the patient's will. Do we want to take a position regarding forced medication for anyone? How does prescribed medication fit into the humanistic growth model of therapy?
LEONARD CAUCUS REPORT

Our group came up with about 30 ideas, and I’ve been asked to bring this list down to about five or ten.

Our goal was to educate the public to the vision of good health as the norm, educating the media, and eliciting the media’s help to incorporate in their work, the model of wellness and good health; 2) to maintain funding to document case studies of wellness, and to do this through the media; 3) at the workplace, to compensate employees for work days not taken; 4) to establish wellness community centers, tax incentive for participation at these centers; 5) to revamp the educational curriculum for doctors and all teachers on all levels to include courses on holistic health, environment, including light and air, food, exercise, stress reduction, positive self-image; 6) set up health retreats where people can experience good health, so that poor health no longer feels normal; 7) small neighborhood support groups to aid in the education and transition from poor, unhealthy living to healthy living; neighbors getting together in each other’s homes and sharing information; 8) stimulating government grants to test effectiveness of alternative health methods; 9) demonstrate the economic feasibility of small farms emphasizing organic food as an alternative to agribusiness; 10) using military technology for ecology, using military bases as model research centers and educational facilities for health care, agriculture and recycling, small industries, solar units, and geriatric studies.

SOBKY CAUCUS REPORT

Consensus seemed to come around the issue of informed choice in relationship to taking all drugs, whether they be drugs that are currently prohibited or prescribed by medical professionals: freedom of choice based on informed choice. There was unanimous agreement that nobody should be forced to take medicine against their will.

Another issue brought up that the group agreed was important was setting limits in regard to the public safety and the public health in relationship to the use of drugs, in that an individual using a drug in the privacy of their own home is one thing, but when it becomes a matter of public concern then the feeling was that limits needed to be set. There was some disagreement on who should decide what limits should be set; some felt that the government should be responsible for that, but there was also resistance to having that put in the hands of the government; there was some suggestion that that should be developed by private organizations.

There was a lot of emphasis on education and the development of places where people can obtain unbiased information on drugs and their effects rather than the propaganda-based information that is currently available; this information should also be developed and provided by private groups or nonprofit organizations.

The point was also brought up that there should be a greater attention paid to alternative measures of achieving peace of mind through meditation and other means.

There was a general feeling also expressed that people will make the choice that is best for them and that each individual should be responsible in making that choice in relationship to the medical profession, that both the doctor and the patient should make that decision together in a model based on informed and advised choice rather than just consent.

TAYLOR CAUCUS REPORT

We felt that it’s not a question whether a particular therapy is or isn’t effective—that’s a very complex question—a research, a policy and an ethical question. The question, then, is should individuals have freedom of choice, or should government play more of a paternalistic role in deciding whom we should go to and what types of therapy should be offered.

We also recognized there are certain risks in having that freedom of choice, and there are certain risks in not having it; there are risks in going to a non-orthodox practitioner and then there are risks in going to a traditional practitioner.

We felt it was more than the freedom of choice in therapy, as written up in the position paper; we should have more than freedom of choice of our own doctor, we should have the freedom to choose whatever practitioner or educator important to us.

Along with these rights, there was consensus that there are also responsibilities of consumers and citizens, of individuals, to make the best informed choice, of practitioners to supply the adequate information about their background, experience and present services to consumers, and of policy makers, rather than to serve as regulators of health care, to educate the public how to make the informed choice, and then to provide access to accurate information and resources.

Other issues that were brought up around freedom of choice were freedom of choice to live and freedom of choice to die, the freedom to refuse treatment—that was particularly brought up around some mental health care that is forced on individuals; there was question too about if children should also be given freedom of choice, who would make that decision; we recognized, too, that in freedom of choice all too often there’s an economic constraint; many of us are able financially to have freedom of choice where many others cannot.

SCHUTZ CAUCUS REPORT

Some of the ideas that came up were the ideas of self-responsibility. The issues that were raised were the issues of congenital illness, or what happens when a child contracts leukemia at the age of three, and so on. The response to that was that these choices are made even prior to birth and parenting.

The other issues were, how does this relate to health and the insurance plan—how to avoid the process of testing health; how do you evaluate health; the concept of illness as integration; how to do it at the work place, and how do you get feedback from body wisdom in evaluation?

The theoretical beliefs and plans about choices is a total belief, and starts before birth. The essence picks out the body to work out the old karma and in this way these things occur.

There was an emphasis on environmental factors not as a crucial issue but simply as factors. We discussed the idea of controlling our bodies to make use of our full body functions: how to metabolize food to the best effect.

But all of this has to come from making a real decision that that seemed to be primary issue, that the focus is an...
Wellness continued

internal one and that the focus is on consciousness regarding choice each instant. The ways of helping people to know this were discussed, and what was set up were the ideas of education, using schools, businesses and so on as resources to help reach the public; finding ways through the media to help people to understand that they can take responsibility for their own health; and that this whole system of wellness and health is not a punitive idea at all, but one that a person can do because of making the correct choice for his or her life. This is what needs to be brought out in education, that this ability is within the individual if s/he chooses to make that choice.

There were many other suggestions made, but we don’t have the time to go into them now.

VASCONCELLOS CAUCUS REPORT

We talked about some issues of wellness, like pollution of the environment, lifestyle, ombudsman for patients’ rights, sugar warnings, tax energy consumption and so forth. We think they’re worthwhile and ought to be promoted in the proper time and place.

But we mainly talked about how to become politically active and effective, how to influence public policy decision making and how to mobilize for action. We talked about networking and the importance of people linking up to help each other, both to grow personally and to be politically and socially active and effective. We talked about educating those persons who currently hold positions of power politically—legislators or council members, board members or whoever else, who deal with health issues; it’s important to recognize their background, to approach them in a non-threatening manner, to understand their attitudes, and to find some ways of affecting their sense of what’s possible, what ought to be happening. The importance of helping candidates get elected who are committed to holistic alternatives was mentioned.

We talked about educating the media, which so much affects the public attitudes of what’s possible, and who in my experience so often seem to be cynical and scornful of those things which are human and holistic, new and different. It would be valuable if each one of us would attempt to educate or make more aware any person in the media whom we know.

We talked about visiting the Capitol, talking with legislators, educating people in power by experience-taking them to where it is that you do your programs, so that they become experientially aware.

We talked about some ideas that have been kicking around AHP for some time and I think it’s time to explore them some more—there ought to be some kind of an organized, linkage and network effort to enable all of us to become aware of what is happening in the Capitol, for example, and how we can get information back so people can become active as lobbyists on bills. There was a question whether AHP might at this point want to have a lobbyist in the State Capitol, and/or in the AHP Newsletter each month have a column on what is pending in the way of policy proposals for change in holistic health alternatives. We asked our group how many would be willing to contribute financially to support this kind of effort, and I’d say that about two-thirds of those there expressed that they were willing.

So we discussed how to mobilize ourselves for action.

Ruth Sobly is Director. Humanistic Alternatives Addiction Research and Treatment. Author: Understanding Heroism (forthcoming).

From the floor

Change the intent of food production to optimum human health, not to maximum corporate profits.

We all live in the terror of planetary death. It squeezes our hearts and clouds our hopes. It is deep rooted.

I favor a voucher system of health care financing: each individual is given a specific amount of health care monies to spend on any choice of health care, requiring careful choice and spending in the open marketplace.

With regard to the subject of the right to die, the emphasis should be placed on the right to choose to refuse medical treatment with the possible result of death and not on the right to die. The former brings to mind the notion of suicide while the latter does not.

I would like to suggest that you change each of the problems here and now into an opportunity. That’s the true essence of spirituality.

To me real spirituality is the ability to act as well as think and talk and present and rap. Daniel Ellsberg has put something on the floor as a proposal, which I think we should consider: to get behind a group like Mobilization for Survival or your chosen group, or go out and put some energy and bodies on the line, as well as your thoughts and good intentions. I feel like there’s an opportunity to do something that has some truth behind it and in my mind there’s no more important issue today. The nuclear threat that has been described by people here today makes everything else irrelevant. Helen Caldecott has said that we have a 40% chance of making it through the next ten years, and that scares the hell out of me, and if that doesn’t scare you I don’t think you’re really here.
From Theodore Roszak:

Ed's note:
Ted Roszak felt that his speech could not be properly translated from the spoken word to the written word, and we urge people to order the Cognetics tape that was made of this speech.

If I may just mention a few points he made: that the most immediate and universal threat to the rights of the planet and the rights of the person is war. Therefore we still need a peace movement. The system as a whole must be healed.

If the war system is to be de-structured and re-structured it must be by us from the bottom up. Leadership cannot do it for us because the leadership elites are working against us. The constituency for peace is us, at the grass roots.

If we are going to place peace at the hub of a humanistic politics, recognizing that it is not really the first priority, it is the prerequisite, it is the context in which all else must take place. We need not start from scratch; there is a backlog of research and thought dealing with the problem of re-structuring national politics, humanizing it, democratizing it. We have such materials and resources still available to us dealing with reduction of diplomatic tension, conflict resolution, crisis intervention, peacekeeping, enforceable world laws, nonviolent defense, real disarmament with real inspection.

What can AHP add to that body of work? It can 1) create a special awareness of the macho element in international relations; the nation-state system is the male ego institutionalized and imposed upon millions of men and women; 2) develop a vivid and painful awareness of the capacity within all of us for the self-enslavement to authority.

I feel the present Harris and Gallup polls have been a debilitating effect on those movements which are headed towards positive change in the world.

I think it could be most helpful for the New Age community to organize a polling committee.

The polls should be taken from the population at large, asking questions that "we" feel are relevant to life on our planet.

We should conduct these polls with total integrity leaving no room for the public or the media to sluff it off lightly.

These polls can serve as a bellwether for the New Age community. How are we doing? What are we leaving out? What greater opportunities are available?

A Personal/Political Pledge:

I give myself permission to exercise my personal power in all areas of my life because: I am a valuable human being. I can make a difference. I have the right to be heard and to be seen.—written by women for all human beings;
Nancy Steuck, Nancy Anderson, Suzanne Sage, Marjorie Minger.

As we move from psychology to humanistic psychology to humanistic politics we have to move from planning things for other people for their own good to allowing them to participate in planning and politicizing and empowering themselves. While thinking the people who organized this conference I want to also ask the AHP leadership, which is our organization, to be very careful to use the techniques that we all know, to employ participatory planning for conferences that happen in the future. Otherwise AHP will not be a political movement, it will be a road show, and I don't want to see that happen. I'm talking about techniques such as open free conferences, open mikes, even if in a separate forum during conferences, general calls to the whole membership to participate in the planning of conferences. If we do not have these kinds of mechanisms we will not be everything that we can be.

How can I feel secure without Blue Cross?
The Destiny of America

by Rollo May

These are all wonderful things that are being suggested here today, but if there is a nuclear war they will all go down the drain. I wonder if some of our concern about these noble things is possibly a defense against our own despair about the possibility of nuclear war. We have seen in the past few weeks how close we are to a nuclear war, how we could slide down the toboggan—we have already begun to slide down—into an atomic conflagration. And if there is any war at all among the big powers, we can be sure it will be a nuclear war.

It is firmly established that the United States government some 27 years ago intervened to overthrow the people's government of Iran, and that Allen Dulles took the Shah to Teheran in his private plane to make him an absolute ruler of that nation and to protect the profits of the big oil companies. Is it any wonder that the people of Iran hate us and regard us as their enemy? I began to puzzle about why we made this gross mistake of letting the Shah come to New York; he could have gone to France or Mexico or to a number of other places. It turns out that because he has been a friend of the US, and particularly a friend of David Rockefeller, and whose billions Rockefeller takes care of, and of Henry Kissinger, who had used the Shah in his Near Eastern plans, we let him in. There seems to be a very simplistic morality going on; that kind of morality led to the endangering of the lives of 50 hostages, to a great upset in this country and to the Russian aggression in Afghanistan. The Russians would not have moved into Afghanistan except that we were preoccupied in Iran. It led to the rearming of the US, and it led us from these many different angles to the verge of a nuclear war.

Politics is the art of the possible, and the possible certainly became the great problem in the last couple of months.

The simplistic morality that we in the US have been known for covers up the absence of a profound morality in our nation which we desperately need. Whatever moral structure we had in this nation was partly eroded by Ford's pardon of Nixon before any trial, eroded by the tragic immorality of the Vietnam war, and also partially eroded by a speech that President Carter made some months ago on our loss of confidence. Is that the confidence that our oil supplies will soon be restored? Is it the confidence in the stock market? Is it the confidence in the political party? Is it the confidence that the United States will always remain the most powerful nation in the world? No one seems to realize that it is precisely these confidences that have led us
into the state of malaise we’re now in, into the state of despair that many of us feel and a great number of us repress.

The American Dream is dead, there’s no doubt about that. The Horatio Alger myth that Americans can change a little bit here and change a little bit there and everything is going to be fine, the Horatio Alger dream that we can marry the boss’s daughter, become wealthy, and become anything we wish—this is now dead, and we might as well face this fact. The requiem for it was the tremendously significant book of F. Scott Fitzgerald’s—The Great Gatsby. Gatsby’s life exemplifies this American dream. Anybody can change and can become anything he wants to. He can marry his sweetheart, live happily ever after. Gatsby, you will recall, changed his name, he changed his accent by going to Oxford, he changed his clothes, he bought a big house on Long Island and he made a lot of money bootlegging. Then comes the tragic ending. The fabulous dance orchestras are silent. Gatsby’s big house is empty. Daisy has gone back to a rich husband and Gatsby’s body lies floating in his own swimming pool. This occurs about three-quarters of the way through the novel, and Fitzgerald spends the rest of the pages talking about the consciousness of America, indicating that the American dream which he has been portraying is now gone. On this last page there come these words “Gatsby had come a long way to this blue lawn, and his dream must have seemed so close that he could hardly fail to grasp it. He did not know that it was already behind him, somewhere back in that vast obscurity beyond the city, where the dark fields of the republic rolled on under the night. Gatsby believed in the green light, the orgiastic future that year-by-year recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that’s no matter. Tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther and one fine morning—So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past.”

This tragedy ends with the myth of Sisyphus. We beat on, always pushed back into the past. This tragedy is what happens when a human being or a nation denies its destiny. No amount of sweetness and light is going to solve our political problems or is going to keep us out of nuclear war. We forget that vast numbers of people subconsciously want war because war then gives a focus for their hatred, gives same place for this repressed despair to go to. I think that Pogo shows considerably more wisdom: “We have met the enemy and he is us.”

We in the 20th century require new myths on which to found our nation. I use the word myths not at all as meaning its deteriorated form—falsehood. Myth is the non-material structure on which society is based, and from which we draw our morality. We must replace the myth of American military might with the myth of the integration of all the people of the earth. As Don Michael so well puts it—even the use of the word “country” is already an anachronism. We need to see that the myth of our economic structure, our economic system based on free enterprise, is now bankrupt, and we must replace it with the myth that depicts the resources of the world—whether it be oil under the ground, or diamonds under a mountain, or gold mineral from the earth—that this belongs to all the people on the earth. And thirdly we must readjust or reform our myth of Horatio Alger which says each man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost. This must be replaced by some myths of community. We need a new myth of nature, in which we will no longer see nature as something to exploit, as in atomic power, but will be a cooperation with nature. We need to look more deeply and see that much of what we call honesty among ourselves is really hypocrisy. That might help us to develop a moral empathy with the other nations less gifted than our land, less gifted with a land as lush as ours.

There are signs that we in America are entering a time when we can no longer camouflage or repress our despair, and many of us are worried about that. But we know in therapy that the times of despair are essential to the discovery on the part of the client of his or her hidden capacities and basic assets. The function of despair is to wipe away our superficial ideals, our simplistic political morality. It acts like the flood in the Old Testament, it washes away and requires us to give up our self-centered demands on the universe. It means letting go in the zen sense. As I consider that there may be another flood and this flood may well be the atomic war, I hope with every drop of blood in my body that this can be avoided. But the dark night of the soul, as it is often put, and as John Bunyan put it, the flower of despondency, are necessary to go through if one is to arrive at any better system.

Joe Campbell points out that the hero must confront death. He must confront dismemberment. He must be willing to confront those things if he is ever to find the treasure. After the Augean stables are cleansed by our despair, the one thing left is possibility.

We all stand on the edge of life, each moment comprising that edge and before us is only possibility. I profoundly hope that we use this possibility not only to fight each battle politically, according to our own ethics, to stand for what we believe, as certainly we must do, but even more, that we anticipate the death of this society and the new myth on which a new society can be born. Perhaps we shall re-discover the meaning of that proclamation 28 centuries ago: Let justice roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream.
Energy/Resources

WORKING STATEMENT

Sim Van Der Ryn

What is Energy?

In the material sense, "energy" is the ability to do work. Its only source on this planet is the sun. Every source of energy we use is derived from the sun, and stored through complex and interdependent natural cycles and systems. The most important of these include the conversion of sunlight and basic chemical materials into living plant matter through photosynthesis, the decomposition of complex living matter into simpler chemical compounds, and the water and climate cycles of the earth. Energy is continuously flowing through and concentrated in ecosystems where it is available as "income" for human uses. What is most often exclusively thought of as "energy" in today's society — oil, natural gas, coal — is a fixed store of solar energy trapped in prehistoric forests, a fossil fuel subsidy that is rapidly being depleted.

What is the Energy Problem?

There is no energy problem. There is a problem of matching the needs and expectations of human society to what natural processes of the planet can provide continuously. In the Western world, we have passed the point of diminishing returns so that ever-greater energy use no longer results in improvements in the human or individual condition. The imbalance between our use of energy and what the planet provides creates instability at every level of human society. Energy overload destroys structure in the family, in the neighborhood, in the city, in the individual. The problem around energy is a problem of addiction. It is an addiction far more destructive than heroin or alcohol. It is more destructive because it affects everyone. Energy addiction is built into our cities, our workplaces, every aspect of our experience.

If a cheap, inexhaustible and safe form of energy were discovered tomorrow, it would not bring us happiness, or fulfillment, or a better life. It would be one more drug further alienating us from ourselves, our brothers and sisters, and our natural home on Earth.

What Can We Do?

We can lever our technology and habits to make better use of our existing fossil fuels. This is the conservation strategy and buys time. It means more efficient, less wasteful housing, transportation and living patterns. We can adopt new as well as ancient technologies that convert renewable sources of solar energy into useful products.

This strategy is that of sustainability. Designing a sustainable society that permits a transition to the solar age is possible. The main problem is getting people to see that it is possible, desirable, and perhaps the only alternative to extinction. Change is possible when we realize there are better alternatives. Change begins with the personal commitment to end one's addiction, in small ways first. It grows as people come together with friends and neighbors to change the patterns in their community that support energy addiction and waste. It can only be successful if the entire web of agreements and institutions are able to adapt themselves to a new ethic and a new reality.

A Ten-and-a-Half Point Program for Individual, Community and Government Action:

1. Examine your addiction: Do a personal energy audit.
2. Produce more, consume less: Meet your needs more simply and directly.
3. Create local self reliance: Develop renewable energy paths for communities and regions.
4. End automania: Get out of the car and into walkable community transportation, or on your feet.
5. Use human potential: Develop valuable people, not useless things.
6. Reform tax structure: Instead of sloth, speculation, selfishness, reward frugality, productivity, and economics of permanence.
7. Shift from a policy of resource exhaustion to resource sustainability: Adopt a national energy plan that gives highest priority to the renewable energy path.
8. Build solar villages: Create national models of sustainable communities by integrating diverse renewable energy sources, conservation, and wise land use.
9. Build no new power plants: Increase electrical supply by using what we have more intelligently.
10. Adopt an energy bill of rights: Set consumption standards that guarantee each of us equal access to necessary amounts of basic energy and resources at fair prices. Tax use about the base line, rebate for use below it. Limit government's role to allocation; stop government dictating how to use what we get.

10 ½. As Humpty Dumpty falls, support friends, integrity and truth; plant gardens, trees; build the commons; scale down, diversify, decentralize, humanize, humorize; say "no" to more, find balance with what is.
WILLIS HARMAN

One predominant voice here today emphasizes personal transformation—small groups from the grass roots keeping a positive vision and bringing about the transformation. And indeed we will, but it's going to be threatening as hell to an awful lot of people who are caught in some big institutions to have their identities involved. So there's the point of view that if you see conflict, if you talk about conflict, if you talk about the negative and the fact that some people are going to get hurt, that somehow destroys the positive vision and prevents it from coming about.

Then there's another one, maybe not quite as well represented here, that insists that we not overlook evil, that we not overlook the way that institutions imprison people, that we recognize the possibility of scarcities and of system breakdowns. There's a basic conflict here, not just a conflict between the haves and the have-nots, or one kind of an economic system versus another, or a conflict over regions or generations, but it's such a fundamental conflict that it's hard for us to appreciate it and keep it in mind. Not since the end of the Middle Ages have we come to challenge what is the conventional view of the basic nature of ourselves, the basic nature of this society, the basic nature of our relationship to the universe. That's not been in question in the way that it is right now and that makes some people feel exhilarated, but it makes some people feel very threatened. There are ways of going about this that could bring about a conflict among the transformers that could be as bitter as some of the religious wars were at the end of the Middle Ages. And if we, who are the positive vision transformers, have blind spots with regard to this, then we will tend to have people turn to those kinds of leaders who recognize, who acknowledge conflict, and who say they have ways of dealing with it. Now these two voices necessarily contradict. But we need to look at them both.

There comes a point when we look at things in another way. You make all your choices differently when you look at them in another way. And when you get down to that deepest level of what we're dealing with, it has a lot to do with the healing of the factions in between. We're beginning to realize that, when we look at that deepest level, it's really true that only the smallest part of our mental activity is conscious. And that in those unconscious processes we distort our perceptions, we affect our boundaries and our goals. It's really true that in those processes out of consciousness there's also the creative intuitive part of which we can ask for a certain amount of steering signals. It's really true that at that level, we're all interconnected, we're all one. The whole perception of ourselves underlying institutional reform, which in turn underlies the obvious energy issues and nuclear threat issues, is up for grabs. We need to keep that in mind if we're going to do this in a healing way. The real transformation is in awareness, it's in perceiving oneness and in the ultimate power of people to change their minds and hence to change what we call reality.

MARTHA HOCK

I guess I'm the only foreigner on this panel; I'm from Des Moines, Iowa, that arctic region in middle America. Isn't it strange that the grass is always greener in somebody else's backyard? Because when I'm in Iowa, guess who I use as my shining example of progressiveness—it's California. You have progressive solar incentives, you have a governor who speaks rather vehemently on nuclear power, you have utility life-line rate structures. In case you did not know about it, you have a good example of mass transit.

I am concerned about the environment, and I'm billed as an environmental activist. I think we are all concerned about the environment. And I recognize that I am part of this problem that I am concerned about.

Let me give you one little example about what I mean. I took a stretch, 727 jet from Des Moines to San Francisco; we took on 4,200 gallons of fuel. There were 72 people on board. We traveled 1,908 miles, which means that we got 59 gallons per person or 32 miles per gallon per person. That's not bad, but let's take another look from a global perspective.

From all the known fossil fields in the world today, my entire life equivalent would be one cup of oil and five pounds of coal, if it were equally distributed. This causes me to ponder and recognize that I indeed am part of the problem.

I am part of a grass-roots movement in Iowa called Citizens United for Responsible Energy. We started six years ago with one primary concern. That primary concern was nuclear power and the crucial issues surrounding the industry. This would include the tremendous danger posed by the nuclear arms race. Since then, our concerns have branched out into alternative sources of energy, conservation and energy efficiency. We have congressional representation in every district and we have linked up with other groups, so that we have a very elaborate fabric flowing throughout Iowa.

I think there is a possibility for the communities in the San Francisco Bay Area to link up with one another, weave their own fabric and come up with their own comprehensive energy plan. This would offer perhaps an energy savings of 30 to 50% and an opportunity to work together toward a greater community spirit. We have a good model going for us on the west coast—Portland, Oregon. Portland has reduced its energy consumption by 34%. But to get this started, you have to give people a push. In my caucus, we're going to discuss that.
DON MICHAEL

I take my text from the last line in Sim’s working statement. After talking about all the things that need to be done and presumably can be done, he says that a transformation can only be successful if the entire web of agreements and institutions are able to adapt themselves to a new ethic and a new reality. Let me make some straightforward assertions.

If we’re going to meet the condition that Sim sets out—shift in the entire web of agreements and institutions—muddling through isn’t going to do it, though that’s helpful during some times and in places. Let me indicate why muddling through isn’t going to do it, why we have to be proactive rather than reactive, why we have to plan rather than simply respond. We can think about how we would like things to be if everything were in place. But the fact is, that for all the time that’s important to us, nothing is going to be in place. We’re going to be stuck with a transition and it’s going to be exhilarating and terrifying, rewarding, and terribly painful, depending on who we are and where we are. And when I say “we”, I don’t mean just the good souls in this room, I mean a lot of other people all over the planet, including some four-and-a-half billion people who are very much involved in the energy issue, among others. The ‘transition isn’t going to go away for the rest of our lives. We’re simultaneously stuck with the large and the small, with the complex and the simple, with the separate and the interactive. There’s no way, no matter how much we do locally, that’s going to obviate or eliminate those profound conceptual and operational problems.

That means, then, among other things, that we’re going to have to learn how to use high technology in order to develop ways of using simpler technology on a global scale. It isn’t going to be done by doing things only locally.

Secondly, we’re going to have to learn how to use organizations at many levels to facilitate transforming, redistributing, reallocating, making new laws and exchanging information in order that these things can be done on a local, regional, national, global level. We’re going to have to learn how to do those things because we’ve never done them before. In other words, we have to emphasize and work on how to become a learning society. We have to learn how to get through the transition.

So what I would like to work on in my group are the problems of learning how to engage these issues simultaneously in the large and in the small. Since if we now aren’t doing that, we cannot expect to have a bunch of small actions add up to a large good. That’s simply an updated version of the hidden hand that Adam Smith started big way back in the theory of the free economy—that if everybody does their own thing it’ll add up to the public good. We know that doesn’t work with the economy; my strong suspicion is that it doesn’t work in any area, no matter how good-willed we are.

WALT VOIGT

There are some things I’d like you to know. Uranium miners suffer four times the incidence of lung cancer than others. Over 100 million tons of radioactive uranium mine tailings are piled up all over the country. Emitting radioactive radon gas and dust. Uranium mine tailings, still radium active, were used to build sidewalks, streets and homes in West Chicago and Grand Junction, Colorado.

Plutonium—a man-made product from uranium—is the most toxic substance that we know of. It remains radioactive for hundreds of thousands of years; one one-millionth of an ounce can cause cancer and birth defects in humans. A typical nuclear power plant produces 400-500 pounds of plutonium every year. Plutonium has contaminated rivers in New Mexico, Arizona, Washington, South Carolina and Colorado.

There are 71 operating nuclear power plants in this country, with about 150-200 more planned by the year 2000. At least two are near earthquake faults, including our very favorite, Diablo Canyon. One plant in the Philippine Islands is being built at the foot of an active volcano. Nuclear power plants operate for a life span of 30-35 years and must then be closed. We don’t know what to do with them after we close them. Virtually every nuclear waste disposal facility constructed by the United States government has started to leak radioactive waste into the environment. We suffer in this country from nuclear constipation. Vast amounts of radioactive waste continue to accumulate without any demonstrably safe permanent means of waste disposal. And 80% of that nuclear waste is from government weapons production. The transportation of nuclear waste poses another significant health hazard, as it travels over our heads in airplanes, on the railways, and on highways. In a five year period, ending in 1978, there were 118 accidents which released radioactivity into our environment.

Each trident submarine carries enough missile warheads to destroy 408 cities at separate sites.

Now, I’d like to pose a question: who’s responsible? Who did all these things? Was it them: the power-hungry politicians? The unethical corporations? Mad scientists? War-mongers in the Pentagon? Of course, it’s futile to assign blame, but if you find yourself feeling victimized, it may be instructive to assume you played some role in all of this, that your own behavior actually contributed to what you see in this frightening picture. So, how have we contributed to what we see around us? What have we been up to?

I believe that the common denominator is inaction. At one level inaction is understandable. Haven’t we felt pretty well taken care of these years? Within our cultural structure, we’ve experienced confidence in the judgment of scientists. We’ve trusted that large corporations would make wise decisions, with our health and safety in mind. We believe most politicians are motivated to serve the public. We’ve also conceived of the earth as a grand Santa Claus with unlimited gifts to give us in support of our consumptive habits.
Walt Voigt continued

The anti-nuclear movement is about taking action. It is about action in behalf of health, safety and well-being, for ourselves, individually, collectively and generations yet to be born. Anti-nuclear activism is not a single-issue movement, nor is it grounded solely in oppositional activity. The anti-nuclear movement actively opposes nuclear weapons production and proliferation, supports conservation, promotes renewable and safe alternative energy sources and encourages the protection of the environment. It's a movement toward humanistic values, toward a positive vision in this society, toward awareness, toward physical and mental health, toward union with Mother Earth, and toward community as we move forward together toward a simpler life-style. Perhaps most importantly, anti-nuclear activism offers us the opportunity to actualize our human potential by grounding our values in form.

The challenge seems to be to move through our feelings of despair or helplessness in the nuclear age, and to fully manifest ourselves and our values actively in the world. If we spent the 70s getting in touch with ourselves, then perhaps we can spend the 80s touching society as we emerge from a strong center. It is simply time to do it.

There are many ways to participate in the anti-nuclear movement. You can educate yourself about the nuclear issues, and share your reactions with your friends and co-workers. You can picket, you can leaflet, you can protest, you can participate in non-violent actions. You can write the legislators, power companies, or the Pentagon. You can find a way to mention nuclear issues as you speak publicly, as you teach, or as you have dinner with your family. Albert Einstein said it all in 1946: "To the village square we must carry the facts of atomic energy." You can join with concerned others, in a local anti-nuclear group, you can volunteer time, energy and/or financial support to organizations that work for the health of the planet. So the doors to action are open. Do you care to walk through?

Walt Voigt is licensed as a clinical psychologist and as a marriage, family and child counselor. He is a founder of AHP's Nuclear Free Coalition.

From the floor

I want to make you aware that there are developments in the new physics, which in principle might offer solutions to a lot of our problems. One real possibility that has arisen very recently is that we might be able to neutralize nuclear weapons at a distance. When I say neutralize them, I mean that they won't go off. This also means that we could develop a technology that would make nuclear reactors safe. We can also artificially cause the radioactive decay products from reactors to be rendered harmless in a very short amount of time. The same technology coming out of the new physics also offers us the prospect of physical immortality. I mean extension of life. It is possible in principle to reprogram the DNA molecule, so that we can expect a life span of 3,000 years without aging. This is a realistic goal within the new physics. In terms of solving the energy crisis, there's a short-term approach and a long-term approach. The short-term applies the same techniques that possibly can be used to neutralize nuclear weapons at a distance or to design artificial, synthetic fuel molecules that would be relatively pollution-free. What is involved in all this is a very detailed picture of the study of motion of complex, correlated quantum systems. We can apply it on any level whether it is the electronic level of chemistry, the nuclear level.

This could give us all the energy we need on this planet, enable us to build a starship fleet to colonize the galaxy. These are the objectives of the new physics. We know what to do—we need the resources. Then we'll do it.

Laws can be written as self-organizing systems instead of as constraints on individual behavior, so that people have a choice in behavior that will fulfill the purpose of the legislation.

Macro-constraints, in contrast to micro-constraints, are across-the-board and don't encourage resistance and red tape.

As an example, Los Angeles required every household to use 10% less energy (each chose their own way) or pay a 50% surcharge. There were no complaints and there was a 12% drop in energy consumption.

The solutions are difficult to implement, even if you come up with one or two. I'm looking for independent video productions to distribute by satellite—it's called New Earth Television Work System. There is a lot of video that's been done to document the alternatives that are available, to show that solutions exist; these are being suppressed by the media because their advertisers don't like it.

Left: AHP staff at the membership table: Don Cooper, Tom Greening, Kim Rouse, Susan Burns
The Political Process

WORKING STATEMENT

by Jacqueline Doyle

A political system which does not live by its stated values degenerates. Unkept political promises and secrecy in decision-making have undercut the confidence of the electorate. The body politic is ill. It has trafficked too long in distrust. The people are disaffected, feeling powerless to be heard, to influence the political process. A grassroots protest, signifying health, is welling up: a protest against deceit in politics, against runaway technology, against raped environments, against interpersonal violence, against economic imbalance and discrimination. In this protest rest the seeds of hope: a renewed clarity of values and purpose.

Reform movements have always relied on the invention of new forms or structures to create new directions. Today, however, there is less need for new form in politics than for new content, expressed in terms of human values, and a humane political process.

The body of ideas being expressed at this meeting represent a reform movement of another sort. As humanists and psychologists, we are addressing change at the interpersonal level of politics rather than structural change. We are moving from a history of theory and practice in personal growth and change to a responsible consideration of social change.

We seek a new political process equal to the task of governing wisely and fairly a planet of co-operative peoples interested in mutual survival through sharing of the earth's resources. The new co-operative solutions sought will not emerge through the outworn mechanisms of threat and coercion. Needs for control and governance certainly exist. Displays of power and force will not generate the mutual confidence and support needed between nations, communities or people.

The challenge of this new age lies in a process of transforming fear and mutual suspicion into trust between peoples. How is this massive task to be undertaken? Through a process of re-education of the people, beginning with the modeling of new forms of leadership in government.

We can suggest directions for the invention of a healthy political process:

1. Employ ecological assumptions: All of the elements necessary for the resolution of the current problem between people already exist. The solutions will become apparent when we remove the blocks to their recognition. Each element or person in the environment is intrinsically valuable to balance. For our preservation, we must actively fight discrimination: it denies us information.

2. Share responsibility and power: Through very broad and active mechanisms or participation, we heighten the speed and totality of feedback, correction and innovation of the political process. We need to build and connect local networks to the complex representative, democratic forms of governance. The creation of these networks, complete with facilitators trained in sharing listening and speaking skills, must become a national priority.

3. Practice truth: Truth is the most radical instrument available to us in changing our politics and our lives. It contains all the information sought. We are not referring here to popular truth, but to complex and complete truth on pertinent matters. This includes the admission that we do not know the answers: admissions to confusion, fatigue and lack of knowledge from leaders and "experts". Inherent in this practice is necessary training of the listener and speaker in the management of frustration, stress and anxiety. This education should begin in public elementary schools and continue to be made available to adults.

4. Train "new competencies": We need political leaders with the capacity to tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty, the ability to hear and honor multiple truths simultaneously, in addition to the above skills. We strongly urge value-confrontation as training.

5. Encourage self-help and self-responsibility: Through fiscal rewards and support for leadership, consultation and housing of homogenous problem-solving groups.

6. Establish local conflict-resolution centers: Mediation skills must be spread widely across and within cultures.

We are suggesting a broad-scale social experiment, never before attempted. It is unknown whether we, as a species, are equal to the challenge ahead. Leadership in this exploration will require courage, humility, and requests for guidance. We must all learn together.
MARK SATIN

(Steps to front of stage)

I never did like podiums. And I don't like stages much, either. But I want to talk with you now, so what can I do?

I was really dubious about this statement and the working paper, about moving from fear to trust. Of course I think ultimately that is the way we should go, but the truth is that I don't trust Carter now, I don't trust Exxon, and I don't trust people who don't know where they're coming from or what they want from life. Before we can move from fear to trust, all of us are going to have to become much more honest and much more clear about what we want—and our forthrightness will create a base for trust.

There is a statement in the working paper about how content is more important than form. I am afraid that emphasizing content over form is just standing the old revolutionary form-over-content on its head and I think we need to do something more than reverse that process. I think we need to have the courage of all our convictions and talk about change on the levels of content and form—however much that goes against the grain of the left wing (which pretty much refuses to talk about attitudes and values) and the right wing (which pretty much refuses to talk about structures).

The working paper refers to us a couple of times as a reform movement, and here's a good example of where we are using a weak and inaccurate term to cover what we really feel. We are not a reform movement. We are a movement for social and self-transformation. The changes we propose run much deeper and are much more thorough than reform (or revolution for that matter) and making those changes won't be easy. I was talking earlier about honesty as a basis for trust. Well, like everything else, honesty had better begin right here at home.

For me, and I think for New Age and transformational people generally, politics is all the ways we treat one another, as individuals, as groups and as governments, and all the ways we treat the environment, and all the ways we treat ourselves—internally, psychologically. When we define politics in this new way, we can see that the political process involves virtually every aspect of life—from the ways we make cars, and the fact that we choose to make cars rather than buses or bicycles, all the way over to the ways we make love. It is all political, and the point is to become aware of it and get good at it.

One reason that people aren't more aware of it or good at it has nothing to do with the reason suggested in the working paper. It is that we don't know how to put our ideas in the form of an ideology, in the form of a coherent analysis and strategy for change. Until we can show that our ideas are practical and concrete, and that they mesh, I think that people will be afraid of moving in a New Age or transformational direction. They'll be afraid to because they won't see how they can possibly get from here to there and because everytime people have moved over the last five decades they've just got themselves more of the same—more taxes, more bad housing, bigger government, bigger corporations. Until we can show people that by moving in our direction they'll get something other than more of the same, they won't move. And that's not apathy—that's folk wisdom.

What we also need is to help create a political organization that can take some of these ideas and manifest them in the real world. What would such an organization do? How would it spread its ideas? The amount of learning that we have to do in these areas is truly staggering. But I know this much: that until there is an organization that can take our ideas and make them practical and real for people, that can put them out for regular, average, ordinary Americans to relate to, our ideas will simply remain the property of a nice, warm, happy subculture. I love this subculture, but let's not kid ourselves. A subculture only attracts one kind of temperament; an organization can attract many.

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JIM HICKMAN

I never had an image of myself as being involved in politics. It happens that over the last ten years I've become very involved in studies of the Soviet culture and in the last two years, especially, I have been doing a lot of extensive study about certain areas of the Soviet Union. In November I came back from a two-month journey throughout the USSR, and as things have it, it turns out that I was one of the last Americans to travel in Soviet Central Asia before it recently closed down.

In line with the working statement, it seems that one of the things I am seeing in my own experience is that we are moving toward new styles of leadership, just as in individuals beginning to participate in international politics. And one of the things I've seen is that governments so far have not been able to solve the problems of the world. One of the things I am in favor of is individuals taking more of a role in international politics.

What I saw in my journey was, first of all, that the Soviets are people like us and whenever they found out that I was from the US, there was this extraordinary love and friendship exhibited toward me as an individual. I came across thousands of people that were just like you and me, who are totally committed to not having another war, to insuring that there will be peace in the world throughout their life, and to initiating ongoing exchanges with one another.

I found that in my attempt to change places with the Soviets, to look at the world through a Russian psychology, for instance, we can begin to learn more about why they relate to the world the way they do, and why we relate to the world the way we do. One of the things I would propose is that we would have more education about the nature of the Russian citizen. When I've found what the enemy is about—he or she is no longer my enemy.

The last thing in line with this working statement would be in truth telling. At the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Commission for the Development of Human Potential, where there is an ongoing program to coordinate all research in the Soviet Union, I told them the truth about what was going on in the US. When I came back here, I told the truth about what I saw in the USSR. I found that the Soviets are doing a lot of research in areas of human potential because they think we are, and we're doing a whole lot of research in areas of human potential because we think they are. It seems that this is a welcome change from the arms race. I call it the human race. 

continued
The Political Process continued

MICHAEL MURPHY

There is a richness of detail in Jim Hickman's story of his trip, like Marco Polo's story of his travels to the East. It seems quite clear that something is developing in the Soviet Union that is similar in many ways to what has happened in the US since the early 1960s, something we see in the growth of AHP and what we call the human potential movement—the interest in experimental therapies, parapsychology, altered states, personal growth, hidden reserves and so forth.

What we see is a development all around the world of a group of people interested in these kinds of things. It seems to me that we have an emerging world resource here, a group of people who can really meet together in some important new ways to explore ways—outside of governmental channels and within—toward friendship and toward the understandings of these dilemmas that all of our nations are going to come up against in this era of limits.

JACKIE DOYLE

I would like to challenge the popular assumption of our passive reliance on the use of expert and technical knowledge in the resolution of the world's political crises. In preference, I put forward the assumption that all the elements necessary for the resolution of the current problems already exist in our environment and in our hearts and minds. The problem is getting rid of the blocks—the human blocks to their emergence. I suggest we need to build and connect local networks to the complex representative forms of government that we have. The creation of these networks, complete with facilitators trained in sharing, listening and speaking skills must become a national priority.

We need to get the apathy out of the electorate at the local level and put some energy into the national level of politics. In order to invest ourselves, we must believe that our voices are heard somehow.

Let's teach conflict resolution at the local level, establish conflict resolution centers where mediation skills will be widely spread within and across cultures. Let's de-professionalize some of these skills that are thought of as therapeutic skills, get them to the people fast, because we need a same and therapeutic society to live within.

WILL SCHULTZ

I don't know exactly what doesn't fall into the political process, so I will tell you a few things I am interested in.

It is very important to change the world, as we are all here to do. I've been engaged in that ever since I was in college, and each time I get involved in a movement the world is on the brink. I suspect the world has been on the brink for the last several hundred years. I have a suspicion that if we accomplished all our goals, and we would change everyday to think as we do, and everyone would be wonderful, we still wouldn't be terribly happy. What I am saying is that I think like Bob Dylan said in Sony, "Why wait any longer for the world to begin?"

Let's assume that it will take a little while before we change the world and what are we going to do in the meantime? In the meantime I think it would be important to learn how can we enjoy each moment that we go through. And that has a great deal to do with the whole idea of choice and self-responsibility. For example, some of the things said here I don't totally agree with, the idea that we have to recognize the pain that we have to go through in order to grow and so forth. I don't think that's really true. I don't think we have to go through pain. We have to go through pain if we think we have to go through pain. It reminds me of the guru who said that when I wake up in the morning I realize that whether I enjoy the day or not is up to me. And I think that is always true. We are deciding how we are going to look at the world.

It also reminds me of the Yequana Indians that Jean Liedloff talks about. They don't have the concept of menial labor—everything is fun. So if the women are going to do the laundry they hold hands and sing and have a wonderful time. And all they do is that—just simply define everything as enjoyable. And what do you know, they enjoy everything.

The other thing is that the purpose of politics that I like most of all is the one that Wilhelm Reich talked about, that the purpose of the political process is to remove the obstacles to self-determination. I think that's a very good way to put it. All we are to do as a government, or a teacher or a parent or a therapist or a boss, is to create conditions under which people choose to grow. I think that that orientation is very helpful.

I will share with you some questions that I feel are particularly stirring around this issue of bringing our spirituality into political action. Unless we act consciously, our actions are likely to create more problems rather than solve them. It seems really important that we learn to take time to get in touch with our inner wisdom before we act: it is not a matter of either-or but of both-and.

One of the basic questions: how do we live what we know? We need to keep asking ourselves what we know to be true about human nature, because everything we do is really a function of who and what we think we are. So how can we let go of distorted, constricted self-concepts that limit our capacity for creative problem solving?
DOYLE CAUCUS REPORT

In our caucus there was an impatience expressed to begin, to get on with a concrete task of joining our energies—an impatience with remaining at the level of rhetoric, discussion and contemplation. People explored means of proceeding with several of the action suggestions made at the end of the working paper. We considered the massive question of how to begin the process of re-educating our “human nature”, of diminishing adversary processes and of training cooperation at the local level.

We felt that from this base of successful demonstration projects, there is a chance of influencing our national leadership, and throwing into question the current adversary nature of decision-making at national and international political levels.

Some potent means were suggested for beginning the process of reconnecting people in their local communities. This reconnection was seen as the basis of all positive action.

There was a suggestion made that AHP play a role in beginning to highlight some of the legislation that has human consequences in the psychological field and related fields, and let their local chapters know. Or that the AHP chapter in each state take some responsibility for looking at what your state legislature is planning, that you form local discussion groups around these kinds of issues and get a debate started. Out of that you’ll draw together some of the people who will be useful in creating change. By creating local lobbies on humane bills we provide a way to get people together who are focused on cooperative change.

Other people were interested in establishing new ways of gathering the people together—rather than David attacking Goliath, getting all the Davids together. They talked about food coops as a way to gather a power base on a local level. Also, local connection conferences can be established in your communities to bring out the issue of how are people connecting with this community and how are they disconnected, and what’s wrong here. AHP is going to try to play a role in connecting some of you at your local level, so you can get support from other people to work on practical projects that you would like to begin.

SCHUTZ CAUCUS REPORT

In our caucus we started out with a nice neutral topic like What Part of You Wants a Nuclear War? A number of people were willing to identify the part of themselves that really wouldn’t mind—parts of it anyway, it would be fun, it would be exciting, it would allow them to do things that they do not ordinarily do in their lives. This seems I think a very important part, otherwise we get the idea that we are the ones that are pure of heart and it’s only those other ones who have all these base motives, and I think that distorts the social action that we get into. Then we talked about truth as a substitute for war or for violence. The idea of that part of the appeal of violence is that it is exciting and that for many of us life is not very exciting much of the time. The thing that I proposed was that if we tell the truth, life becomes enormously exciting and the whole desire for violence and for war becomes minimal and almost irrelevant. A number of people took umbrage with those ideas saying that if we put out positive thought forms, then the world will be better.

We also got into what part of you doesn’t believe in holistic health. I think it is important for us to go inside, get clear about what our own beliefs are, along with going out and trying to promulgate them.

HICKMAN-MURPHY CAUCUS REPORT

Discussions in the caucus on International Relations within the section on the Political Process focused on the current tensions between the US and the USSR. Hickman’s recent trip to the USSR served as a reference for the group. The intent was to explore ways in which AHP could participate in world affairs beginning with the US-USSR difficulties.

Suggestions that emerged: 1) invite Soviet scientists to future AHP and IAHP conferences; 2) hold a conference in India or another country that would be acceptable to Soviet travel restrictions; 3) encourage information exchange with interested Soviet scientists; Hickman could help identify some; 4) encourage more professional groups to maintain contact with the USSR; 5) set up an education program for Americans to learn more about the USSR; encourage individual travel; contact existing Soviet organizations in the US to assist with education; contact Russian language classes for interested students and appeal through AHP Newsletter for volunteer participants; 6) encourage students to correspond with Soviet schools; 7) through the Newsletter request ideas for non-aggressive responses to aggressive actions throughout the world; begin to plant the seeds of possible non-militaristic solutions to military aggression among nations.

Some other ideas: we need connections that are maintained in spite of setbacks and blocks; depend on honesty; remember our dark side and own our projections.

SATIN CAUCUS REPORT

In our caucus there were lots of helpful comments and advice on how a national organization should and should not be started. This organization could give a national focus to the transformational as a political movement; it could possibly serve as a resource center for organizations; and it could help connect them with one another, through literature, through travelers, and other ways.

As one person put it, at the sub-caucus: in the 60s there were all kinds of organizations and no individuals, and now it seems there are lots and lots of individuals, and not really that many organizations. And yet it does seem that now over the last couple of years organizations are springing up so that we can put our ideas into some kind of lasting action.
My oldest son sat down on the tracks at Rocky Flats, with me, and we got arrested together. I was looking forward at last to spending some time with my grown-up son, while we were in jail, my daughter came to Rocky Flats. It was the first time that all of us had worked together since we copied the Pentagon Papers ten years before. Robert, who was then 13, worked the xerox. I collated those 7,000 pages of top secret material, and Mary, who was then 10, cut “Top Secret” off the top and bottom of the pages, so it was a cottage industry, or you could call it Family Therapy.

Our work turned out to be useful ten years ago. I think sitting on the tracks at Rocky Flats was useful, and there is going to be more work like that coming up.

Let me explain why Rocky Flats is relevant. How many people know what is made at Rocky Flats? The people of Denver didn’t know what the plant did. 16 miles from the heart of their city, nor did they know that in its “normal” operation, it was spraying them occasionally with plutonium dust and could do so on a catastrophic level in the case of a fire (the kind of which they had very many). The plant makes plutonium triggers for all our thermonuclear weapons. Virtually all our weapons are thermonuclear, or fusion weapons—H-bombs. I’ve become aware that a generation has grown up that doesn’t know the difference between an A-bomb of the kind that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the H-bomb which has never been exploded in combat, although a number of them have fallen on this country by accident. You probably haven’t been told that. The difference is this. The H-bomb requires for its physical functioning and its trigger an A-bomb. What Rocky Flats makes is the part of the bomb which consists of plutonium with a surrounding shell of high explosive to set it off. It’s the plutonium part of a Nagasaki bomb that was dropped on August 9, 1945, with a force of 20,000 tons of TNT equivalent. During World War II, we dropped 2 million tons of bombs. So the 13,000 tons of the Hiroshima bomb and the 20,000 tons of the Nagasaki bomb was a small part of that 2 million.

One of the bombs that dropped on this country was near Goldsboro, North Carolina, in January 1961, while I was working at the Pentagon. It was a 24-megaton bomb. The B-52 carrying it crashed near Seymour Johnson Air Force Base.

Now, like nuclear reactors, it had many safety devices to keep it from exploding when it wasn’t meant to explode. In fact, it had six independent safety devices to protect it from a thermonuclear explosion. Only five of them failed in the course of the fall, so that one remaining...
device did protect it from a full thermonuclear explosion. (This 24 megaton weapon was the standard weapon of the B-52 in those days. We had 2,000 bombers each carrying two to four of these). Twenty four megatons is 24 million tons of TNT equivalent. It's a thousand times the Nagasaki weapon. 71; million tons of TNT, compared to the 2 million of WW2. The bomb that was protected by one device from going off near Seymour Johnson Base was 12 World War IIs in one bomb; three Vietnamese in one bomb.

We now have 30,000 warheads; 9,000 are the so-called strategic type; 22,000 are so-called tactical weapons. That is the business that Rocky Flats is in—producing or recycling three to ten such warheads, 3 to 10 a day, every day since 1952.

President Carter came into office pledged to work toward the abolition of nuclear weapons. In fact, since 1972, the Salt I Talks, strategic stockpiles on each side (the US and the USSR) have doubled. The programs that President Carter was proposing, before Afghanistan, as concessions to Congress and the military industrial complex (in Eisenhower's phrase), and which are soon to be added—the Trident missile. MX missile, cruise missile, neutron bomb—all take new warheads, so Rocky Flats has lots of work ahead. These programs will perhaps double the size of our strategic stockpile again.

As my son, Robert, who was handcuffed with me, was led from the tracks where he had sat to impede—to obstruct in the words of our arrest order—the trains carrying radioactive waste, which was essential to remove so workers could work, he said to me, "There should have been Germans sitting on the tracks at Auschwitz. There weren't, but there should have been, even if they had been killed. And there ought to be American on these tracks from now on." In fact, from April of that year to the end of the year, there were Americans sitting every day on the tracks. The judge and the prosecutor said, "What are you accomplishing? The trains do get through, the production still goes on." And I said to him at one point, "Not without arrest. You have to arrest Americans to keep the process going, to add to the stockpile.

We are acting as a part of a group called the Mobilization for Survival, that's worked for several years now with the motto taken from Jimmy Carter—Zero Nuclear Weapons, the abolition of nuclear weapons as a long-term goal. Of course, as a short-term goal we have a different sense from Carter as to how you get there: go down rather than up. The US has never made a proposition in Salt II, or any other place, to stop the arms race. to say "30,000 is enough". All the new methods I've mentioned (cruise, Trident, MX, neutron) were excluded from the Salt talks.

What has been happening in the last few weeks has explicitly revealed for the first time in a generation a core of our policy that has been there all along, but has never really been made too clear to the public. And that is our reliance, in many parts of the world, on first-use threats, the initiation of nuclear war with some of those 22,000 tactical small Nagasaki weapons in the field.

The headline of an article in the Los Angeles Times said, "Russia versus Iran, US ponders unthinkable". I have to tell you, from the life I spent in the Pentagon, it has never ever been unthinkable in the Pentagon. It was just unsayable to the public until now. And what was unsayable was the possibility of initiating nuclear war with the Soviet Union. In short, the President has asked us to support a policy in which the hidden writing is first-use threats and the possible initiation of nuclear war. He's announced what I would say is a mobilization against survival. A mobilization for war. A mobilization for cold war, that is ultimately a mobilization for nuclear war. A policy that relies on first-use threats in a world loaded with nuclear weapons is like playing Russian roulette with a gun pointed at the heads of all our children. The threat is not to just 18- or 19-year olds, but to all the children of the future, the possibility of children in the future.

I have one program to propose right now—very limited one. It doesn't really address the long-term problems, but it is a beginning and is addressed to the genuine emergency that we immediately face. The program would demand of the president and of Congress a commitment never, under any circumstances whatever, to initiate the use of nuclear weapons, a no first-use policy. Another aspect would be to do what is not precluded by Salt, but should have been done and which can certainly begin now, and that is an immediate freeze on the testing, deployment, production of new weapons by the US and the strong proposal by the US that the Soviet Union enter immediately into bilateral negotiations for a permanent freeze. That's no more than a stop, but if we are to ever reverse the arms race which threatens us all, we have to begin by stopping. Those are two of the short-term proposals that are associated with the activity of the Mobilization for Survival, which is a coalition of many anti-war pacifists and religious groups.

During the Vietnam War there was a growing group which began to suspect that that war had come out of our system, capitalism, had grown from our power structures, and that their essential task was to radically transform capitalism. The actions in Indochina since then, Vietnam into Cambodia, the Cambodian policies, China into Vietnam—now Russia into Afghanistan—have obviously shown that imperialism is not in any way limited to capitalism as we see it. This makes our problem much bigger than some people thought. The attitudes and power structure to which Ted Roszak referred go back before capitalism, before socialism, at least to the beginning of great agricultural surpluses and the slaves that were needed to bring those surpluses out of the fields, to the cities that lived on the labor of others. The imperialistic attitudes, along with racism and sexism, are at least 5,000 years old; but the human species may not get much older unless we somehow collaborate to change all that. It has to be done on a rate of transformation that has never been seen before: transformation of consciousness and practice in the next generation, this generation, if there are to be future generations. Let us hope we learned our lessons from the 60s of how to resist better and more successfully. It will be a miracle if we reverse our arms build-up and if all the nations of the world join us. Fortunately, miracles are possible.
The Spirit

WORKING STATEMENT

Frances Vaughan

Can spiritual and political concerns be combined? Or, one might ask, can they be separated? Spirituality, as we define it, need not have anything to do with a church, a cult or any form of organized religion. Rather, the spiritual quest is the search for the deepest understanding of reality and human nature, and the highest goals in the service of humanity. We all engage in this search to some degree. The search provides the experiences and beliefs that shape all our individual and social actions. Appropriate social action cannot be divorced from understanding consciousness, the causes of human suffering, and the nature of identity. The state of the world reflects the state of our collective psyche. We have all shared in the creation of both and we now share the task of restructuring them along more humanistic and spiritual lines.

From a spiritual perspective, what are the conditions for appropriate action?

1. Consciousness: An understanding of human consciousness and how freedom can be exercised responsibly, both in creating and responding to the world, is essential for constructive change and innovation. Everything we do is a function of who and what we believe ourselves to be.

2. Transformation: Transformation can be distinguished from conversion in that conversion rejects a former partial truth in favor of a new one, whereas transformation suggests a broader perspective that encompasses a larger truth without making other views wrong. Transformation means thinking in terms of both/and rather than either/or. A spiritual perspective that acknowledges the oneness and interdependence of all life does not exclude anything.

3. Vision: Any social structure is incomplete without taking into account the guiding principles or spiritual vision that inspire it. By joining together we seek to awaken the intuitive spiritual vision that is our natural inheritance. Only by finding and following the highest source of wisdom within ourselves can we hope to find a better way.

4. Voluntary Simplicity: The choice for voluntary simplicity is rapidly shifting from a spiritual luxury to a social necessity. This represents letting go of some pleasures in order to deepen appreciation of others derived from self-awareness, meaningful relationships and enrichment of the inner life.

5. Communication: Expanded communication among people of all creeds and spiritual persuasions is sought in recognition of the value of the transpersonal orientation in enhancing psychological well-being and solving practical problems.

6. Balance: What is the appropriate balance between spiritual detachment from worldly concerns and political action? God is frequently invoked for political or personal gain. True spirituality, on the other hand, means transcending attachment to personal gain, and a commitment to service for the benefit of all beings. Today survival and self-sufficiency make sense only in terms of community—a global community. Without self-awareness we delude ourselves, and without detachment we can fall into greed and hatred in the name of worthy causes. We look for balance and harmony in the dynamic relationship between inner and outer work, in order that human needs may be met consciously and appropriately.

JUDITH SKUTCH

A miracle is a shift in perception, the shift from seeing each other as separated, alienated and alone to the true oneness that exists and binds us to each other, self and to God. When Dan Ellsberg was talking about that miracle, it became evident that we must start with our own perception. If we are to see the world as a different place, it begins within. The process of going within, tuning oneself to the voice within, and listening to those answers takes one on very many strange journeys. It took me directly to Washington, DC.

I would like to report that the spiritual path is alive and well in the seat of our country's government. This quest is expressed by many through the search for inner governance. It includes individuals who are asking these same questions we have dealt with here today. There are people who are holding out their hands to us and to each other to see ourselves as not alienated from each other in our society, but partners with. From this greater joining has grown NOVUS—what one might call a horizontal non-organization with which we invite you to participate. NOVUS is an identifying network bringing people together who share New Age thought, to gather in meditation, prayer, and inner seeking, to join us for that guidance which will help us solve our societal problems.

There is a good precedent when we look at the dollar bill. We see as a reminder the reverse side of the Great Seal of the United States, which shows the unfinished pyramid and as its caption, the all-seeing eye: the eye of the divine. The builders of our country met to ask in unison for that guidance because they knew, most of them as free masons, that only with that guidance would society be complete.

The new order of the ages, then, is to remind us of that vision of this country's founders: the politics of re-perception—to change our minds, to see each other as one, and our problems as able to be solved by using the tool of going within, listening to that voice and together acting upon it.

WILLIAM WHITSON

I am reminded of that remarkable joke attributed to Winston Churchill. He was on a train, and someone asked him how much brandy he had drunk in his lifetime. He looked around and said, I would say about this carful. An
When I received my last issue of New Age magazine, I felt bereft. New Age magazine had reflected my inner values and views; I was comforted by articles that reminded me of who I really was. However, recently New Age has carried disturbing articles about nuclear things, laetrile and freedom of choice for cancer therapy. Though angry I realized that was the direction the entire consciousness movement had to go. So instead of just feeling betrayed and frustrated, I did a very political thing—I addressed Rick Ingrasci and Peggy Taylor, the editors of New Age, and said “Hey, share your process with us. Give us an article or editorial that says how you got there.”

Where is the interface? Just as we bared our souls with psychedelics and have bared our souls during our spiritual, humanistic and growth group awakening, it is time again that we are going to have to see how it is, who we are. I see a lotus figure, and underneath, the caption “This is a political position.”

I’d like to discover some of the people who have gone before us, who have truly lived in the interface. I’d like to mention Dag Hammarskjold; he was a professional man who united in one life the active life and the contemplative life. He said, “In our era, the road to holiness necessarily passes through the world of action.” A mystic who was the Secretary General of the United Nations. What exists already? What has been written? Perhaps we can come up with a spiritual/political bibliography. I’d like to look at the forms of how this interface can take place in the physical world. For example, in a school down the road, the California Institute of Transpersonal Psychology, at certain times during the day a bell is rung. Everyone stops for a moment and remembers what they are doing and why they are really there.

FRANCES VAUGHAN
Mahatma Gandhi suggested that if everyone in the world were to meditate for five minutes on unconditional love it would do more for world peace than filling all the rice bowls of Asia.

Since the state of the world really reflects the condition of our minds, I would like to spend the time in our caucus examining some values and beliefs, and looking at ways we can empower each other to effectively manifest our highest values in our life styles, in our relationships, and in everything we do.

THE SPIRIT: CAUCUS REPORT
As a result of our meeting to discuss the interface of politics and spiritual values, we would like to add the following information to the position paper presented in the program:

The group meeting with Dorothy Fadiman brainstormed to share names of individuals and groups which express the possibility of real political/spiritual interfacing. Since every individual and group has its own viewpoint, we sought to approach the subject from a broader perspective. A representative from a major publishing house attending the conference expressed strong interest in a book which would present the overview of this subject. If you are interested in contributing or participating in this project, send your name and address to Dorothy Fadiman, 1070 Colby Avenue, Menlo Park, California 94025.

Bill Whitson and Judy Skacht discussed NOVUS (New Options for a Vital United States), a network of groups forming throughout the US to bring spiritual values and consciousness to the political process. If you are interested in receiving NOVUS literature, in joining or starting your own NOVUS group, write to 1200 North Nash Street, Arlington, Virginia 22207.

The necessity of assuming personal responsibility for self determination and social change was emphasized in the group led by Frances Vaughan in a discussion of personal goals and values.

Consensus from the Fadiman caucus: It's time to come out of the closet spiritually.
Environment and the Arts

LENISCHWARTZ

As we move into our caucus to consider the practical political aspects of environment and the arts, I'd like us to reflect for a moment on the environment in which the activities of this day are taking place and on the way it is shaping our experience here.

Since we are creatures that are dependent on our sensory input for our perceptions of what's happening to us—and we've had a lot of input today—I would like you to sense not only the physical space in which we're sitting, but also the people around you—for we are each other's environment as well. The process of achieving balance and harmony with the natural environment involves an understanding of our constantly changing interactive relationship with it. The more aware we are of our basic multisensory experience: sights, smells, sounds, tastes, touch, gestures, movement and of the emotions that they engender, the more we realize that we are interrelated and are being affected just as we affect each other and everything all the time.

We've talked a lot today about the many urgent political actions and changes that must take place if we are to survive. I'd like to add that without some consideration to aesthetic and organic order of our lives we may not be capable of making decisions that serve the extension of our humanity. The slow, steady learning process of becoming more aesthetically aware, more illumined by our vision of the interrelationship of everything must be pursued in concert with our search for social and political harmony.

In Survival Through Design, architect Richard Neutra said, “Can we have two kinds of conduct, one for Sabbath consumption, dedicated to beauty, ideals, goodness and truth; another, a vast work-a-day set, meant for supposedly practical utility, with ugliness, shoddiness and a new brand of barbarism rolled into, and permissible by general consent?”

As we move into a new age, we must honor the beauty, harmony and balance that is intrinsic to the healthy functioning of our nervous systems and personal balance. We need to cultivate our vision which arise out of the feminine, creative side of our nature—the part of ourselves we least honor in our culture, the part that is outside the political arena. We need both sides of our nature in order to insure cultural health and well-being.

Things are changing. We need to understand those changes through the poetic vision of all forms of art. This form of expression is integral to our survival. The intuition of artists has always guided human actions.
SCHWARTZ CAUCUS REPORT

In the caucus we discussed various aspects of environment and art that were attuned to our psychological, social, economic and ecological needs.

We discussed how we needed affordable living places for changing lifestyles for: a population that is living longer; divorced couples who suddenly need two places instead of one within proximity of each other so that they can share child care; and places that nurture them as they go through major emotional crisis; single parents who need extended families; artists; young people who need to explore their potential in a diverse community; people who want to create a community.

We also need to create healthy holistic environments for the important life passages: birth and death; retirement and old age.

How can we design alternatives to our present environments and preserve our aesthetic heritage? We seek collaboratively aesthetic, socially relevant environments for work, home, schools and play in which people grow healthy and liberated.

There was much discussion about the value of beauty in one's life; also, the lack of support from others when one devotes time, attention and money to creating it. Many people felt put down by friends and neighbors because they cared. They felt unappreciated, separate, disconnected from the mainstream of others' aesthetic values. So did their kids.

Some tried to create new cooperative lifestyles. One middle-aged divorced man had achieved a communal home, which he shared with his ex-wife, their children and two other single parents and their kids. It has been successful for about six years. Others spoke about how they integrated their need for beauty and harmony into their work lives as well as their home lives, whether others around them were conscious of it or not.

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CALLENBACH CAUCUS REPORT

Our group tried to solve all the conceivable problems of the world, naturally. One was that we definitely wanted a different environment than this if we have a meeting next year. The overall thing that we wanted from the human side was the possibility for smaller groups. People seemed to think that the ideal human environment was something like eight people, with some kind of feedback structure working out from that, which of course takes more time than we have here.

Our group also thought it was important to be aware of the Environmental Bill of Rights that is coming through the California political machinery. Senator Peter Behr's office can give you more on that.

We all owe it to ourselves and to our fellow citizens and to the environment to develop a greater awareness of the environmental onslaught that is being made upon us and our environment.

It was very interesting to me that several people said to me that one strange thing about the events today was the lack of outrage among us, particularly about our concern on environmental matters, but in the meeting in general, I think that mobilizing outrage is a very healthy political thing, particularly outrage around self-defense, which we confront in many of these environmental matters.

HALPRIN CAUCUS REPORT

Our group was interested in using collective creativity constructively to transform and redefine art, redefining art as part of our everyday life, physically, emotionally, spiritually, politically, humanly and aesthetically, and that you could start by forming networks, groups of similar interests.

AD HOC CAUCUS REPORT

Downstairs we had a group: is it ok to be an artist or should I go sit on the tracks? We divided into groups of six people and each person had three minutes to think aloud on that topic, then we reconvened and reported back. The range of opinions varied from art should be pure, to art must have a political impact, to you can divide your time and do everything. One individual artist said that we contribute with the strengths within us, that some people express their political feelings through their art, like the Mexican muralists, and some people's art is quieter, perhaps creating an environment in which the leaders can nurture themselves. It was important, he said, to not dissipate our energy on what we don't do best.

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We are only as free as the most unfree of us are free. That barrier which keeps us locked in a me vs. them world instead of a me and them. And that keeps us from seeing that down deep we are all alike; all needing love and companionship and, particularly, the experience that we make a difference.
The Possible Future

by John Vasconcellos

In humanistic politics we’re really talking about openings— to open ourselves more, to ourselves and to each other, to open our institutions. We need to find the right kinds of balance points between courage and stupidity, between naivete and realism, between hope and despair. I think it’s clear from the fact that more than one thousand of us are gathered here today that it’s time that that happened.

It was ten years ago last fall, when Liz Campbell, Mike Murphy and I, after a Rollo May workshop, began a series of discussions on how to connect the human potential movement with politics.

As we generate a new politics for California and the country and even the whole world, we needn’t get burned out, get dropped out, and turn cynical. There’s certainly cause and reason enough in today’s world for gloom and doom, despair and cynicism, but that’s to buy into how it was and how it is, and to lose our capacity for making a difference. I think we’ve seen back in the 60s a powerful politics of rebellion which began to change the face of the country and the culture in many ways. In the 70s we saw a different kind of politics, the politics of personal growth. Some thought this was the end of politics, but others of us believed that the more we grow, expand and develop ourselves, the more self-awareness and self-esteem we have, the more we can come out for a truly new politics.

We’re talking about a political revolution that doesn’t come down from pronouncements on high, nor even from angry people in the streets, but that comes from the hearts, and, if you will, the souls, minds and bodies of us—individuals trying to figure out who we are, how we build community, how we make ourselves credible, durable and visionary, able to make affect and effect upon the political systems. Too much of the politics of the 60s, as important and necessary as it was, was a politics of negativism at times, and even as we did noble things about wars in Vietnam or farmworkers in valleys, or minorities in distant states, we carried on too much the same war against our own human nature, against our neighbors here at home—male and female, black and white, gay and straight, old and young, rich and poor. If one thing comes out of today that I think is really essential, it’s Virginia Satir saying “We are one, we are one human family”. The minute we begin to divide ourselves, I guess in order to conquer, against the rich, or against Exxon, or against the Iranians, or against the Soviets, we are at civil war. For we are one family.

It doesn’t mean to be naive or to be laissez-faire about conduct—that’s destructive of human life and growth, but it does mean to believe in our own innocence, our trustworthiness and our innate goodness, and that beneath whatever masks, defenses and crazy behavior we all have some part of, that we all share a common nature, that we are a common family.

The test of a politics is not just how nice it sounds but whether it works, whether it is able to make a difference in the lives of people in the society. A test of a person is not how pious he or she is or would like us to believe he or she is, but how he or she lives. I think that the challenge at this point is to figure out how we each alone and then together can take responsibility for being the kind of loving presence in our society to make politics human, to outgrow the conflicts and disparities and defenses of the past, and to not be naive or cynical. We need to be courageous, but courageous in the sense of Dag Hammarskjold’s saying that if you know what’s really true, it doesn’t take any courage—you just do it.

It’s not an easy time. From the first stage, of committing myself to self esteem, to choose my life and to be responsible there’s the second stage: not just changing my mind about myself, from not trusting myself and therefore needing authority and repression, to the positive: to really becoming the kind of tender, gentle loving innocent person whose presence works wonders, whose presence heals, whose presence inspires, whose presence even outdistances the scorn and ridicule a lot of us at times have experienced in trying to be authentic or to be open.
One of the problems with humanistic politics, or the human revolution, or the human race as Jim Hickman called it earlier, is that everything turns upside down. We no longer look for leadership from on top but rather from within. We no longer surrender our power but rather we exercise it. We no longer hoard power but we empower each other. As someone said well today, part of this revolutionary insight is that personal and political are one. How I am with each person in my life is a political choice and responsibility.

This society has come apart. The old culture, I think it’s been said enough times, is sickening and dying. We’re talking about trying to reconnect who we are and who we can be, and change the whole sense of our own nature and how we relate. We are responsible for establishing the politics of the future. One of my friends said some years ago that the politics we do is who we are. It’s important to recognize this all the time. It isn’t some distant place where people work in the Capitol, but how we are with our own nature, with each other as neighbors, with the people we are least like, and least believe like. That’s the real guts of today’s politics. After 14 years in the legislature, I can speak with a fair amount of authority from experience that this society at its top is uncertain and vulnerable, and most needs the people who aren’t in the system to become involved, to propose the alternatives based on radically different and contrary views of human nature.

One of the things that was nice for me, after several years of taking some heat for being a bit different, for being open and for talking about feelings and touching and so on in the Capitol, was that this year when the Democrats in our House got deadlocked in the most bitter political struggle of the past few decades, both sides unanimously asked me if I would facilitate the two principals trying to reconcile and make some unity. I think what that said was that people are aware today of the fact that something different is going on, that the issue of human growth and development must be made central.

This society’s major personal issue is how to grow healthy human beings. We can talk about war and peace, the environment, energy, and economic development, but if we don’t see it all in the context of healthy human development, then it really is abstract and unlikely to be effective. We’re talking about developing an agenda that can be credible—a political agenda, for gentle birthing, positive parenting, holistic health, humanizing education, humanizing the workplace, the hospice movement. Right up and down the line in every major place where human beings come together, in churches, homes, schools, businesses, labor unions, even the legislature, there are people exploring the human alternative, realizing that the old ways simply don’t work anymore no matter how much we might want them to.

Today Rollo May talked about the need for a new myth. It seems to me that we don’t need a new myth, we just need to base our lives on our own reality, to give up the old myth that we are evil and need to be fixed, that we can’t trust ourselves or be open and loving and gentle.

The test, I think, for all of us—and it is an urgent one but also one for joy and celebration—is that test of whether we’re willing to choose to be ourselves, whether we’re willing to be faithful to our nature and potential, to take the risks of trusting and becoming vulnerable and then going public with that.

In a sense the most revolutionary political act, the most radical act, is to choose who I am, and to no longer be willing to be who someone else would like me to be. And the second most political act, I suspect, is linking up one on one—some kind of love or lover relationship where we facilitate each other’s growth as we go forth to try to infuse ourselves and our vision through the politics in our society. And the third step is to network, to bring together more than just the two of us, in some way that respects our individuality and trusts us as a community. These aren’t easy things to accomplish. The whole individuals who are healthy individuals, who are aware and self-esteeming, are most able to love, most able to be open, most able to connect.

It is no longer sufficient to have only—this deeply passionate feeling for people, as in the 60s. We need to be clear in our thinking and in our arguments, be competent and well-informed. After several years of being thought of as the touchy-feely legislator, kind of dreamy, written off by many, I managed to work my way into a chairmanship for a budget committee that handled about six billion dollars a year. People opposed me on the grounds that I probably couldn’t do that kind of work, what no one knew, and I had forgotten, was that my father was a math teacher, and I learned to add, subtract and multiply earlier than anybody else and better than they could chart on any graph or score on any test. When I began to run those hearings with that kind of competence, the image of me changed in the Capitol, and I was accepted as a legitimate person. Then my values, my vision and my ideals had to be accepted or at least recognized as not being crazy, because they were linked to a competent human being. So as we build ourselves into a network, as Michael Rossman says, an army of loving persons, it’s really critical that we bring all our talents and all our energies together, and not just parts of ourselves and not just parts of each other.

Finally, let me ask that you make an effort to approach your own legislators, city council persons, supervisors, school board members, police review board, state legislators, and be sure that each knows who you are personally, knows what you believe, that you don’t see them as being unavailable, or as magicians or as devils, but see them rather as human beings who care as you do, who wonder as you do. Then together we can go beyond the stereotypes to make the new politics.

There is no ending to what we’re talking about here today. We’re talking about a Beginning. We’re talking about a birthing, about rebirthing ourselves, about nurturing each other, about envisioning a new politics based upon a new vision of human nature, and then upon living that and developing that process in every place we can. I think it can be done. I think it must be done. Let’s go out and do it.
The Last Word?

by Elizabeth Campbell

I've heard many proposals today for AHP. I'm remembering that in a usual week we get about a dozen good ideas for what we should be doing and I know that the ideas presented here today will be heard within this body. I also know that if there is to be any action, it will be done by those of you who are impassioned on the issues. If this Association is an appropriate place for you, we would welcome your active participation.

One of the outcomes of today, by the way, is from the taping that New Dimensions is doing; there will be programming that will go via public radio satellite to 207 radio stations, to 100 million plus listeners sometime in May or June.

I want to invoke the image of the hobbit in the Tolkien trilogy. I've often wondered why the hobbit was chosen to carry the ring through the land of darkness; the little hobbit who would really have preferred to stay at home having his tea and crumpets, not bothering anyone. But he was catapulted into a journey into the unknown with fear and trembling and he made that incredible journey. A quote from Gandalf sticks with me: "We must go in the direction of our greatest fear, for therein lies our only hope." Perhaps it is ok that we don't have all the answers. Perhaps it is ok that we're going to have to live with some ambiguity. If we can be tolerant, patient and caring of one another, maybe we can change that Pogo charge of "we have met the enemy and it is us", to "we have found our strength and it is within".

Limited-time, Tape Cassette Offer
RECORDED HIGHLIGHTS: AHP'S 12-HOUR POLITICAL PARTY

By special arrangement with Cognetics, Inc. (tape transcribers and manufacturers), AHP is pleased to make available for purchase three 90-minute cassettes (4+ hours): HIGHLIGHTS of AHP's 12-HOUR POLITICAL PARTY. AHP members receive a 20% price discount. This offer expires July 1, 1980. The three cassettes:

- Cassette #2—Theodore Roszak, "Person/Planet"; Daniel Ellsberg, "Political Activism"; John Vasconcellos, "The Possible Future"; Elizabeth Campbell, "Closing Comments".
- Cassette #3—WELLNESS CAUCUS; George Leonard, Peggy Taylor, Will Schutz, John Vasconcellos, Audience participation.

Prices/Terms: Each tape, $10 (US). All three tapes, $25 (US). 20% discount to AHP members. All prices include postage and handling. Prepaid orders only (non-prepaid orders will be returned). California purchasers add 6% State sales tax. Offer expires July 1, 1980. Order from AHP, 325 Ninth Street, San Francisco, California 94103.

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TOTAL REMITTANCE
(California purchasers add 6% sales tax)
HIGH EXPECTATIONS/MIXED RESULTS
A Critique of AHP's 12-HOUR POLITICAL PARTY

by Jack Drach, Event Coordinator

At 9 am, February 10, about 1,400 people gathered in San Francisco's Masonic Auditorium for AHP's 12-Hour Political Party. Emcees George Leonard and Jacqueline Doyle sounded the starting bell, and an impossibly tight program began to unfold. For the next 14 hours (except during the two-hour meal break) all 28 featured presenters—one woman and 14 men—contributed their wits and their presences generously, well and as promised. Caucuses ebbed and flowed. At 11 pm, on schedule, Anna Halprin signaled an end to the dancers who were serpentine through aisles and on stage. The event was over. For me, the day had been long, thoughtful, packed, high, rich, exhausting and ultimately (when I added up the pieces) worthwhile.

But as a whole, as a moment in history, AHP's 12-Hour Political Party, for me, fell short of its promise. I think there were three underlying reasons responsible for this: 1) An overcrowded program. Cramping 30 presentations and providing significant audience participation into one day (even a 12-hour day) was like pouring a quart of milk into a pint container. 2) Inappropriate site. The Masonic Auditorium was excellent for the presentations but bad for caucusing. The fixed seating in the auditorium and the poor acoustics downstairs derailed much of the audience participation. 3) Unrealistically high expectations. The distressing world condition, the obvious inadequacies of our government, the sad state of presidential candidates, the beginning of a new decade, the enthusiasm and potency of the 12-Hour Party's splendid presenters, the appropriateness of the humanistic perspective to this time in history—all that, and more, caused me (and others) to envision a Woodstock of humanistic politics. Nothing could have measured up to that anticipation.

Nevertheless, as AHP's first major, public event to deal exclusively with societal, rather than personal and interpersonal, behavior, the 12-Hour Political Party was productive and instructive. Nine insights that seem important to me:

1. When initially planning such an event, its purpose(s) (WHY?) and context (HOW?) must be unequivocally defined. These, in turn, determine the mix of process and content in the program.
2. Humanistic psychology supports a democratic, decentralized, bottom-up process. Advocates of humanistic psychology should trust that process, especially in political activities.
3. Advocates of humanistic psychology tend to be naive politically. This is good. A modicum of naïveté is important to the politics of the future.
4. It is unrealistic to expect humanistic leaders to be united in their applications of the humanistic perspective. They are not.
5. Advocates of the humanistic perspective have lots of homework to do, especially in the formulation and articulation of basic assumptions and worldviews (and the values and directions that derive therefrom).

6. AHP's relations with the media have improved somewhat over the years but remain arm's length, suggesting an abyss between value systems.
7. Female/male presenter equity received a major visibility at the 12-Hour Political Party.
8. During the course of the event I heard almost no reference to the Republican and Democratic Parties, suggesting humanistic advocates are looking to replace, rather than reform them.
9. Though there was constructive criticism of the event at a morning-after critique involving AHP's Executive Board and a number of presenters, there was no questioning of AHP's being engaged in societal issues, though there were differences as to how such concerns should be expressed organizationally.

Finally, I can't think of another organization that would attempt such an outrageous event as the 12-Hour Political Party. Kudos to all who contributed. And bless AHP for being the marvelous, gutsy, groping organization it is.

Preliminary, Abbreviated Income and Expense Statement
(to nearest $500)

AHP'S 12-HOUR POLITICAL PARTY

INCOME
Registrations .................................. $24,000
Book Sales .................................. 2,000
Total Income .................................. $26,000

EXPENSES
Promotion
Print/distribution of two brochures ........... $9,500
Two Paid Promoters .......................... 2,000
Media, Advertising and Miscellaneous ....... 1,000
Total Promotion .......................... $12,500

Program
Presenter Expenses ......................... 2,500
Site Rental and Labor ......................... 3,000
Printed Program and Miscellaneous ...... 500
Total Program .......................... 6,000

Administration
Staff Payroll and Taxes ..................... 7,000
Overhead and Miscellaneous ............. 500
Total Administration ..................... 7,500

Cost of Books Sold ...................... 1,500

Total Expenses .......................... $27,500

(LOSS) .................................. ($1,500)
A PERSONAL/POLITICAL PROBLEM
by Rosalie Taylor Howlett

We have an unfortunate tendency in our society to enshrine our spiritual leaders rather than listen to what they have to say. This tendency was supremely evident at AHP’s 12-Hour Political Party held at the Masonic Auditorium in San Francisco on February 10th.

The party was advertised as an event “at which humanistic alternatives to present policy can be explored”, and it was evident that considerable time and effort had been put into the planning and into procuring capable resource persons. One of these resource persons, Carl Rogers, was the first to speak at the morning session following the “introduction, warm-up, orientation”.

Carl spoke to us of a kind of community which explores and defines its own identity through a process of honest dialogue, interaction, personal expression, concerned listening—a difficult process which demands time, effort and commitment and which offers very great rewards in terms of personal and group fulfillment. He described the evolution of a dynamic organism in which each person is a valued and responsible participant. He even pointed out that the financial needs of such a group can be met by the same kind of personal responsibility and commitment.

Virginia Satir followed Carl Rogers with some confirming comments about the nature of personal power or enablement and about the need for the kind of relationships at every level of society, from person to planet, in which individual expression and group effectiveness are mutually enhancing rather than restricting.

Many of us have experienced the power and the reality of this kind of community and we want more of it, but perhaps it is so new to us that we fail to recognize situations which are well suited to bringing it into being. I believe that the Political Party was such an occasion—and yet, with Carl’s and Virginia’s words ringing in our ears, we went tearing off into the old forms of restricting schedules, restricting spaces, and the presenter/respondent format which allows for so little personal input and participant interaction.

In retrospect (which is always easier of course), I am wondering what might have happened that day if six large rooms had been provided, one for each of the caucus concerns, and invitations extended to the conference participants and resource persons to proceed to the caucuses of their choice with working paper in hand, there to spend ten or eleven hours together developing their own process for accomplishing the assigned task. I have no idea whether the resulting documents would have provided a more complete and meaningful expression of the thoughts and concerns of the participants, but I do believe that we would have gained tremendously from participating in a process which is both personal and political.

MORE FEEDBACK

Applying what I learned

Congratulations on the AHP 12-Hour Political Party. I’m writing to tell you how much I appreciated coming away with the concept that “everything you do is a political act”.

I had an opportunity to act on this principle last week. While attending a workshop designed for personal growth and community building, I read a front-page story in the LA Times. It told about President Carter’s meeting with US Olympic athletes in which he threatened to declare a state of national emergency and thereby withhold travel permits if individuals choose to disagree with him on the Olympic boycott. I was enraged by the article and decided to check on my ability to engage in a political act that included others.

During the community meeting, I explained the article and invited others to join me in drafting a letter of protest. Later, two of us prepared a letter that we read to the group and invited participants to sign it if they agreed with the sentiments expressed. Approximately sixty people signed the letter and many made copies to send to their own local newspapers. Here’s a copy of what we said.

Dear President Carter:

The LA Times (3/22/80) quotes your address to the American Olympic athletes in which you said the United States is “a free country, and your voice is yours and what you do and say is a decision for you to make.” We support that statement.

However your reported threat to declare a national emergency and ban travel to the Soviet Union in the event athletes would disagree with the boycott is a direct contradiction to your claim that we are a free country.

We fear you have taken a step toward totalitarianism by 1) restricting the free choice of individual Americans to attend or participate in the Games, and 2) by threatening to declare a national emergency in order to prevent travel. To declare a national emergency now is manipulative and hypocritical. We disapprove of using coercive means to gain peaceful ends.

We support the free choice of all athletes throughout the world including our own team in their conscientious decision about participation in the Olympic Games. We value the good will, the message of peace and freedom, and the opportunity to express dissatisfaction about the invasion of Afghanistan that could occur if athletes and American citizens were to travel to the Soviet Union. The Olympic Games are a symbol of peaceful competition and coexistence and should not be sabotaged for political reasons.

Sincerely yours,

Thank you AHP for the reminder of personal and collective power that is readily available for any of us to use. Increasingly, those of us who value humanistic principles and democratic ideals need to take “political” actions if we are to create a world which reflects our principles.

Susan Kirsch
As a participant in the AHP 12-Hour Political Party, I am writing in regard to your request on the action-interest survey for additional comments. As a whole, I found the entire experience extremely disappointing. From the way in which the Political Party was advertised I expected, at the very least, a format that would be consistent with New Age values. What I encountered was instead an example of the very behaviors which New Age ideology is attempting to question and transform.

You implied an opportunity for “participation (involving) caucusing in 'small groups.'” None of the groups were “small” enough to allow equal contribution by members, the time allotment given for these discussions was entirely too short for any group dynamic and productive interchange to develop (you, as psychologists, ought to be conscious of that process) and it was also clear that the choice of discussion spaces was poorly planned, since the splitting-off of sub-caucuses took place in one large room where the noise level was so high it was nearly impossible to be heard by others without shouting.

You advertised a “deliberately brief program profile” and “short plenary addresses... and caucuses (that would) solicit registrant responses”. This was contrary to what actually occurred, which was in fact an outrageously authoritarian program schedule and a condescending tolerance of audience response rather than an incorporation of our responses into the program format—hardly an “informal setting”.

You spoke of doing “all in (your) power to make the humanistic voice be heard”, and yet when members of the audience tried to speak up in the plenary sessions they were met by comments such as “you'll get yours, baby”. If that is the extent to which a voice is heard by your organization, I seriously question the validity of your stated intent.

Lastly I would like to comment on the cost of attending this conference. Since all the speakers donated their time, the admission price seemed extremely steep, besides being prohibitive to people who are not of a certain socio-economic class and cannot afford such luxury. (Needless to say, the refreshment prices were also exorbitant—$50 for a cup of coffee, $2.00 for an egg salad sandwich, etc.). In the interest of maintaining consistency with New Age values it does not seem advisable to charge exploitive prices and so restrict the attendance of such an event to a moneyed elite. What happened to Carl Rogers’ idea of asking participants to pay what they can afford? Isn’t his proven experience with that policy a cogent enough reason to relax somewhat on fee scales?

I realize that the Political Party was a “first flight”, but the blatant disregard for egalitarianism and the de-emphasis on audience participation was rather shocking in light of the goals that were advertised by the AHP.

Since a critique is hollow without the suggestion of alternatives, I will propose some ideas which I feel might have made your endeavor more successful and more satisfying to its participants:

1. Charge admission on a sliding scale.
2. Have a looser program format which would allow for discussions to take their natural course, even if it would cause scheduled events to "run overtime".
3. Share the Em-cee responsibility among a group of people to avoid the projection of authoritarianism and to provide a more diverse approach.
4. Plan for longer, more flexible sub-caucus discussion periods in semi-private spaces in which coherent conversation without raised voices could occur.
5. Reflect on your tactics of advertising—an AHP fund-raiser should not be billed as an event where connections can be made and every voice be heard.

Although I traveled 500 miles to attend your Political Party, I experienced great disillusionment with your organization, and also began to question the validity of other "New Age" groups and ideologies based on the inconsistencies I found existing in the AHP.

I hope that you will seriously consider critiques you may receive from participants in this event before planning another such conference. In doing that you may still stand a chance to restore some credibility to your organization.

Thank you for your attention.

Deborah Vidaver Cohen

THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE—
AN IMPORTANT RIGHT
by Dana Ullman

At the Association for Humanistic Psychology’s Political Party on February 10th, a sub-group within the Wellness Caucus was asked to discuss the issue of whether individuals should be allowed the freedom to choose their own health practitioner. Part of the position paper originally written for the Wellness Caucus however recommended the licensing of holistic health practitioners as a desired goal. Upon discussion of this issue, our group reached a consensus that licensure would limit individuals freedom of choice to only licensed practitioners and would create a complex bureaucratic regulatory system that wouldn’t serve consumers well. Each licensed professional group would disallow other practitioners from using the regulated system’s methods. In other words, nutrition, herbalism, acupuncture, stress management and, other methods would only be able to be practiced by those licensed in them. Integration of methods by individual practitioners would be illegal.

There were many issues that were discussed in this caucus and even more that needed to be discussed than I have the space to write about now. In any case, it is important for those of us involved in holistic health to consider that it may not be a good idea to replicate the regulatory methods, like licensure, now used in medicine. There are alternatives. If you are interested in learning about these alternatives and participating in actualizing them, I invite you to become involved in the Holistic Health Practitioners’ Association (HHPA) and their Ethics and Standards of Practice committee. This organization, and particularly this committee, is working on specific alternatives to licensure. For information about the HHPA, send a self-addressed stamped envelope to HHPA, 1030 Merced, Berkeley, California 94707.
WOMEN/MEN: BEING/DOING, AT THE AHP POLITICAL PARTY DAY
by Natalie Rogers

It was an emotional day for me—our 12 hour Political Party. Often tears came to my eyes, and I swallowed hard to take the lump out of my throat. Or I felt myself inspired to change my ways and act on more of my beliefs—to go "sit on the tracks" with Daniel Ellsberg in a nuclear protest, or to live a more ecological life. My emotions and thoughts swung like a pendulum gone wild. They were positive, but the pendulum kept swinging and I would say to myself, "I want to stay forever in more meaningful ways", then "I want to DO more meaningful things".

It was a powerful event because it accentuated my inner struggle—that of the male/female in myself and also within AHP. This polarity had been building up within me as I had actively participated in the planning of the event both in our central planning meetings and as coordinator of the Human Rights position paper. At times I felt, "I know exactly what I'm doing and am right on target". These were times when I was involved in helping us be humane in our own process. At other times I felt like a fish out of water. This was when I expected myself to have some answers for the world as our team wrote a human rights position paper.

Process/Product: Being/Doing; Feminine/Masculine; Yin/Yang; Right Brain/Left Brain—perhaps it is only my internal struggle, but as I let every pore in my body soak in what was happening that day, I was both pulled apart and put together.

The women who spoke touched me in the heart, the men who spoke inspired me to action. This is an oversimplification, perhaps, and I don't wish to polarize us. There were also powerful calls to action by the women, and men who showed their vulnerability. It is not criticism I am coming to, it is an observation of what happened inside of me, as I listened. I am particularly interested in how we, as women, can both be and do in new ways within AHP.

As I said, the women who spoke reached my heart, and not all of them "spoke" with words. Jan Lovett Keen's flute, as we entered the auditorium, was like a silver thread reaching into me, reminding me to "Listen to the music in life, not just the words". And when we were all overloaded with ideas and words, Sande Hershman's musical group lifted our spirits and we renewed our energy as we stretched, swayed, and shook the fuzziness from our minds. And Anna Halprin sitting stridently (if one can sit stridently, she sure did it) in a chair on stage, stumping her high heeled shoes to get us to move and celebrate our ending!

In listening to Frances Vaughan, Dorothy Fadiman, Leni Schwartz, Judy Skutch and Liz Campbell, I felt tremendous pride and love surging in me. Why? Because they are my friends? Perhaps. I think however, it had to do with their messages (each quite different). They touched a tender chord. After hearing them I promised myself to go further on my inward, aesthetic, self questioning, spiritual journey. Their soft/strong voices led us to the places they were describing. I do believe that as I learn to be more receptive, and open myself to love and loving I will change those around me and thus alter our society. The traditional methods (the masculine models) of political action have not worked. As Virginia Satir said, the world is a big family system, and how we relate to each other within the system determines how we behave. And Jackie Doyle addressed a humane political process. "The challenge of this new age lies in a process of transforming fear and mutual suspicion into trust between peoples. As humanists we can suggest directions for the invention of a healthy political process."

What used to be pointed out as women's weaknesses—paying attention to intuition, the psyche, our relationships, our process; cooperation; our tears, vulnerability and playfulness—was here shown to be our contribution and our strength. Rather than devaluing ourselves for our way of being, we were out in public demonstrating the strength of these qualities.

As I listened to most of the men (and I didn't hear everyone) I was again very moved, but this time I found myself inspired to ACTION. As I listened to Daniel Ellsberg, Ted Roszak, George Leonard, John Vasconcelos and my dad, I was saying to myself, "I want to empower myself, somehow, in this political-reality world. I want to join demonstrations, stand up for what I believe, be in touch with my political representatives. These are not macho men. They too are strong/soft and humane."

Yet I want to look at our own AHP family. It happens to mirror my internal struggle as we begin to take political positions on important issues. I ask, "Can I be both activist and spiritual?" How do we wed these two parts of myself? How do we as AHPers keep from splitting ourselves in half as we journey down two paths at once? Or are they two paths? Is the transcendence and transformation we are seeking exactly this point: that we need to take the road that seemingly goes in opposite directions at the same time.

The person that comes to mind when I contemplate such wedding of opposites is my long time hero, Mahatma Gandhi.

In the planning and production of this event we, as women and men in AHP, struggled through frustration, annoyance and love to try to listen and be fair to each other. Since I have promised myself to be a watch-person (watch dog I'm not) of our own sex role behavior in AHP, I am proud to report that as an organization we took a profound political stance when we had 14 men and 14 women on the program. We not only balanced our presenters, we brought it to the attention of the public in the Political Party advertisements and on the podium. That is what I call acting on our beliefs within the family. It was not easy, in the planning committee, for us to agree that such was a necessity. It was also important that Jackie Doyle have co-equal partnership with George Leonard as facilitators of the day; and they were marvelously complementary in their energy and spirit.

Now that the event is over, it may seem obvious and simple that such should happen. But it was because we, the women, empowered ourselves, that it happened that way. Since the men are sympathetic to feminist views, it was not a bitter battle, but it took steady, constant insistence that we model what we espouse.

It seems as though the women at the Political Party Day gave us some answers. It was a good start. And as women and men we should congratulate ourselves on an androgynous day!
HPI News

Summer Institute

HPI is again offering a series of graduate level courses through its Summer Institute Programs. The programs will run from June 9 through June 21. The following are the course offerings: Experimental Research Design, Arne Collen; Non-Experimental Research Design, Donald Polkinghorne; Parapsychology and Psychotherapy, Stanley Krippner; Depth Interviewing as a Research Tool, James Bugental; The Social and Political Context of Humanistic Psychology, Marcia Salner; and Writing Dissertations and Writing for Publication, Henry Alker.

For registration information, please contact John Beeman at the Institute.

New Programs

Beginning in September the Institute will offer three concentrated, residential programs of study to be known as the Mentor Programs. Quoting from the official announcement, the Mentor Programs will "...provide the opportunity for a limited number of professionals and advanced graduate students to explore a topic or project of their choice for an extended period of time under the personal supervision of a leading scholar in their field. The programs are patterned after the medieval mentor-student relationship and are designed to create conditions in which the enriching experience of learning simply for the sake of learning may take place."

The Mentor Programs are:
- Mentor Program I: Existential Humanistic Psychotherapy. Primary Mentor: James F.T. Bugental;
- Mentor Program II: Parapsychology and Consciousness Research. Primary Mentor: Stanley Krippner;

In addition to regular meetings and retreats, there will be a series of guest lecturers among whom are John Palmer, Professor of Parapsychology, John F. Kennedy University; Charles Tart, Professor of Psychology, University of California, Davis; Rollo May, Adjunct Faculty, HPI; and William V. Ofoan, Associate Professor of Counselling, University of Southern California.

For more information about the special programs, contact Verona Fonte at the Institute.

Financial Aid

The Institute now has its official school code from the Office of Education in Washington, DC. This is the code needed when applying for federal or state guaranteed educational loans. The school code is 021206.

Chapter News

Chapter events for the PORTLAND AHP CHAPTER include a work meeting tentatively scheduled for the weekend of May 23-25, during their semi-annual working beach retreat. On June 2 there will be a presentation dealing with Herbs and You as Healing Agents, with CASCADE ANDERSON. On July 4th don't forget the Fourth Annual Potluck Picnic.

Fifth Annual Meeting of the Northwest Region of AHP, Humanistic Psychology and Social Change, June 20-22, at the Evergreen State College. For details about any of the above call Kai Lopez at 503-245-4869.

TORONTO AHP CHAPTER will meet on Sunday, May 11, from 2-5 pm, to hear What Is Your Shadow—Explorations Into Your Psyche, with LINDA MAY THORNBROUGH; and from 7:30-10 pm, Neurolinguistic Programming, with MAX STEINBACH. Both meetings will be held at the Toronto Board of Education (6th Floor Auditorium, 155 College Street). Contact Peter Campbell (172 Joycey Boulevard, Toronto, 416-487-9240), if interested in more details.

NEW JERSEY AHP CHAPTER has planned a camping trip to the Jenny Jump Campground during the weekend of June 6-8. For more details call Rosemary Agrista at 201-757-4490.

Other News

The C.G. Jung Institute of San Francisco invites the public to a symposium, titled A Call to Beauty, to be held at the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco, May 17-18. The cost of this two-day conference is $60, regular; $50 for senior citizens and students.

The purpose will be to call beauty to our lives as both a source and expression of pleasure, imagination, wisdom and morality in its deepest sense; to experience and understand the power of beauty in both nature and art; to move an individual's psyche toward wholeness, a mass productive society toward an integrated culture. The program includes lectures, visual presentations, music and dance performances, which illuminate the value of beauty in our personal and collective lives. Speakers include JESSE ALLEN, painter; ROBERT BLY, poet; JOSEPH CAMPBELL, mythologer; HELEN FRANKENTHALER, painter; JOSEPH HENDERSON, Jungian analyst; ROLLO MAY, psychoanalyst; JACOB NEEDLEMAN, philosopher; ELIZABETH OSTERMAN, Jungian analyst; and JULIAN WHITE, pianist and composer; interludes by CHRISTOPHER BECK, dance/theater and JAN LOVETT KEEN, flutist.
CREATING COMMUNITY

18th ANNUAL MEETING
ASSOCIATION FOR HUMANISTIC PSYCHOLOGY
AUGUST 16-30, 1980, SNOWMASS VILLAGE, COLORADO

What has been apparent to many is becoming obvious to all. We of the advanced industrial nations are in the midst of a dramatic change, a transformation, in our way of living. In two preceding annual meetings—at Toronto and Princeton—AHP has examined this transformation in terms of myth and ethics. Now, in the culminating event of a three-year series, we turn from the theoretical to the practical, from mythos and ethos to communitas. How shall we live together during a time of unprecedented change? What will be the shape of communities in the future? How can transformed communities transform our culture?

Our 18th Annual Meeting will offer participants the opportunity, not only to examine these questions, but also to live them. At a lovely, 8,000-foot setting in the Colorado Rockies, we will re-evaluate our present ways of living and explore creative alternatives. We will bring home with us experiences and insights that will be useful to our society.

In addition, this year’s meeting will be preceded by perhaps the boldest and most exciting experiment ever conducted by the Association for Humanistic Psychology. You are invited to join one of eight separate Communities that will live, play and work together for a full week leading up to the meeting itself. During this seven-day period, you will have a chance to pursue your own community interests and also to interact with members of other communities. You will engage in group process, and will also be offered specific tasks that will contribute to the Annual Meeting, and to the society at large.

With your enthusiasm and whole-hearted participation, I am convinced that our 18th Annual Meeting can create models that will serve society well in the 1980s. I urge you to join me this August at Snowmass Village.

In harmony,

George Leonard
President, AHP

PROGRAM FORMAT

Pre-meeting Communities. August 16-23. Eight special Communities (described on the next leaf) will provide an opportunity for registrants to live, play and work together for a longer period (one week) and in smaller groups (average 100) than AHP’s previous annual meetings have allowed. Each Community will be located in its own condominium complex. There, participants, including specially invited resource people, will share purposes, dreams, content, materials, experiences about their Community’s theme. They will experiment in building their own Community. Interaction among the eight Communities will add skills, celebrations and fellowship to the entire process.

Annual Meeting. August 23 (evening)-27. Our emphasis will be on modeling community, with the eight pre-meeting Communities facilitating that effort. On a space available basis, newly arriving registrants will be welcomed into existing Communities of their choice or will form new groups. Communities will pursue their respective interests in the mornings. Plenary sessions will add featured speakers, presentations by Communities and various celebrations to the program. Workshops— theoretical and experiential educational sessions that are regular features of AHP conferences—will be offered. Networking and resource exchanges will add new dimensions to this Annual Meeting. To allow for rest, relaxation and appreciation of the natural beauty of our setting, the program will be geared to a slower pace than in the past.

Post-meeting Institutes. August 28, 29 and 30. Institutes are separate, extra-fee, one- or two-day, limited attendance, intensive workshops with established specialists. All 1980 Institutes are scheduled to follow the Annual Meeting. Included will be some offerings involving the wilderness area surrounding Snowmass Village.

Early registration deadline for the Annual Meeting is May 15th.
MINUTES OF AHP EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING
February 11, 1980, San Francisco

Presiding: George Leonard
In Attendance: Bill Bridges, Jacqueline Doyle, Richard Grossman, Carmi Harari, Willis Harman, Gordon Sherman, Peggy Taylor, Nora Weckler
Advisors: Elizabeth Campbell, Tom Greening, Susannah Lippman, Fred Massarik, Regina Ryan
Absent: Jean Houston, John Vasconcellos

The morning session included about 15 guests, including several presenters from the 12-Hour Political Party (Natalie Rogers, Carl Rogers, Virginia Satir, Leni Schwartz) and two past-presidents, Gerry Haigh and Denis O'Donovan. Each person gave feedback on the Political Party: the overall reaction was mixed; the event was seen as an important effort and while it was agreed that there were many criticisms of the day and much to be learned for future activities, it was a good beginning. George Leonard and Jackie Doyle were given appreciation for the immense job they did in em-ceeing the event.

Bill Bridges then led an exercise aimed at helping us look at organizational identity. In order to make decisions regarding appropriate actions for AHP, particularly in relation to social concerns, how do we stay in touch with our core, or as Bill suggested, "What is the DNA of this organization?" Small groups explored metaphors of "AHP is like a..." and some very creative images were shared at the end of the session.

The business session was held from 2:00-5:30 pm. Initial discussion centered around how the Executive Board might best use its time together. Although ratification is a major priority, Board Members' input, discussion of policy and the raising of new issues are part of the Board process. It was agreed that decisions for the format of the August Board meeting would take these into consideration.

Reports were given by the following:
Annual Meeting, 1980: Regina Ryan
Financial Report: Elizabeth Campbell
Executive Board Task Forces:
1) Social Action: Jackie Doyle
2) Membership Development: George Leonard
3) Board Function: Gordon Sherman
4) Purpose and Program: Bill Bridges
Health Policy Council: Richard Grossman

FIELD ACTIVITIES. Plans for the remaining fiscal year were discussed. Jack Drach announced a meeting of a small contingent of field activities members, February 12. In preparation for making recommendations to the Executive Board (Proposed Field Activities Plan) this year's work culminates in a two-day workshop meeting at Snowmass on August 28-29. An effort to have representation from each chapter and region will be encouraged by the offer of some monies (to be used either as a travel stipend or toward input to field activities direction). Between February and August several meetings are planned to address 1) the relation of chapters to regions; 2) the relation of chapters with large non-AHP memberships to International AHP; 3) communication and other related concerns; and 4) long-range plans for field activities.

FUTURE ANNUAL MEETINGS. Bill Bridges proposed that future annual meetings might take new directions and invited input from Board Members. Some of the issues related to the annual meeting include a) the rise in transportation costs that make going to one central site non-economic as well as non-ecological; b) the costs of conferences and indicators that attendance might be declining, not only at AHP conferences; c) the generation within AHP of a new spirit of localism; and d) a concern that we haven't fully capitalized on the new technologies and their implications for communication and education. He suggested the possibility of bringing a meeting (program material) to the people rather than carrying people to a central meeting. It could be cheaper and, perhaps, more exciting to work out ways of drawing people into smaller clusters. We might have fifteen annual meeting centers at the same time with some central material offered via video, computer, etc., and supplemented by local participation.

A discussion followed in which several ideas surfaced: 1) we might pursue the Chautauqua circuit or road show format; 2) revival of the regional conference (where they might have been discontinued) and/or expansion of regional conferences; 3) the establishment of local conferences as an important ecological necessity.

The Board determined that while the above ideas will be explored, the 1981 conference should follow the usual format, and be scheduled in the Southern California area near the time of the APA convention. It was suggested that contingency plans be made for the 1981 Annual Meeting in case of emergencies and that a task force be developed to explore a new format for 1982.

SOCIAL ACTION. Several issues relating to the general social action concerns of this meeting: 1) the Nuclear Statement passed at the last Executive Board meeting in Princeton and the process by which the Executive Board arrives at policy; 2) advocacy statements in general; 3) official affiliates of AHP (who are they and how do they get their voice); 4) how do we translate the 12-Hour Political Party results into action; 5) what guidelines do we use as reference points for official action statements; and 6) should AHP make statements on specific issues at all.

Richard Grossman reported that the Health Policy Council might be a model for social action. It originally started under AHP (at Princeton), and is now an independent spinoff with enough money raised to establish operation and become active in giving a political voice to holistic health constituents.

Willis Harman recommended that AHP not become involved in taking stands on specific issues. Tom Greening raised the issue of the wording of the Nuclear Power and Social Transformation Statement passed by the Executive Board last August. There was discussion about the process by which the statement was presented, redrafted, then passed by the Executive Board. This issue was also addressed in a written statement by ERICC to the Executive Board. Expressing concern over the process by which the decision was reached. Tom wished the wording
to be revised to make it more educative rather than an advocacy statement. The Social Action Task Force, chaired by Jackie Doyle, was asked to review the guidelines for determining appropriate issues and action for AHP that was presented and approved at the last Executive Board meeting—and also to review the Nuclear Statement and to make recommendations to the Executive Board regarding both the process and the statement at its next meeting.

OTHER BUSINESS:

1) Eastern Regional Inter-Chapters Caucus (ERIC): Margie Kaplan read a statement from ERICC requesting a permanent position on the Executive Board for a representative of ERICC. It was pointed out that the By-laws do not include adding ad hoc representation of new groups to the Board. This led to discussion regarding the relationship between chapters and the international organization. The low percentage of international members in chapters (approximately 15% of AHP members belong to Chapters) raised issues of representation by these largely non-member groups. It was recommended that chapters work through the existing nominating procedures and by having more AHP membership (voting power) to elect someone to the Executive Board. Margie Kaplan suggested that AHP members be encouraged to join chapters, particularly Executive Board members.

2) AHP/APA-Division 32 Joint Hospitality Suite, APA. Nora Weckler asked that Jean Feinberg be appointed to be the official liaison with Division 32 in planning the program for the 1980 Joint Hospitality Suite and that AHP continue to support the program by contributing one-half of the costs. This was approved.

3) Research Committee. Jim Bebout has resigned as Chair of the standing research committee. Fred Massarik would like to put together a proposal for the appropriate development of a research program. This was approved and Fred invited input from members regarding developing such a plan. The Chair for this committee will be left vacant for the present.

4) White House Conference on Families. Two nominations to be made to the state of California for delegates to the White House Conference. Nora Weckler and Jane Drach will be suggested and endorsed by the Executive Board to be representatives in the California delegation.

5) Co-sponsorship. The following events will be co-sponsored by AHP: a) American Holistic Medical Association Annual Meeting, June 16-18, and b) University of Kansas, Adult Life Cycle Conference, November.

6) New Executive Board Meeting is set for Wednesday, August 27 at Snowmass, Colorado beginning at 4:00 pm and continuing through Thursday, August 28 between 2:00-5:00 pm. To be included in the Agenda for this meeting, items should be submitted to Executive Officer by June 1.