Boal, I. (2012). "Prologue". Pp. xiii-xxv in West of Eden: Communes and Utopia in Northern California. I. Boal, J. Stone, M. Watts and C. Winslow (Eds.) Oakland, CA: PM Press

Prologue

Iain Boal

West of Eden is the fruit of an extensive project conceived and organized by a quartet—two historians, a geographer, and an anthropologist by trade—all of whom have also by affinity been involved in the communal life of one sort or another.

The "Communes Project," as it was first called, began in 2003 as a collaboration between the Institute of International Studies at the University of California, Berkeley and the Mendocino Institute based near Fort Bragg on the coast of Northern California. The project focused from its inception on the extraordinary efflorescence of secular communal ventures initiated in the mid to late 1960s and flourishing into the 1970s across the Bay Area and its hinterland.

There is of course a long and rich tradition of communitarian living in the new world, and in California in particular. There was no singular point of origin for the remarkable burst of communal energy. There were simultaneous experiments in metropolitan and rural settings across a swath of different environments, and encompassing a variety of ethnic and racial communities. Although the phenomenon was ubiquitous, it is incontestable that the Bay Area provided one of the most generative settings in which a range of communal movements came to fruition—if "movements" is a term that can be justified, and we believe it can.

We were aware that the chronicling of this movement has barely been approached—with distinguished exceptions who are mostly represented in this volume. In particular, the deep history of utopian communities owes a large debt to the sociological labors of Timothy Miller, whose books on nineteenth- and twentieth-century communes are an essential resource for students of the subject, and whose survey of Californian communalism opens Part 1 of *West of Eden.* The striking dearth of new work on the topic requires explanation in itself; it must surely be related to the knowing smile, the weary condescension that greets the word

"commune," and to the general anathematizing of the '60s examined in Michael Watts's retrospect in the concluding "Legacies" section.

To complement Miller's historical overview, we found Michael Doyle's book *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s* (edited with Peter Braunstein) to be an indispensible *vade mecum* in this project, pointing to the legacies of that time. For tens of thousands of Americans, the experiencing of a life in common, one that consciously rejected dominant modes of consumption and representation, even if later disavowed, proved to be formative and surprisingly enduring. Is it an exaggeration to say that the antisystemic politics and organizing style evident in Seattle a full generation later had their roots in the collective antinomian struggles of the '60s?

West of Eden aims to synthesize the elements that composed the Communes Project: ethnographic fieldwork of a sort, depending sometimes on flashbacks, usefully supplemented by FOIA documents based on unobtrusive FBI note-takers; a memorable Mayday workshop at Jughandle Farm in Mendocino; an undergraduate course entitled Experiments in Community; two conferences in Berkeley focusing on the country communes of Albion Ridge, Mendocino, as a type of case study, and the second focusing specifically on the phenomenon of urban communalism. We recognized early in the research that the key theoretical task was to think the rural and urban together. The project was initially framed between the poles of a "city vs. country" opposition, and it has proved a useful heuristic. But this framing immediately raises the question whether Morning Star and Wheeler's Ranch—the two most important communes in San Francisco's immediate hinterland—constituted in some way an intermediate "third space." In reality, the complex relations between the city and the country with respect to the network of communitarian nodes contradict any facile cliché based on dichotomizing the urban and the rural.

The other key terms of the project turn out to be no less complex and are freighted with a long, convoluted history. The lexical cluster that the contributors to *West of Eden* set resonating in productive ways—c*ommune, communal, communard, community, communication, commons, commoning*—are all highly charged terms and much contested. Consider the ur-commune—the Paris Commune of 1871—that lasted only seventy-three days, and was instantly the object of bourgeois hatred and scorn. Understandably. On March 18, the French government,

which had fled to Versailles, sent in troops who then refused to fire on the jeering crowds; instead, they turned their weapons on the officers, shooting their commander. The Commune had begun. Factories became co-ops; education was declared free and universal; priests and nuns were evicted from schools; day nurseries were opened next to places of work. George Sand wrote to Flaubert, "[Your Commune's] chosen leaders, administrators, inspirers—are they all brigands and cretins? ...It is an orgy of self-styled renovators, who possess not an idea, not a principle." And Flaubert (no more your average bourgeois than Sand), wrote to her, "I hate democracy... Always formulas! Always gods! ...The only reasonable thing is a government of mandarins... The people is an eternal infant."

Flaubert need not have worried. The Commune was crushed by a bloody massacre of thirty thousand citizens of Paris. It was a slaughter that, if you were to believe the wall-text at the "Utopia" exhibit in the New York Public Library some years ago, the communards brought on themselves. The take-home message to the visitor was loud and clear: Thinking of realizing utopia? Forget it...they usually end in a bloodbath. The Kronstadt Soviet, the Spanish Republic, Jonestown, the Manson family, helter skelter.

The curators at the New York Public Library exhibit were, of course, by no means the only defamers of utopia. For utterly different reasons, Karl Marx snorted, "I do not write cookbooks for the kitchens of the future." In the United States, antiutopianism is linked to fear and contempt of anything that smacks of commoning, of communism. Orwell's version of it was hardly separable from anticommunism, which no doubt accounts for his popularity in Cold War America.

The relationship of utopian literature to the social experiments of the '60s is a fascinating and unstudied topic. It would be revealing to survey the bookshelves of California communes. Utopias are notoriously liable to a negative reading, even in the home of positivity. The young Philip K. Dick lit out for dystopian territory, perhaps because, as a Cold War teenager growing up in Berkeley in the 1940s, he registered the fact that on the Edenic hillside campus from which he soon dropped out, the weapons of apocalypse were being imagined and designed. Another wartime denizen of Berkeley, Ursula Le Guin, daughter of the Kroeber household on Arch Street, navigated the genre with brilliant ambiguity in *The Dispossessed*. Her anarchist utopia joins *News from Nowhere* and *Bolo-Bolo* as beacons in a mostly dismal dreamscape. The historian of urban dystopias, Mike

Davis, once said that Ernest Callenbach's *Ecotopia*, set and written in Berkeley, was the scariest book he ever read; a green—read: white—utopia, with Oakland and its ferment of Black Power nowhere on the map. Robyn Spencer's essay in Part II of this volume is an important historical corrective, exploring the Panthers' communal ethos and practices, which went much further than simply breakfast programs.

To present-day cooperators drawn to the communal life, the word "commune" itself is sufficiently embarrassing that almost nobody will own the name. They prefer the anodyne term "intentional community." "Community," after all, offends no one. In fact, it is the maximum shibboleth of the culture, with a positive valence across the entire political spectrum. A journalist on National Public Radio once introduced a soundbite from a spokesman for the "organized crime community." Only that lonely misanthrope and quondam Berkeley mathematics professor, Ted Kaczynski, has come out publicly out against "community" as such. He continues to live a solitary existence.

Another recurrent issue, one that haunts the pages of *West of Eden*, can be expressed thus: what is it to claim that commune x, or cooperative project y, was a "success"? Or, alternatively, that it was a "failure"? It is striking how little one can gauge the true significance of some communal endeavor, either for the participants or for the wider society, by knowing only its lifespan. The sharing of a house in common that might have lasted but one summer often had effects that continue to resonate forty years on in the lived experience of those involved, far beyond its brief moment. To take one notorious local example, how should the collapse of the Berkeley Co-op in the late 1980s be interpreted? Can it partly be explained as a case of corporate rip-off? Was the now universal practice of the "unit pricing" of groceries simply appropriated by the capitalist food system? Or does it rather represent a quiet triumph for those canny Finnish cooperators who founded the Berkeley Co-op in the 1930s and invented this obviously rational thing? Is it not truly a victory when unit-pricing, like the weekend, or contraception, is no longer tagged as "radical" but belongs to all, and is generalized across the globe?

Another thorny question involves the issue of periodization. This is of course a perennial problem for historians, but especially when it comes to the 1960s. Decadalism is distinctly uncooperative in this case. It has led to statements such as, "The '60s didn't begin till 1964, and went on well into the '70s." Fair enough; indeed, you could go further and push

the ’60s back, so to speak, into the ’50s, especially if you look past the clichés to what was happening in San Francisco during that supposedly conformist decade. Fredric Jameson’s 1984 essay “Periodizing the Sixties” remains an essential starting point for those attempting to chronicle and comprehend the tangled complexities of the historical moment of *West of Eden*.

There is further the difficult matter of the old race/gender/class triad. The dimensions of race and class, perhaps more than gender, are typically occluded in discussions of communalism, partly because communes, especially the rural communes, were overwhelmingly white and so-called middle class. The issue of Native America and its vexed relation to the counterculture has already been alluded to. The chapters by Robyn Spencer on the communalism of the Black Panthers and by Janferie Stone on the collective arrangements during the Native American occupation of Alcatraz begin to fill a historiographical void. As to class, the issues of livelihood, of money, of resources and the need for sharing of goods and property, were surely on the minds of the Panthers. And they were never far from the minds of many rusticating communards. Were they outside capital? Hardly. Not a few communes foundered precisely because some members of the beloved community, especially when it came to care of children, could call on “outside capital.” The demands of the cash nexus, the regime of private property (such as ground rent) and the reign of the commodity constituted a force-field that soon enough produced the elephant on the Northern Californian common—“green gold.”

The researches into the lives of the communards of Albion Ridge presented in *West of Eden* offer an illuminating account of one central, specifically rural, aspect of the counterculture of the ’60s and ’70s. The history of this movement has not been told, even though the legacy of Californian communes of that period permeates the wider culture in ways that are mostly unacknowledged and urgently demand documentation and analysis. The great commoning experiment was a major thread in the development of the U.S. Left, and its aftermath can be detected in many facets of contemporary American life—for example, in foodways, in the protocols of group meetings and decision-making, in sexual politics and child-rearing, in the practices of civic life and local politics, in a very widespread green sensibility, and in a general valorization of “community.”

*

Our focus on California in no way denies the very widespread phenomenon of communalism in the '60s and '70s. It insists, however, on the Bay Area and the Mendocino coast as one of the richest sites of commoning and communal life since the inception of the long postwar capitalist boom. *West of Eden* tells this story—this tragicomedy, some would say—in four acts; the opening and closing sections flank the two central, contrapuntal parts that reflect the spatial logic of the history we aim to tell.

Part I opens with Timothy Miller's overview of the counterculture and communes in California, including historical antecedents both of communal movements in the widest sense, as well as the more immediate context of the remarkable burst of '60s communalism in city and country. Miller, the dean of communal studies in the United States, begins his survey with the observation that "a historical account of communes in California should begin with American Indian communities, or perhaps the Spanish missions." He focuses, however, on "communes founded in California mainly by non-Hispanic, non-Indian people since the mid-nineteenth century," including Fountain Grove by the Brotherhood of the New Life, the Icarians of Cloverdale, the socialists at Kaweah in the High Sierra, and Llano de Rio in Antelope Valley, Southern California, the single largest of all California communes—with 1,100 members at one point—before moving on to the '60 and '70s.

The second essay in Part I focuses on the flowering of the counterculture in San Francisco. Michael Doyle, a communard-historian, recalls first hearing of the Diggers "when they were lionized by the news media during 1967's Summer of Love, by which time the group's freewheeling experiment in the institutionalization of *communitas* was in high gear. ...The operative term for [their] various enterprises was 'free,' a word that in the Digger lexicon was used as noun, verb, and modifier indicating a plan of action. The collective maintained that the desired goal of maximal personal freedom would be realized only when the goods and services essential to social life were provided gratis to all." Doyle's excavation of the Diggers and the Free Family is exemplary of the work of retrieval urgently needed, in particular oral histories of the generation now passing.

The third essay considers the origins of '60s communalism in the context of the development of postwar radicalism and bohemian life in

the Bay Area. The editors asked the doyen of California studies, Jeff Lustig, to frame his analysis in light of the following question: "What were the conditions of possibility of the events of the '60s in the San Francisco Bay Area?" Lustig suggests that the answer lies partly in the proximity of two great commons in the East Bay and San Francisco, respectively: the campus of a large public university, and the Golden Gate Park and its panhandle, the latter a site of a successful legal struggle by Ron Davis and his Mime Troupe to stage political theatre in the open air.

Lustig's suggestive hypothesis about the Bay Area as generative node of communalist experiment is followed by the account of a young East Coast runaway who ended up in a California commune, but one far from the Golden Gate. Jesse Drew, who later settled in San Francisco and became a pioneer in the independent media scene, tells the story of his journey to, and life at, the Black Bear commune in Trinity County near the Oregon border. Drew describes the continental network of communes through which he passed en route to Black Bear in terms of "autonomous" or "outlaw" zones, and remembers that "far from evoking a feeling of isolation and desolation, [they] encouraged a great feeling of liberation and self-reliance for many of us. It was the clearest example that the new vision many of us had for a new way of living actually worked. The remoteness of our existence created the perfect laboratory environment to explore and develop alternatives to an oppressive and shallow status quo, from social governance to technology to food production."

In comparison to the grand blueprints of nineteenth-century New World utopian communities, charted in Dolores Hayden's classic *Seven American Utopias*, the communes of the 1960s and '70s were for the most part improvised, ad hoc affairs. Almost all communal housing was adapted from existing structures and refunctioned to new collective projects—either Victorians or empty industrial buildings in the urban context or abandoned farmhouses beyond the city. Hippie architecture is a byword for the bodged and the half-built, but Simon Sadler's essay on the dialectics of hippie enlightenment excavates some radically fresh ideas about the form and materials of human shelter. Of course, the iconic utopian form associated with the rusticating counterculture is Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome, a Cold War modernist object which has not weathered well (it leaks in sixty-four places), but did express commitment to a new world—albeit in tension with a nostalgia for the traditional and the indigenous.

Part II, "The City," focuses on the urban pole of the counterculture and its communal practices. One notable feature of the scene in San Francisco was the burgeoning of the "underground" press, which both reflected and in part constituted the countercultural milieu. If the posters and anarchist comics—above all the indelible style and tone of R. Crumb—endure as the hallmark of the period, the graphic arts were carried on a flood of literary productions, mostly ephemeral, though some found their niche in the form of the "free weekly." The tone, the styles and the sheer weirdness of the Bay Area scene are distilled in the fading pages of newspapers such as the *Express Times* and the *Berkeley Barb*, which were countercultural organs in the struggle to create communal spaces in which to live, work, and perform.

One such space was Project Artaud, which began technically as a squat in an immense, disused factory in San Francisco under Potrero Hill. The struggle of the artists and artisans of the Artaud building to legalize their status lasted twenty years, and the residents became pioneers of the urban live/work movement, not to mention unwilling experts in zoning law. Project Artaud also became a model for city managers across the United States, as they devised schemes in the aftermath of deindustrialization for urban regeneration and renewal. In the late '60s, fights between government bureaucracies and the new commoners over violation of building regulations were so ubiquitous that we came to call the general phenomenon "code wars."

On another front, two path-breaking chapters consider the intersection of communalism and revolutionary politics in "third world" movements focused in the Bay Area: the "Red Power" movement and the Black Panthers. Beginning on November 20, 1969, a group of Native Americans from a number of different tribes occupied the island of Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay, and proposed an education center, ecology center, and cultural center. During the occupation, which ended in June 1971, the Indian Termination Policy, designed to end federal recognition of tribes, was rescinded by President Richard Nixon, and the new policy of self-determination was established, in part as a result of the publicity and awareness created by the occupiers.

Robyn Spencer, a social historian of post–World War II protest movements, digs deeply into the history of the Black Panthers to reveal the party and its activities from below—in particular efforts at collective housing and the creation of autonomous spaces and institutions—begin-

ning with free breakfast programs, free clinics, and an independent newspaper. In the face of demonization by the state and the licensed media, the Oakland-based Panthers were at least fortunate in having access to the Bay Area's independent radio station, KPFA, whose importance to the local counterculture would be hard to overestimate. Pacifica Radio had its beginnings in the late 1940s as an intervention by anarcho-syndicalist war resisters aiming to present individual voices of conscience, dedicated to radical dialogics in a mediascape dominated by commerce and Cold War propaganda. Over the course of the '60s, KPFA morphed into a "community" radio station seen as an instrument serving the various liberation movements. KPFA's loose programming format—the result of a conscious decision by the founders of Pacifica to reject the Fordist, wall-to-wall commercialism of AM radio, in the belief that the politics was in the form as much as in the content—was unwittingly congruent with the relaxed style of the counterculture.

Felicity Scott's chapter complements the history of Project Artaud in San Francisco and delves into the dramatic case of two notable—and notorious—Bay Area communes, Morning Star and Wheeler's Ranch, located in the immediate hinterland of Sonoma County. Scott, a historian of art and architecture, traces the consequences of attempting "an exodus from official systems of managing land and the built environment—from property rights and trespass laws to building codes as well as health and safety regulations." It turns out that the firefighter's axe and the bulldozer are waiting for those who choose the commoning life and who challenge too directly the codes of capital's spatial order. One of the central figures in the San Francisco counterculture, particularly the music scene, was Ramón Sender, who has become a guardian of the flame and historian of Morning Star and Wheeler's. His own trajectory reveals a direct link between the utopian communities of the nineteenth century—the Mennonites and the Bruderhof—and the communalism of the '60s. Another communard turned remembrancer, Art Kopecky, whose memories and reflections have greatly enriched the *West of Eden* project, exemplified the "hippie" diaspora into the interior. He left the Bay Area to join the New Buffalo community in the southwest, and his diaries provide a vivid portrait of daily life "down on the commune."

In Part III, the focus shifts to the Mendocino coast. Cal Winslow, historian of working-class rebellions, primitive rebels, and Redwood ecologies, examines the chain of communes on Albion Ridge and their rela-

tion to the back-to-the-land movement. He describes the efforts to create more than the sum of the communes—a nation, some proposed. This included a community center, a food co-op, eventually a school, plus a host of social and cultural activities—hence the Albion nation. It became a politicized community as communards joined in the "code wars," the "whale wars," the rural ecology movement, the campaign against offshore oil drilling, Redwood Summer and a tradition of activism that endures to this day. In addition, he raises important questions considering the nature and efficacy of utopian thinking. In this section, four communards, three of them women, give accounts of their own paths to Albion. This is of particular interest given the flowering of a rural feminism that stands in contrast to images of male-driven movements and macho gurus. The publication *Country Women*, produced in Mendocino Country, was read nationally.

In the chapter that follows, "Our Bodies, Our Communal Selves," the anthropologist Janferie Stone, herself a veteran communard, describes the scene in an existential sense: "The communal movement must be posed against our sense of the world as a terminally dangerous place. Our dreams were reft by images of nuclear holocaust; we were the generation who had practiced hiding under our desks in the Cuban Missile Crisis. We had bomb shelter visions of a world that, if poisoned, might begin anew. Humanity, nuclearly cleansed, tutored by destruction, might do better in such a future. With the bodies of young men on line for the morass of Vietnam and American cities setting fire breaks against racial conflagration, we were bodies, almost without volition, moving away from the flames of a societal alienation that intensified. Our eyes opened through the mind-bends of drugs from marijuana to LSD, we saw the world as disintegrating. We thought that in a community of scale we could pick up the pieces, we could create if not a new society then an *On the Beach* fulfillment of each day that we had yet to live. We could take care of ourselves."

In Part IV, the concluding section, we consider the legacies of communalism that in a great variety of forms permeate the wider culture. The echo of the commune, if you listen for it, can be heard virtually everywhere in contemporary California, and far beyond. These legacies, it should be noted here at the outset, are profoundly ambiguous. Consider two or three of the most notorious slogans of the epoch. Take the slogan "free love"—it was no doubt subversive of the Cold War patriarchal order, while also congruent with the libertarian *Playboy* philosophy/phantasy.

But it certainly did not impress some second-wave feminists; "Guru," said one ex-communard, "is short for sexual predator."

"Free land," likewise—the other half of the motto of Black Bear Ranch (the commune on the far northern edge of California, the focus of Jesse Drew's essay)—is an attempted critique of capitalist property relations of exclusion and enclosure. But it has deep historical connection to Jacksonian dispossession and the Westering Anglo empire. To the expropriated grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the Miwok and Modoc, it would be hard for "free land" not to trigger the memory of recent genocide. It is all the more bitter to some that the rusticating hippies spent a lot of time playing Indian, in all sincerity romancing "the red man" and intending to honor the ancestral inhabitants of Alta California. These ironies multiply in Ray Raphael's description of the pacifist hippie turning into the libertarian gun-toting marijuana farmer.

"Do your own thing" was the mantra on the lips of the passengers in Ken Kesey's bus when it erupted from the La Honda commune deep in the redwoods between Palo Alto and the Pacific. The message came blasting from the Merry Pranksters' PA system across the heartland—a suggestive slogan for drive-by shouting and no doubt meant to disturb mindless conformism in the unhip, Fordist suburbs. But could any proverb be a better motto for yuppies in training or for late capitalist narcissism? And so, the editors of this volume have tried to be mindful of the cunning of history.

One of the more complex, contradictory legacies of the '60s in California is to be found in the culture of Silicon Valley, which drew deeply from the communal wells of the Bay Area counterculture, refracted through the utopian globalism of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, bible of the rusticating hippies and back-to-the-landers who imagined an alternative green world powered by appropriate technics, available for purchase by mail order. The historian Fred Turner, in an illuminating study of digital utopianism, has shown how this unlikely trajectory has depended on the transvaluation of the computer from a Cold War accessory to omnicide and "soul murder" into a convivial tool of personal liberation, from an icon of disembodiment and dehumanization into the means to new forms of equality and transformation. Lee Worden, in his essay "Reinventing Civilization," peers behind the Friday dresscode and the dissimulation of hierarchy spawned within the military-industrial-academic complex, where hierarchies have been replaced by flattened structures, long-term

employment by short-term, project-based contracting, and professional positions by complex, networked forms of sociability; the current state of the art can be found at Google headquarters. Worden, a systems biologist and student of cybernetics, reviews the material and historical links between the counterculture and the emergent cyberculture as well as the forms of commoning that lie in the hidden roots of the Silicon Valley hacker community.

Ray Raphael's chapter explores the transforming of the rural counterculture and the adaptation of hippie values to the criminalized business of marijuana production as it came to dominate the economy of Northern California.

Lastly, Michael Watts, geographer and founder of political ecology, takes stock of the extraordinary historical conjuncture represented by the late '60s and concludes that 1968 did represent, as Marshall Berman put it, a sort of tragedy born of militant activism, prefiguring the slide into encounter culture, paranoia, and helter skelter. But in his retrospect of that moment, "Caught of the Hop of History," Watts brings into focus the political struggle to unite two logics of different provenance, one Marxist, the other libertarian. The efforts at unification may have failed—in the crucible of the counterculture, emancipatory struggles, and domestic resistance to the Vietnam War—yet a number of 1960s innovations "enlarged the field of the possible."

During the course of the *West of Eden* project, we were often reminded of the fundamental importance of war, and resistance to war, to any full understanding of what came to be called the '60s. It is often forgotten that communes in both the country and the city were refugia, spaces of safety, networks of solidarity, for those in hiding from the state. We are once more living in a time of war and a period of crises of legitimacy for the institutions of capitalist modernity. We may be entering another period when the possibility of serious change, at the level of society itself, is not dismissed as a utopian illusion. In the words of one participant in those heady days, the experience "has forever made me optimistic about history. Having lived through it, I can't ever say, 'It will never happen.'"

We are struck by the desire of today's young people not only to get out from under the long shadow of the '60s, but at the same time to learn about this history and even to discuss the possibilities of renewing communalism and cooperative projects of many different kinds. While we found in the course of research that almost none of the children of com-

munes were keen to repeat the experiment of their own upbringing, or anything much like it, they appreciate being part of a kinship group larger than the modal nuclear family, and very grateful to be in a rich, far-flung network of siblings.

Ultimately, the communes of the Bay Area were only one aspect of a general spontaneous flowering of the practice of "commoning" in myriad forms. Indeed, talk of "commons" has lately become widespread, despite (or perhaps because of) neoliberal structural adjustment that has privatized or done away with much of what remained of the California commons. Commons has also become a key term among the peer-to-peer Internet community that is fighting for free and open access against the enclosure of the Internet by corporate claims to intellectual property. There are many direct links to the counterculture that was a spawning ground for much that is associated with the virtual life and its horizontalist ideology, explored in Lee Worden's chapter. Nevertheless, there are problems with modeling the commons in virtual, immaterial terms, and the lessons of *West of Eden* suggest that commons and commoning should be approached from below, both historically and with an eye to their future. Rights of common involve, first and before all, the earth and its productions—the fields, the gardens, the pastures, the woods and forests, the streams and rivers, the quarries and the orchards, and the gathering and the dwelling places. These mostly were, and must be again, not "resources" but the very ground of our lives. Above all, commoning is a social relation.

If this cautionary observation seems to give priority to the rural moment of the city/country dialectic as somehow more "basic," it contains a truth that the rusticating back-to-the-landers grasped, however naively at times: the cities of the future will have to minimize their parasitism on the hinterland. Experiments in cooperative living and urban farming that burgeoned in the '60s are beginning to flourish once again, prefiguring a social and ecological order... West of Eden.