Beyond the Myths of Hunger

What We Can Do?

FRANCES MOORE LAPPÉ AND JOSEPH COLLINS

Some approaches to world hunger elicit our guilt (that we have so much) or our fear (that they will take it from us). Others imply impossible tradeoffs. Do we protect the environment *or* grow needed food? Do we seek a just *or* an efficient good system? Do we choose freedom *or* the elimination of hunger?

But our search for the roots of hunger has led us to a number of positive principles that neither place our deeply held values in conflict nor pit our interests against those of the hungry. We offer the following principles as working hypotheses, not to be carved in stone but to be tested through experience:

- Since hunger results from human choices, not inexorable natural forces, the goal of ending hunger is obtainable. It is no more utopian than the goal of abolishing slavery was not all that long ago.
- While slowing population growth in itself cannot end hunger, the very changes necessary to end hunger—the democratization of economic life, especially the empowerment of women—are key to reducing birth rates so that the human population can come into balance with the rest of the natural world.
- Ending hunger does not necessitate destroying our environment. On the contrary, it requires protecting it by using agricultural methods that are both ecologically sustainable and within the reach of the poor.
- Greater fairness does not undercut the production of needed food. The only path to increased production that can end hunger is to devise food systems in which those who do the work have a greater say and reap a greater reward.
- We need not fear the advance of the poor in the third world. Their increased well-being can enhance our own.

These and other liberating principles point to possibilities for narrowing the unfortunate rifts we sometimes observe among those concerned about the environment, rapid population growth, and world hunger.

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GIVING CHANGE A CHANCE

Elsewhere we explained why most U.S. foreign aid actually sends our tax dollars to work against the hungry. But the question remained, if not promoting more U.S. aid, what *is* our responsibility to the hungry?

We responded that the most important step Americans can take to end hunger is to remove U.S. support—financial, diplomatic, and military—from regimes determined to resist the changes necessary to end hunger.

Even many Americans who agree with our approach to the problem of hunger may balk at this recommendation. "But, we can't do that! If we don't support those regimes, the Soviet Union will fill the vacuum. Nothing new will be allowed to emerge; things will only be worse." How often we have heard this!

We have thought long and hard about this fear. We understand it. We have tried to think through exactly what choices we have. Aren't there really only two? On the one hand, we can allow our government to continue on its present course—blocking change. Or we can give change a chance.

Where does the first choice lead?

Two quite different countries have come to symbolize for us the logical consequences of this course.

The first is Guatemala. In the early 1950s, the U.S. government abetted the overthrow of an elected government attempting to carry out a modest land reform. Over many years, U.S. military and economic aid strengthened the grip of governments responsible for imprisoning, torturing, and murdering tens of thousands of Indian peasants (and making many more into refugees), virtually all opposition leaders, and hundreds of churchworkers—that is, anyone seeking political and economic reforms.

Guatemala has perhaps the worst human rights record in all Latin America. In 1984, the respected human rights organization Americas Watch called Guatemala a "nation of prisoners."[1] That same year the Guatemalan military permitted the election of a civilian as president, but terror against the poor and other dissidents persists. So well entrenched are the oligarchy and their military that many observers doubt the elected government will be able to enact reforms addressing Guatemala's appalling poverty and hunger. And even if the coming years were to bring reform, several decades would be required to undo the damage wrought with U.S. backing. The Philippines, El Salvador, Zaire, Chile, Haiti, South Africa, Paraguay, Indonesia—we could use these and several other countries to make the same point.

Cuba represents an equally predictable consequence of the same course—a policy based on blocking change. Historically, the United States supported corrupt, authoritarian regimes in Cuba even though they perpetuated misery and hunger for many Cubans. When Fidel Castro's government threatened to nationalize a U.S.-owned oil refinery—as decades earlier Mexico had nationalized its oil fields—the United States retaliated with hostilities that continue to this day. Along with multiple failed attempts to assassinate or overthrow Castro, the United States has used all its power to isolate Cuba internationally: trade embargoes, travel restrictions, and lobbying against aid by international lenders. The United States even imposes its policy of fear on its allies, refusing to import goods containing Cuban-made parts.[2]

If U.S. policymakers fear the emergence of a Soviet satellite near our borders, no pol-

icy could have been better designed to turn that fear into reality. And if their concern is for political freedom in Cuba, the U.S. government's unrelenting hostility and repeated attempts at subversion help create in Cuba an environment *least* likely to allow the flowering of civil liberties.[3]

Guatemala and Cuba represent the outcome of one choice. Fortunately, there is another choice. Primarily, it would entail our government's obeying the law—both U.S. laws and U.S.-signed international treaties that forbid supporting governments notorious for their human rights violations. It would mean an end to covert and overt operations to "destabilize" societies where reforms necessary to end hunger are under way.

Americans are told that following such a course would pave the road for Soviet satellites throughout the third world, with Cuba cited as proof. But as we have just pointed out, developments in Cuba are in part the outcome of policies based on U.S. hostility to change, *not* on an alternative course.

Years of study about and experience in numerous third world nations have led us to predict a different outcome if the United States were to change its course. Our prediction is based on the observation that any nation that has for decades, even centuries, been under the control of elites beholden to foreign interests will above all yearn for sovereignty. Such movements for change will want to do it *their* way—if they are given the chance. The last thing they will want to become is a puppet of a foreign power. And domestically, they will likely seek to avoid becoming a carbon copy of either dominant model—U.S.-style capitalism or Soviet-style statism.

Our close-up observation of Nicaragua over the last seven years has strongly confirmed our hunch.[4] Looking at the pattern of Nicaragua's aid and trade ties with other countries, we have been struck by the new government's efforts to avoid dependency on any one power bloc. In 1984, most of the value of Nicaragua's imports came from Latin America, Western Europe, and the United States. About one quarter came from the Eastern bloc. In 1984, only 6 percent of Nicaragua's exports went to socialist countries. In loans to Nicaragua, a similar pattern emerges. Between 1979 and 1984, of the almost $3 billion in loans made to Nicaragua, nearly two-thirds came from other Latin American countries, multilateral lending institutions like the World Bank, and Western European countries, while about a quarter came from the Eastern bloc. Only as Western sources of aid have cut back, in large part in response to U.S. pressure to isolate Nicaragua, has the share of its loans from the Eastern bloc increased, reaching 60 percent in 1984.[5]

Nicaragua's domestic economic policies also confirm our sense that third world movements for change will seek to break loose from *both* dominant economic models. About 60 percent of Nicaragua's economy (and over three-quarters of its farmland) is in private hands, and its experiments in political participation include forms tried in neither East nor West.[6]

Americans have been told that Nicaragua, like Cuba, is a direct threat to our own security. But can anyone seriously believe either of these tiny countries could harm the United States? Since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, the United States has made clear that it would not tolerate weapons installations near our borders that might threaten our security. Satellite-gathered intelligence allows us to be certain that prohibition is not violated. Rather than a threat, both Nicaragua and Cuba could contribute to the U.S. economy if the United States established trading ties, as we now have with China and in certain fields with the Soviet Union.

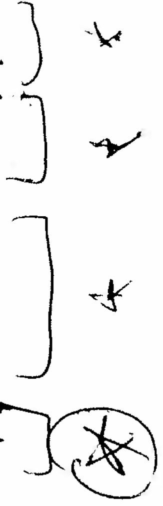
But if the U.S. government continues its hostility to change, we may be deprived of knowing the full possibilities of economic and political change in the interests of the majority. Any society attacked by a much more powerful enemy will find it difficult to allow free debate or to invest its scarce resources in an alternative development path.

A RELEVANT EXAMPLE

If both common sense and historical experience suggest that third world peoples, if allowed to do so, will want to chart new paths, what do Americans have to offer?

We Americans have always thought of our country as a beacon of hope for the world's oppressed. But as we travel throughout the third world, we sense a change. We fear our example is becoming increasingly irrelevant to the poor majority abroad.

While our government extolls the virtues of democracy and freedom, America's present version of these two values appears unrelated to the concerns of the hungry—food, access to land, and jobs. Our government praises third world elections as creating democracies, but most of the hungry people in the world today live in countries—India, Brazil, El Salvador, Pakistan, Sudan, Egypt, Indonesia—where there have been elections, yet the majority of people find themselves no better able to meet their needs.



Even more directly stated, if amid our nation's fantastic food bounty, poor American children are stunted by malnutrition, what example of hope do we offer to children in the third world? If, with an unparalleled industrial and service economy, millions go without work even during a period of economic growth and millions more work full time yet remain in poverty, what hope do we offer the impoverished and jobless in the third world?

We fear the answer is very little as long as Americans' understanding of democracy and freedom fails to address the most central concerns of the poor.

This realization suggests that we can contribute toward ending world hunger not only by helping to remove obstacles in the way of change in the third world but also by what we do right here at home. In the preceding chapter, we quoted philosopher Henry Shue who argues that subsistence rights—what we call economic rights—are just as central to freedom as is the right to security from physical assault.

We would only add that until we expand our understanding of democracy and freedom to include economic rights—a job for all those able to work and income with dignity for those not able—the United States can't be an example of hope in the eyes of the world's poor. Moreover, unless we so enlarge our understanding of democracy here at home, we doubt our government's capacity to understand or tolerate attempts for such change in the third world.

BEYOND ECONOMIC DOGMA

What would be required to expand our understanding of freedom and democracy, necessary both to end hunger here and to allow our nation to open the way to change in the third world?

First and foremost, a willingness to challenge the grip of economic dogma. In the opening essay of this book, we pinpointed what we see as the root of hunger—the antidemocratic concentration of power over economic resources, especially land and food.

But why have we allowed such concentration of power to continue, even at the price of untold human suffering? We began by answering that myths block our understand-

ing. Here we want to probe deeper. We believe the answer lies in our imposed and self-imposed powerlessness before economic dogma.

Seventeenth-century intellectual breakthroughs forced us to relinquish the comforting notion of an interventionist God who would put the human house aright. And what a frightening void we then faced! Running from the weighty implication—that indeed *human beings* are responsible for society-inflicted suffering—we've desperately sought a substitute concept. We've longed for overriding laws we could place above human control, thus relieving us of moral responsibility.

With Newton's discovery of laws governing the physical world and with Darwin's parallel discovery in the realm of nature, we became convinced that there must indeed be laws governing the social world.

And we thought we had found them! Here we'll mention two such "absolutes" that relate most directly to the causes of hunger. Though they be human creations, our society has made them sacred.

The first is the market. Who can deny that the market is a handy device for distributing goods? As we stated elsewhere, any society that has attempted to do away with the market has run up against serious stumbling blocks. But once transformed into dogma, this useful device can become the cause of great suffering. As such, we are made blind to even the most obvious shortcomings of the market—its ability to respond only to the demands of wealth, not to the needs of people, its inability to register the real resource costs of production, and its inherent tendency to concentrate power in ever fewer hands.

Facing up to these shortcomings does not mean that we throw out the market in favor of another dogma, such as top-down state control. It means that we approach the market as a useful device, asking ourselves, under what circumstances can the market serve our values? We have set forth the very simple proposition that *the more widely purchasing power is distributed, the more the market will respond to actual human needs.*

But within a market system in which everything—land, food, human skills—is bought and sold with no restrictions, how can we work toward a more equal distribution of buying power? The answer is we cannot. Yet if we agree that tossing out the market would be foolish, what do we do?

In answering this question, we face the second major stumbling block posed by the prevailing economic dogma, the notion of unlimited private control over productive property.

Taken as economic dogma, the right to unlimited private control over productive property allows many Americans to accept as fair and inevitable the accelerating consolidation of our own farmland in fewer hands and the displacement of owner-operated farms, just as we have seen in much of the third world. In Iowa, a symbol of family-farm America, more than half the land is now controlled by absentee landlords, not working farmers. Similarly, we accept the accelerating concentration of corporate power.

Although many Americans believe that the right to unlimited private control over productive property is the essence of the American way, this was certainly not the vision of many of our nation's founders, as we pointed out in the preceding chapter. In their view, property could serve liberty only when ownership was widely dispersed, and the right to property was valid only when it served society's interests. This view was widely held well into the nineteenth century. "Until after the Civil War, indeed, the assumption was widespread that a corporate charter was a privilege to be granted . . . for purposes clearly in the public interest," writes historian Alan Trachtenberg."

But by 1986, Ford executive Robert A. Lutz could declare without apology that his "primordial duty" is to his shareholders, while lamenting that his company's investment decisions meant the loss of tens of thousands of jobs.[9] Lutz seemed unaware that the notion that a corporation is responsible to its shareholders, but not to its workers nor to the larger society, is in fact a very *new* idea.

More accurately, Lutz's view is the revival of a once-discarded idea. When our nation's founders rejected monarchy their cry was no taxation without representation. It was a demand for the accountability of governing structures. Applied to the much-altered economic world of the twentieth century, their demand seems especially appropriate vis-à-vis our major corporations. Corporations now "can have more impact on the lives of more people than the government of many a town, city, province, state," notes Yale political scientist Robert A. Dahl.[10] Thus today's claim by corporations of an unfettered right to allocate wealth we all helped to create may be closer to the concept of the divine right of kings than it is to the principles of democracy.

Ownership with Responsibility

Working against hunger requires a fundamental rethinking of the meaning of ownership, certainly when applied to the productive resources on which all humanity depends. Such effort would be a first step in breaking free of the constraints of dogma.

In this rethinking, we believe Americans would be well served by going back to our roots, to the concept of property-cum-responsibility held by our nation's founders and to that of the original claimants to these soils, the American Indian nations. Because the community endures beyond the lifetime of any one individual, the Indian concept of community tenure carried within it an obligation to future generations as well.[11]

Indeed, we see a worldwide movement toward the rethinking of ownership already under way. In this rethinking, ownership of productive resources, instead of an absolute to be placed above other values, becomes a cluster of rights and responsibilities at the service of our deepest values. It is neither the rigid capitalist concept of unlimited private ownership nor the rigid statist concept of public ownership.

Where do we see movement toward such rethinking? In 1982, we visited one of the most productive industrial complexes in Europe: Mondragon, in the Basque region of Spain. Here some 100 enterprises—including a banking system, technical training school, and social services—are owned and governed by the people who work there. This noncapitalist, nonstatist form of ownership results in very different priorities and values. During the recession of the early 1980s, for example, when Spain suffered 15 percent unemployment, virtually no one in Mondragon was laid off. Worker-owners were retrained to meet the needs of the changing economy.[12]

We can detect a values-first approach to ownership in the third world too. In Nicaragua's pragmatic agrarian reform the goal is not the elimination of private property; indeed many more landowners are being generated by the reform. The keystone is attaching an obligation to the right to own farmland. Since this resource is essential and finite, every owner is obliged to use it efficiently so as to benefit society. Land left idle or grossly underproducing is taken away and given free of charge to families with no land. The concept of ownership is thus protected, but not above a higher value—life itself, the right of all human beings to eat.

Do these examples sound far away, irrelevant, even alien to our own experience? Then

consider the recent decision of Nebraskans on this very question of farmland ownership. A few years ago, they amended their state's constitution so that only working farmers and their families can own farmland. Corporations like Prudential Insurance that had been speculating in Nebraska farmland could buy no more. In their support for this amendment, Nebraskans put the value of dispersed ownership in family farm agriculture above the notion of anyone's absolute right to buy whatever their dollars can pay for.[13]

We introduced our discussion of property rights in response to the question, what would be required to achieve such a dispersion of economic power that the market could actually reflect human needs rather than the demand for wealth? Part of the answer, we have suggested, lies in rethinking property rights as a device to serve higher values, not as ends in themselves. But an additional approach is worthy of consideration.

Just Too Important

Price fluctuations in a market economy can be troublesome for the consumer, but in the special case of food, such variation can be catastrophic. For this reason, and because movement toward fairer distribution of income takes time, some societies have simply decided that what is necessary to life itself should not be left to the vagaries of the market.

As we have mentioned in earlier chapters, a number of both capitalist and noncapitalist societies—as vastly different as Sweden and China—have decided that wholesale food prices are too vital to everyone's well-being to be left to the uncertainties of the market. Health care is equally essential to life. Thus some third world societies and all Western industrialized societies except the United States have also concluded that health care should not be distributed by the market, that is, to those who can afford to pay for it, but should be a citizen's right.

These examples are hardly the final word. We present them as signs of growing courage to confront the rigid "isms," courage to put one's deepest values first and judge economic policies according to how they serve those values—not the other way around.

WHAT CAN WE DO? DOWN TO THE MOST PERSONAL QUESTION

Believing in the possibility of ending hunger means believing in the possibility of real change.

Ironically, the greatest stumbling block of all is the notion held by many Americans that in the United States we have achieved the best that can be—no matter how flawed it may appear. Why is this ironic? Because as Americans we have a very different heritage. Near his death, the father of the Constitution, James Madison, said of our newborn nation, "[America] has been useful in proving things before held impossible."[14] Thus the belief that indeed something new is always possible should be our very birthright.

But how is it possible to believe that those who are poor and downtrodden—those who have so much working against them—can construct better lives? Observing ourselves and others, we've come to appreciate how hard it is to believe that others can change unless we experience change ourselves.

With this realization, the crisis of world hunger becomes the personal question, how can I use my new knowledge to change myself so that I can contribute to ending hunger? The answer lies in dozens of often mundane choices we make *every day.*

These choices determine whether we are helping to end world hunger or to perpetuate it. Only as we make our choices conscious do we become less and less victims of the world handed to us, and more and more its creators. The more we consciously align our life choices with the vision of the world we are working toward, the more powerful we become. We are more convincing to ourselves and more convincing to others.

How do we begin?

A first step is getting alternative sources of information. As we hope to have demonstrated, as long as we only get world news from television and the mainstream press, our vision will remain clouded by myths. That's why the resource section at the end of the book includes a list of useful periodicals that continually challenge prevailing dogma. Without a variety of independent sources, we can't fulfill our role as citizens to help reshape our government's definition of our national interest and its policies toward the third world.

Then we must put that new knowledge to use. We are all educators—we teach friends, coworkers, and family. With greater confidence born of greater knowledge, we can speak up effectively when others repeat self-defeating myths. Letters to the editor, letters to our representatives, letters to corporate decision makers—they all count too.

Perhaps the most important step, however, in determining whether we will be part of the solution to world hunger, is the choice of a career path. The challenge is to think through just how we apply our skills in jobs that confront, rather than accept, a status quo in which hunger and poverty are inevitable.

To have a real choice of career path or to contemplate involvement in social change, we also have to decide what level of material wealth we need for happiness. Millions of Americans are discovering the emptiness of our society's pervasive myth that material possessions are the key to satisfying lives. They are learning that the *less* they need, the more freedom of choice they have in where to work, where to live, in learning experiences.

In every community in America, people go hungry and lack shelter. Through our churches, community groups, trade unions, and local government, we can help address immediate needs and participate in generating a new understanding of democracy—not as a vote one casts every few years but as active participation in community planning for more and better jobs, affordable housing, and environmental protection. Working to elect officials committed to addressing the roots of hunger is essential to such change.

Where and how we spend our money—or don't spend it—is also a vote for the kind of world we want to create. For example, in most communities we can now choose to shop at food stores that offer less-processed and less wastefully packaged foods, stores managed by the workers themselves, instead of conglomerate-controlled supermarkets. And we can choose to redirect our consumer dollars in support of specific product boycotts, such as the successful boycott of Nestlé that alerted the world to the crisis of infant deaths caused by the corporate promotion of infant formula in the third world, or the boycott of Campbell Soup that brought the company to the negotiating table with a Midwest farmworkers organization.

We can take responsibility for the invisible role our savings play when we put them in the bank. Instead of allowing our savings to be invested in weapons manufacturing, nuclear power, or South Africa, we can use our savings to support our values. Socially

responsible investment funds have been created in recent years that use criteria of fairness and environmental protection, along with monetary return, in deciding where to put our money.[15]

But little is possible by oneself. We need others to push us and to console us when we are overwhelmed by the enormity of the problems we face. The points we make about the myth of the passive poor apply equally well to "passive" North Americans. We, too, need the example of others. *Community Is Possible* by Harry Boyte[16] and *Helping Ourselves* by Bruce Stokes[17] are just two books offering inspiring glimpses into local initiatives for change in America.

Actually *going* to the third world ourselves can profoundly alter our perceptions. A superficial tourist's view might confirm one's despair; but making the effort to meet those working for change, we can discern tremendous energy and hope. And looking back to the United States from abroad, we gain new insights on the role of our government. Today several nonprofit groups and travel agencies offer study-tours to selected third world countries. Individuals with specialized skills can consider actually living for awhile in the third world, offering their services to locally organized initiatives.

At the end of this book, we have included a selected list of some of the organizations working at a number of levels: all are part of the growth in understanding necessary to end hunger.

THE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT

Our capacity to help end world hunger is infinite, for the roots of hunger touch every aspect of our lives—where we work, what we teach our children, how we fulfill our role as citizens, where we shop and save. But whether we seize these possibilities depends in large measure on a single ingredient. You might expect us to suggest that the needed ingredient is compassion—compassion for the millions who go hungry today. As we have pointed out, compassion is indeed a profoundly motivating emotion. It comes, however, relatively easy. Our ability to put ourselves in the shoes of others makes us truly human. Some even say it's in our genes and that we deny our innate compassion only at great peril to our own emotional well-being. There is another ingredient that's harder to come by. It is moral courage.

At a time when the old "isms" are ever more clearly failing, many cling even more tenaciously to them. So it takes courage to cry out, "The emperor wears no clothes! The world is awash in food, and all of this suffering is the result of human decisions!"

To be part of the answer to world hunger means being willing to take risks, risks many of us find more frightening than physical danger. We have to risk being embarrassed or dismissed by friends or teachers as we speak out against deeply ingrained but false understandings of the world. It takes courage to ask people to think critically about ideas so taken for granted as to be like the air they breathe.

And there is another risk—the risk of being wrong. For part of letting go of old frameworks means grappling with new ideas and new approaches. Rather than fearing mistakes, courage requires that we continually test new concepts as we learn more of the world—ever willing to admit error, correct our course, and move forward.

But from where does such courage come?

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society so often discounts—our innate moral sensibilities, our deepest emotional intuitions about our connectedness to others' well-being. Only on this firm ground will we have the courage to challenge all dogma, demanding that the value of human life be paramount. Only with this new confidence will we stop twisting our values so that economic dogma might remain intact while millions of our fellow human beings starve amid ever greater abundance.

NOTES

1. Americas Watch, *A Nation of Prisoners* (New York: Americas Watch, 1984). For further documentation of human rights abuses perpetrated by the Guatemalan government, see U.S. Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1984*, Report submitted to the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, February 1985, 541–57.
2. Jonathan Kwitny, *Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World* (New York: Cogdon and Weed, 1985), chapter 15; and Warren Hinckle and William Turner, *The Fish is Red: The Story of the Secret War Against Castro* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981).
3. Most evaluations of Cuban society are so one-sided as to make informed, reasonable discussion impossible. Our institute's study—*No Free Lunch: Food and Revolution in Cuba* by Medea Benjamin, Joseph Collins, and Michael Scott (New York; Grove Press/Food First Books, 1986)—offers a penetrating, critical review of the Cuban food system, discussing both positive and negative lessons.
4. Joseph Collins with Frances Moore Lappé, Nick Allen, and Paul Rice, *Nicaragua: What Difference Could a Revolution Make?* (New York: Grove Press/Food First Books, 1986); and Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, *Now We Can Speak: A Journey through the New Nicaragua* (San Francisco: Food First Books, 1982).
5. Central American Historical Institute, Intercultural Center, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., *Update* 5 (27 February 1986): 6–7.
6. For ongoing information about developments in Nicaragua, Re monthly *Envio* and periodic *Updates* from the Central American Historical Institute listed above.
7. *Iowa Land Ownership Survey: Preliminary Report on Land Tenure and Ownership in 47 Counties* (Des Moines: Farmers Unions, 1982), 3, 10.
8. Robert Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 289.
9. *Business Week* (3 March 1986): 62.
10. Robert A. Dahl, *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy: Autonomy Versus Control* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 184. For a thoughtful discussion on the issues raised here, see Robert A. Dahl, *A Preface to Economic Democracy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
11. For a useful discussion, see William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology, of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).
12. Based upon interviews by Frances Moore Lappé, September 1982. For a general introduction to the Mondragon experience, see Hank Thomas and Chris Logan, *Mondragon: An Economic Analysis* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981).
13. For information on Nebraska's constitutional amendment, write to the Center for Rural Affairs, Box 405, Walthill, Nebraska 68067.
14. Robert A. Dahl, *Democracy in the United States*. 3rd edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1981), 32.
15. For more information about one such investment fund, write to Working Assets, 230 California St., San Francisco CA 94111.
16. Harry C. Boyte, *Community Is Possible* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984). See also Boyte's new book, coauthored with Sara M. Evans, *Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), for a study of democratic movements in America.
17. Bruce Stokes, *Helping Ourselves: Local Solutions to Global Problems* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980).