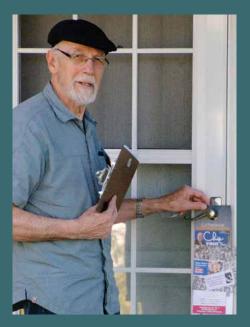


The Engaged Buddhist Election Retreat Guide







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Zendo altar from 2006 Election Retreat, Stockton, CA

By Edwin Herzog Edited by Susan Moon Photo Editor: Ko Blix

The Engaged Buddhist Election Retreat Organizing Committee: Stan Dewey, Rob Lyons, Laurie Senauke, Hozan Alan Senauke, Susan Moon, and Edwin Herzog

For more information contact our website electionretreat.org; or email us at info@electionretreat.org



Group shot: Election Retreat 2016 in Carson City, NV

Dear Political Activists and Engaged Buddhists,

Our intention with this guide is to offer you an Engaged Buddhist Election Retreat framework. This model has helped steer us through five election retreats since 2004. We offer it to you to help you define, design, and put in motion your own election retreat.

Our election retreats have all been in support of particular campaigns and candidates, but this model can also be used to support other actions and coalitions, such as voter registration, gun control, advocating for single-payer health care, or ending fracking.

Good luck!

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PREFACE

...Buddhism has been conspicuously ready to accept or ignore the inequalities and tyrannies of whatever political system it found itself under. This can be death to Buddhism, because it is death to any meaningful function of compassion. Wisdom without compassion feels no pain...The mercy of the West has been social revolution; the mercy of the East has been individual insight into the basic self/void. We need both.

-Gary Snyder, from Earth House Hold, (New Directions, 1969).

Gary Snyder's prescient words form a foundation for what we have come to call Engaged Buddhism. Living in the West, we are shaped by principles of social justice. One cannot be free when others are suffering and oppressed. So it is natural that the adaptive and liberative teachings of Buddhism fold in these principles, just as Buddhism has always been influenced by the cultures and philosophies it has come in contact with.

Principles of democracy, equality, and justice are not absent from the earliest Buddhist teachings and communities. But as our "election sesshin" has evolved over more than a decade, we have creatively found a way to integrate meditation and social practice in our U.S. electoral environment. This little book collects our experience through five election cycles, going door to door to support values and candidates who, at the very least, might be able to create possibilities of greater freedom. In some campaigns we have tasted electoral victory. In others we have reckoned with loss. But in every case our common meditation and action have bound us closer to each other in community, and brought us into connection with so many other like-minded people. Win or lose, we have not been silent. Long ago the Buddha walked through northern India from city to town to village for thirty-five years, speaking wherever he stopped to rest. You have to say something.

> —Hozan Alan Senauke Berkeley, California October 2017

"We have chanted the Wisdom beyond Wisdom Heart Sutra and the Metta prayer of Maylie Scott.

We have also worked together for 14 days, collectively, to get out the vote.

We have knocked on 3093 doors, talked to 1063 people, and encouraged 598 votes. Impact: immeasurable.

In our temporary Iris Street Sangha, we have sat and sung together, eaten and cleaned together.



Dharma talk in the Carson City zendo

By car and on foot, we have journeyed in pairs in Carson City, Reno, and Douglas County, sharing the belief that it makes a difference to vote, and that our democracy is still alive.

We offer great gratitude to Richard, Wendy, Max and Watson Thornley, for opening their home and their hearts; to Stan, Ed, and Rob for organizing us, to Tamar for nourishing us, and to the many others who have made our work here possible.

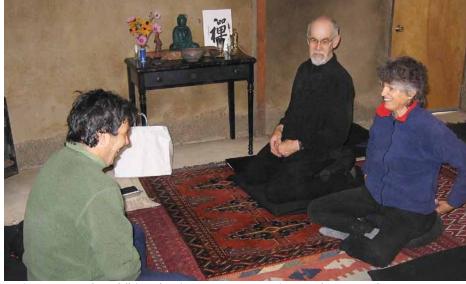
We honor the good intentions of Hillary Clinton, Catherine Cortez Masto, and Chip Evans.

We dedicate the merit of our sincere effort, yes, sincere effort, to all beings who will be affected by this election, which, because of interconnectedness, is all beings on this planet.

We remember, as Fannie Lou Hamer said, that no one is free until everyone is free.

Whatever the outcome of this election, we dedicate the merit of our effort together to the ongoing work for peace and justice for all."

-Sue Moon, Service dedication on election day morning November 8, 2016, Carson City, Nevada



First Engaged Buddhist Election Retreat organizers Ed Herzog (I), Stan Dewey and Melody Ermachild Chavis in Corvallis Oregon.

INTRODUCTION

The first Engaged Buddhist Election Retreat took place in 2004. The country was deeply enmeshed in the Iraq war, and George Bush Ir. ruled in his fourth year as president. The idea of an Election Retreat emerged during an informal conversation in the Berkeley Zen Center courtyard following a Saturday program of zazen, service, and lecture. The three organizers of the first Engaged Buddhist Election Retreat-Stan Dewey, Melody Ermachild Chavis and Edwin Herzog—were all committed Zen students and active members of the Buddhist Peace Fellowship (BPF), a national network of engaged Buddhists participating in various

forms of nonviolent social activism. Edwin was a labor organizer/

filmmaker with extensive experience in electoral get-out-the-vote efforts. Melody was an author and private investigator specializing in death penalty cases. Stan was an appellate defense attorney who had been involved in the National Lawyers Guild, the anti-apartheid movement, and Central American support efforts.

We were freaked out by the war in Iraq. We knew it was a big mistake with unforeseen consequences. We had marched against it from the beginning and gotten arrested in civil disobedience actions in Washington and San Francisco. It was an election year. As Buddhists we were faced with an urgent dilemma: how to bring our practice and social activism together to save all beings in this time of war?

There we were, living in the San Francisco Bay Area, in our Berkeley bubble, a center of liberal politics in a reliably blue state. We felt that presidential and congressional elections, though seriously flawed, afforded us an opportunity to elect politicians who supported at least some of our agenda: health care for all, ending the death penalty, protecting the environment, cutting the out-of-control military budget, and ending the Iraq war.

We had all embraced the Bodhisattva vow to save all beings. But we felt that sitting on our cushions was not enough and that doing nothing only led to despair. Many of our friends were traveling to red states to participate in the election, but these efforts did not include a



Zendo in Corvallis, Oregon

spiritual component. What could we do to transform our anger at injustice into action and involve ourselves in the electoral process in a form that was framed by our spiritual values?

We had dinner together and took the first steps toward mapping out a plan. We decided to call ourselves the Election Retreat Planning Committee. We envisioned an Engaged Buddhist Retreat that would bring together engaged Buddhists who wanted to volunteer in the 2004 presidential election. We decided to model it on the Soto Zen meditation retreat, or sesshin, that we were familiar with from years of Zen practice. (*See Appendix G*, *Engaged Buddhist Election Retreat Chronology*)

In the Soto Zen Buddhist tradition, sesshins are periods of intensive practice, lasting from a few days to a week . Starting at 5 a.m., participants sit numerous periods of zazen

> (meditation), eat formal, silent meals in the zendo (*see Appendix H, oryoki meals*), chant, work, and do walking meditation, until 9 p.m. No talking allowed, much less political organizing! During the sesshin itself, participants' attention is not directed outward to others but within; at the same time the intention is to bring body and mind into harmony with others.

> > Could we integrate this

5



Our Photo Editor Ko Blix, canvassing in Carson City, Nevada

intense, internal, spiritual experience with the topsy-turvy world of electoral politics? We decided to create a daily schedule that bracketed our political work during the day with Zen practice.

Morning and evening practice sessions would use a modified form of the Soto Zen Sesshin model, including periods of zazen, services and chants adapted from the Soto Zen form, vegetarian meals, and oryoki-style eating.

During the day we would volunteer to work with a political organization. This meant we would intentionally go into unfamiliar neighborhoods to talk with strangers about issues and candidates. Instead of the silence and internal focus of a traditional sesshin, we would step into the world and engage with people.

We decided on the following principles and actions:

• Travel to a swing district-out of state, if necessary-in the

coming election;

- Be involved in a local congressional election, develop a relationship with the local candidate, and use the local political infrastructure and our selected local candidate's field operation to help get out the vote;
- Be independent and unaffiliated with any particular Buddhist center or religious organization;
- Make a schedule and stick to it;
- Be self-funded through contributions from participants and supporters.

That first year, after researching our options, we decided to go to the swing state of Oregon, where we could support the Kerry/Edwards campaign, and work for Democratic Congresswoman Darlene Hooley, whom Republicans had targeted as one of the most vulnerable, progressive Democrats in Congress.



Phyllis Meshulam wearing her suffragette banner prior to GOTV on 2016 election day in Carson City, NV



We gather prior to walking in the Nevada Day Parade

This is from our first letter to friends and fellow engaged Buddhists, inviting them to join us in this first Engaged Buddhist Election Retreat:

August 8, 2004

Dear Buddhist activist friends,

Please consider volunteering in a swing state to campaign for the Kerry/Edwards ticket. A group of members of the Berkeley Zen Center's socially engaged dharma group have organized an Engaged Buddhist Election Sesshin (retreat) for the last two weeks in October in Central Oregon and you are invited to join us for three or more days during that time. We are not totally satisfied with the Democrats, but in keeping with our vows to save all beings, we aim to reduce harm by ending the Bush/Cheney regime.

As engaged Buddhists we feel a need to take a stand, to work toward saving all beings, and—when it comes to elections—to do what we can to support candidates who through their actions and political positions are closer to the Buddhist ideals and to do our best to reverse America's policies of war and destruction of the earth.

OUTREACH

Our next step was to get the word out to other Buddhist practitioners. We combined email lists and sent notices to many Bay Area Buddhist centers. We also printed up leaflets, posted them, and passed them out at local Zen centers. (See Appendix A, for another sample letter)

We felt our prime audience was engaged Buddhists. The Bay Areacentered Buddhist Peace Fellowship endorsed our effort and emailed notices to their members. The response we received was overwhelmingly positive.

It turned out we had touched a nerve. Many people had a strong desire to do something to stop the Iraq war and participate in a political action that was, at the same time, based on Buddhist values and practices. We had enough people who wanted to attend. We were on our way!



We hear political updates prior to canvassing in Nevada

HOUSING AND HOSTS

Finding housing and an election retreat host was our next step. We wanted a house that was large enough to sleep at least a dozen participants. If there were more than that, they could stay in tents or motels. We needed a large room for a zendo, a kitchen large enough to allow our tenzo (cook) to prepare meals for up to twenty people, and an eating area where we could eat comfortably together. And it had to be very cheap or, better yet, free.

For our first election retreat we stayed on an organic farm in Corvallis, Oregon, whose owners were friends of Melody's. They generously invited us to stay for free. We practiced zazen and took our meals in a large cob house. Some of us slept in the house and others camped out on their land in trailers, tents, and inside their green house. We rented porta-potties to spare our hosts' septic tanks. Though it often rained, the farm in rural Oregon was idyllic.

Around thirty brave souls joined us in Oregon over the two–week period. At most there were twelve of us at once. Though the Kerry/ Edwards ticket lost, and the Iraq War continued, we helped re-elect four-term Congresswoman Darlene Hooley, in spite of Republican efforts to defeat her. We also helped carry the state of Oregon for Kerry.

In 2006, we decided to work to replace Richard Pombo, the ultraconservative incumbent congressman in the central California district around Stockton. A supportive property owner allowed us to stay in a vacant house with a backyard studio that we converted into a zendo. Midway through the retreat, the landlord offered us a second house next door so everyone could sleep indoors instead of in tents or in nearby motels.

The house was so comfortable and quiet that Jerry McNerny, the congressional candidate we were supporting, often visited during the day for a quiet respite from campaigning. He won the election by a slim margin, partly thanks to our intense work on his behalf.

In 2008, we went to the swing state of Nevada to work for then Presidential Candidate Barack Obama and congressional hopeful Jill Derby. A Zen practitioner and his family in Carson City offered their house and hosted us for two weeks, and it was one of our most ideal locations. The house already had a zendo that was used by a



Hanging out in our host house in Carson City, NV 2008

small, local practice community. Because the family supported both our spiritual and political goals, they bent over backwards to accommodate us; they occasionally ate dinner with us, sat zazen, and joined us for canvassing. Eight years later, in 2016, we reached out to them again as we planned our next election retreat, and they invited us back.

As Judy Bertelsen, one of our 2016 participants wrote: "The stunningly generous family opened their beautiful home to us. They permitted their lives to be taken over by people sleeping on their floors and couches, people filling their wonderful kitchen, people stuffed into their dining area, people perhaps disturbing their sleep with snoring. When I left on October 31, with another week of the sesshin remaining, they were still smiling, offering us more and more. They are a bunch of bodhisattyas."

THE SCHEDULE AS A CONTAINER



Work circle in Stockton, CA 2006

We model our sesshin schedule on our Bay Area Soto Zen Centers. We devote the morning and evening to practice. On a typical day we sound the clappers at 6:30 in the morning, and sit two forty-minute periods of zazen with ten minutes of walking meditation in between. This is followed by a brief service in which we bow and chant the Heart Sutra and Maylie's Scott's Metta Prayer. (See Appendix C, Daily Schedule and Appendix E, Zendo Chants)

We eat a silent breakfast, and perform assigned household chores.

On some mornings we have a dharma talk from a senior practitioner, followed by discussion. Next, we pack bag lunches, and meet in a group circle to discuss the day ahead. We pair up for precinct walking, and leave to report to the local campaign headquarters for canvassing. We usually encourage people to pair up with someone they don't know well. This allows folks to establish new relationships with other retreat participants and helps build a close-knit sangha.

Around 6:30 pm we return from canvassing, eat dinner at 7:00, sit one period of zazen, chant the refugees, and turn in around 10. In traditional Zen fashion, we ask participants to stick to the schedule as best they can as it creates a container of trust and safety. If folks come and go, or choose to do only the activities or work positions they prefer, it disturbs the solidarity and interconnectedness we are trying to build. With everyone's wholehearted participation, the schedule becomes second nature, allowing us to concentrate fully on our practice and our political organizing.

WHY PRACTICE?



During an Election Retreat, we go out every afternoon and encounter dozens of strangers on the street, on porches, and in front yards to talk about complex, sensitive, and sometimes controversial issues. Does it matter, while doing the tiring and often difficult job of canvassing in out-of-the-way neighborhoods, what we are feeling and how we present ourselves? If we are not at peace internally how can we create peace in the world? Are we so fixed on positive outcomes and votes for our particular candidate that we forget our interdependence and the value of the individual standing right in front of us?

We find that a daily spiritual practice helps us deal with these issues, even as we acknowledge our internal baggage, views, and preferred outcomes. Practice helps us cultivate kindness and equanimity, and encourages a non-dualistic, open-hearted attitude while engaged in the extremely dualistic, us-versusthem world of electoral politics.

In past retreats, several Zen priests and lay teachers offered dharma talks to aid us in our endeavors. These talks help set a grounded mood and encouraging tone, while also reinforcing and sustaining our practice. In discussions following the talks, we have a chance to go over difficulties and joys we encounter on the campaign trail. Volunteers often have similar concerns, especially when facing people we don't know and who might want us off their porch as quickly as possible.

Practice makes us more available for sincere contact in each encounter. It cultivates an attitude of curiosity and helps us to put aside our judgments. It helps us avoid arguments about who is right and who is wrong. When we approach people with a sense of our common humanity there is a feeling of lightness. It's more likely that our conversations will not stray into anger and the people we meet will feel heard by us.

BUILDING A SANGHA

During the election retreat, we face the daunting challenge of dropping into an unfamiliar place, and talking to strangers on a daily basis. To help us during these two weeks we create sangha. It permeates everything we do. Though we come from different places and backgrounds, we form bonds and friendships around our common Buddhist practice. It's how we support each other through difficulties, illnesses, injuries, personal troubles, exultations, exhaustion,



"I loved it that we changed partners each day, so that I could pound the pavement with various amazing people from far and wide. Spending a long afternoon driving from house to house, sitting in the car eating your bag lunches, looking desperately for a place with a bathroom, deciding together whether to approach a house where a large dog is barking fiercely at the window, you get to know each other pretty well."

-Sue Moon



and even, in one case, a car accident. It's how we cultivate flexibility, compassion, and equanimity.

Sangha practice is not easy but it's the source of much joy and political strength. It allows us to act as one group, builds strength in numbers, and fuels our commitment for social change. It's one of the most meaningful parts of the retreat. When people work together for social justice, they often make a deep connection. They bond through sitting zazen together, eating meals together, and walking the pavement together in heat or rain.



WORK POSITIONS

All retreat participants have daily work positions. We sign up each day to wash dishes, clean bathrooms, sweep, restock the tea and coffee area, empty out the garbage cans, and take care of the zendo. As practicing Buddhists, most of us have participated in retreats where there is a daily work period. Work, as any Zen student will tell you, is an essential aspect of practice. It's also a way of cultivating camaraderie, essential to a smoothly running retreat. (*See Appendix D work positions*)

The planning committee divided the responsibilities of running the Election Retreat into five main positions: Retreat Coordinator, Political Director, House Manager/Treasurer, Zendo Manager, and Tenzo. Given the many details in running a retreat, it was necessary for the people in these positions to check in with each other every day to iron out any difficulties and tensions as problems need to be addressed as quickly as possible.

The three of us who were the core 2016 retreat organizers met three months before the retreat. Even though we had organized five retreats already, it was still a time-consuming and intense responsibility.

Following are the core positions and their responsibilities, as we have arranged them, but of course they could be revised, combined, or shared as needed.

Retreat Coordinator

The retreat coordinator holds the vision and overview of the retreat. The retreat coordinator is the liaison with the hosts and keeps the retreat flowing. S/he must be comfortable with leading group meetings, must be able to stay calm in a crisis, and must also be able to delegate responsibilities.

Well before the retreat begins, the coordinator invites the Buddhist community to come to the retreat. S/he is the convener and contact person. S/he must be on top of everything, including job descriptions and lists, schedules, and sign-up sheets.

Visiting our hosts and campaign contacts before the retreat is a must in order to get the house organized. The coordinator also works closely with the zendo manager to help maintain the spiritual tone of the retreat, including arranging dharma talks. S/he is also the primary time keeper and lets folks know when to wake up or come to an event or meeting by striking wooden clackers.

It's a challenge to keep everyone together. For many retreat participants it's the first time they have actively engaged in a political campaign with others and so they need to be educated on how to canvass neighborhoods.

But when election time comes around, it's great to have something to do together, something so all consuming and exciting, especially working with new people. We build a "Buddhist cadre" of folks and good feelings spring forth from that.

> —Stan Dewey, 2016 Election Retreat Coordinator

House Manager/Treasurer

Our house manager coordinates everyone's arrivals and departures from the retreat. In Nevada our house manager set up an Excel spreadsheet, which documented arrival and departure dates and accommodations. He also coordinated the number of attendees with the tenzo, so that she knew each day how many mouths we needed to feed. (*See appendix F*)

In Carson City, attendees had

four different places to stay: they could commute from home if it was nearby, stay in a hotel or tent, or sleep inside the house. We required a minimum of three days attendance. This helped create community and avoid too many comings and goings, which puts a strain on a small group. It also usually takes at least one day for folks to become acclimated. (Carson City sits around 5,000 feet above sea level which caused a bit of lightheadedness and fatigue for some.) Participants also had to be oriented and trained for canvassing. As a result, we gave priority to people who could stay longer.

Before participants arrive, each receives a "what to bring" sheet. Upon arrival they are given an orientation by the house manager. On our last retreat this included a schedule, job descriptions, tour of the house and zendo, sitting practice schedule, sleeping options, and parking instructions. Each person receives an orientation booklet with essential phone numbers, schedule, and comings and goings chart. (See Appendix B, Things to bring on the Election Retreat).

We combined the jobs of treasurer and house manager but these could be done by two different people. The treasurer keeps track of all finances. Because we were partially funded by supporters who had donated to the Election



Modified oryoki meal, Carson City, NV 2016

Retreat, we asked each participant to pay only \$12/day for food and we reimbursed drivers for mileage and gas incurred during canvassing. The treasurer created a separate checking account and ATM card for our tenzo to buy groceries. We asked that participants pay by check so we could keep an accurate record.

Our treasurer also created a database with information for each participant, including their home sangha, emergency contact information, retreat payment record, and a short bio.

Zendo Manager

The Zendo Manager, prepares the zendo for morning and evening zazen, insuring the comfort of all. S/he takes care of the altar, and coordinates and staffs the different zendo practice positions, including the chant leader and the bell ringer. S/he also arranges for dharma speakers.

The Zendo Manager tries to cultivate a feeling of harmony and peace in the zendo so that retreat attendees feel welcomed and supported,

Tenzo

As in all Zen retreats, the position of tenzo, or head cook, is central. One person usually takes on this position, though sometimes it has been shared. Food shopping and cooking two meals a day for a dozen or so people is a full-time position. An army only goes as far as its stomach will carry it, and it's the same with an Election Retreat. People who have taken on this important position are true bodhisattvas.

The tenzo plans and cooks breakfast and dinner and supervises bag lunch set-up. S/he must, with the support and flexibility of the host, take over the kitchen. In Carson



We hear former President Bill Clinton rev up the troops in Stockton, CA 2006

City, our tenzo was ably assisted by a rotating crew of three dishwashers and up to two food prep helpers who took off early from canvassing to help her. Generally, the tenzo does not participate in the political part of the sesshin. However, some tenzos, if they choose, canvass part time and leave early to return to prepare the evening meal.

Meals are vegetarian and simple. Our Carson City tenzo used about five simple soup recipes, and we tried to accommodate those people with food sensitivities as much as possible. All meals were generally gluten free, vegan, with dairy offered as a side dish. We were also fortunate that local friends of the election retreat often donated soups and desserts.

For meals, we sit at tables and we eat in a modified Zen oryoki style with three bowls. We offer an abbreviated meal chant, and eat in silence for the first half of the meal; then we break silence with a bell and conversation begins. Breakfast and dinner are prime times for us to relax, get to know each other better, and build sangha.

"The Tenzo needs to have physical and mental stamina to maintain a 14-day prep and cooking schedule. She also has to be flexible and not too ambitious about what to make. It was a lovely experience for me though I felt a little left out not partaking in the political part of the sesshin. To do both would have been too much for me. However, I felt I made a contribution to the effort to elect Catherine Masto, even if I was not walking precincts."

> -Tamar Enoch, 2016 Election Sesshin Tenzo

Political Director

The political director is our point person with the community and the political organization that we affiliate ourselves with. S/he ensures we receive political training, necessary materials, and precinct lists for canvassing, as appropriate.

The political director keeps in constant contact with the local political operation and ensures that sangha members are informed about new political developments and training. Whoever is present on the first day of the retreat receives training at the local campaign headquarters. We can then train retreat participants who arrive on subsequent days so that neither campaign staff nor volunteers have to spend valuable campaign time on training.

However, most people enjoy meeting the local political staff



Sue Moon and Barbara Selfridge, Carson City Democratic HQ Carson City, NV 2016

and getting a taste of the campaign operation, especially those who have never participated in a getout-the-vote political effort. It was also inspiring to meet the volunteer staffers at the local Democratic campaign headquarters. These were ordinary people who believe in democracy and were working hard



Going over political materials prior to canvassing Carson City, NV 2008



We prepare to go out canvassing at Jill Derby's HQ, Reno, NV, 2008

for that belief, with passion and commitment.

In 2016, a group of us went to the Democratic Party office in the small town of Gardnerville, around half an hour outside of Carson City, to be trained in canvassing. The office was in a big room in the back of a beauty shop, in a wooden house turned office building. This was grassroots work!

During many sesshins, we have been invited to attend local political events. In Nevada we participated in the local Nevada Day parade down Carson City's main street, walking behind senatorial candidate Catherine Cortez Masto, to cheers from Masto supporters and jeers from Trump supporters. In Stockton in 2006, we were on the stage with former President Clinton as he rallied the troops to get out the vote for McNerney. In Oregon, representative Darlene Hooley invited us on stage at her GOTV event.

An important quality for the political director is flexibility. S/he must be able to come up with creative solutions to changing conditions on the ground. For example, in Carson City Halloween is nearly a state holiday. Children and adults flood the neighborhoods, making canvassing at night nearly impossible. We had to quit early in order to avoid colliding with young ghosts and goblins on the doorstep.

On Election Day in 2016, in coordination with the Democratic Party in Carson City, we reported early to drop off door hangers to identified supporters, reminding them to vote. We spent the rest of the day canvassing from our lists to get out the vote, until the polls closed at 8 pm.

POLITICAL CANDIDATES

When defining your election retreat, you must decide what politician or cause to support and where you want to go.

Before we commit to help someone, we investigate candidates whom we feel comfortable supporting. For our first election retreat, Oregon was a presidential swing state. Democratic Representative Darlene Hooley was a liberal Democrat who had voted against the war and had a great record on women's and gay rights, veteran's protections, and the environment. We realized that it would be impossible to find the perfect candidate, but we decided to accept a person who we felt comfortable supporting and who was electable.

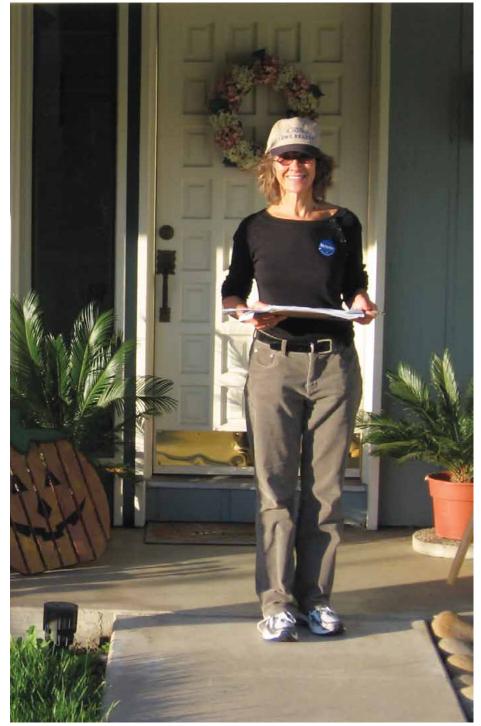
We went to Oregon to meet with Hooley's staff. They welcomed us. Encouraged, we looked for a place to stay. Melody had a friend living on an organic farm in Corvallis. He invited us to stay, and we were in business.

Wherever we go we establish a relationship with local candidates and their campaign staff. Volunteers are the mother's milk of any political campaign, Generally, the staff and candidates have been very positive. Like all politicians, their campaigns depend on volunteers like us to win, and so of course they are happy when we show up with a sizeable and dedicated team.



Above: Ko Blix congratulates victorious Congressman Jerry McNerney 2006 Below: We walk with then Nevada senatorial candidate Katherine Cortez-Masto on Nevada Day 2016





Enthusiastic canvasser in Stockton, CA 2006

CANVASSING

The local campaign staff provides us with training, precinct lists for canvassing, and campaign literature. The neighborhoods where they send us—for canvassing, placing door hangers, or registering voters—often change depending on the campaign's needs, and so we are in daily contact.

In Nevada in 2016 we were asked by the Democratic state

organization to focus our energies on Reno. But when we got there it turned out they were swamped with folks from California. There is nothing more frustrating than visiting houses that have been visited two or three times already. People are tired of seeing canvassers and often don't answer the door, even if they are at home. So instead of working out of the Reno Demo-

My first day canvassing, I was sent with my friend Cornelia to a development of modest homes in the township of Gardnerville, south of Carson City. This was Cornelia's first experience at knocking on doors and asking people to vote. One door was answered by a young woman with a baby on her hip and two very small boys holding on to her legs. She didn't speak much English, and neither of us speaks Spanish, but we showed her our flyer with a picture of Catherine Cortez Masto and Hillary Clinton. She nodded and smiled and told us in simple words, flushed with excitement, that she couldn't vote but that her husband had just registered to vote and that he had already voted for the first time in his life, for the Democratic ticket. She was eager to tell us this. We all nodded and grinned at each other, and we said, "Yes, voting is great! It's wonderful that he voted! It makes a difference! Maybe Catherine Cortez Masto will be the first Latina senator! The vote is precious, maybe you will vote the next time..." and so on, as if we were congratulating her on a new baby.

After we said good-bye to her and her children, Cornelia said, "I didn't realize how good it would feel to talk to people about voting. The right to vote really means something! I'm so glad I'm doing this!" And so was I. –Sue Moon



Keeping track of numbers of knocks and contacts we made

cratic Party office, we decided to stay local and align ourselves with the smaller office in Carson City, Nevada's capitol.

This turned out to be a good decision for a number of reasons. Carson City is a small town, around half an hour from Reno, so this saved us an hour of round-trip driving time, which was particularly appreciated at the end of the day, in the early darkness of autumn.

The local Democratic club welcomed us with open arms. They were glad for our readiness to focus our energies on getting out the vote in communities that were predominantly Republican and conservative. Because the state Democratic organization had been sending everyone to Reno, they desperately needed canvassers to walk in Carson City and drive to outlying smaller communities that had not been canvassed. We

"Door-to-door meeting with potential voters is labor-intensive work which is very effective for increasing voter turnout. Frankly, knocking on people's doors and talking about whether or not someone is going to vote is not my favorite thing to do. Believe it or not, I have a shy streak, at least when it comes to asking total strangers about their political plans. Personally, I find it much more pleasant to do this work in pairs, to have some moral support and camaraderie, which is how we worked in the election sesshin."

-Judy Bertelsen

"How do you maintain your equanimity and openness to those who disagree with you? As never before, I found myself having to let go of my expectations and long-held views to focus on my breath. What helped me was the environment. Whenever I canvass, I enjoy walking in neighborhoods I have never visited. And northern Nevada is particularly magnificent. The small towns we canvassed abutted the Sierras. In between house visits, I would gaze up from the quiet sidewalks we walked and take in the surrounding mountain peaks and their breathtaking beauty, white with freshly fallen snow.

"Taking a moment to notice my surroundings filled me with joy, helped set a positive tone for my house visits, and enabled me to frame my discussions with openness and a sense of shared humanity. I think this attitude contributed to the response I received. Most folks, even if their political views were very different from mine, were appreciative that I had taken the time and energy to engage with them and listen to what they had to say."

-Edwin Herzog

had these neighborhoods all to ourselves with plenty of work to do. We also enjoyed encountering the small town environments, coffee shops, and communities where they sent us.

We developed warm relationships with the local volunteers. They appreciated our reliability and punctuality. Our Zen training in just showing up stood us in good stead. One morning as a dozen of us came into the office, we were greeted cheerfully: "The Buddhists are here! The Buddhists are here!"

Canvassing is a challenge in any election year, but in Carson City and the surrounding small towns we saw a lot of Trump signs. Even though we were given precinct lists of only registered Democratic voters, many of the people we talked to did not support Clinton or senatorial candidate Cortez-Masto.

Our political director contacted the campaign daily and told them the number of folks who would be going out each day, so that when we arrived at headquarters they had address lists, maps, literature packets, water, and treats ready for us. We returned to the campaign office around 6:30 pm, turned in our packets and reported the number of contacts, yes votes, and other needed voter ID information.

The campaign feeds this information into their master voter lists. This enables them to identify their



Get out the vote prep in Carson City, NV 2016

"This election work is good *Buddhist practice, because we are called upon to enter the* unknown. We have to meet the unexpected and to set aside our preconceptions. We are *called upon to trust that each* person has Buddha nature. We are called upon to let go of personal comfort as a chief concern. We walk, we talk, and we listen to the people we meet, we offer our partner a drink of water, we rest in the shade, take a pebble out of a shoe, and breathe deeply of the mountain air. Then we go on, and knock on another door. This is perfect bodhisattva training. "

supporters, the no votes, the undecideds, and voters who have moved. By election day these address lists have been gleaned so that canvassers visit only supporters to remind them to vote or offer rides to the polls.

Election Day is exciting. It's the end of our Election Retreat and the culmination of two weeks of hard work, both on the cushion and on the campaign trail. We are exhausted but also excited and hopeful.

On election day in 2016 we were asked to get up very early and leave hundreds of door hangers reminding citizens to vote. Then, with our trusty voter lists in hand, we hit the trail for a full day of GOTV, not quitting until the polls closed, around eight o'clock. These numbers from our 2006 Election Retreat in Stockton show the kind of impact we have had:

2006 Election Retreat Stats:

Election Retreat dates October 23-Nov 7, 2006
Total Election Retreat participants
Cumulative number of days worked
Approximate number of campaign hours, @ 7 hours a day1092
Approximate number of knocks with literature dropped off5250
Approximate number of contacts with voters More than 2000
Total voters identified for
Democratic challenger Jerry McNerney around 1500
(more than 10% of McNerney's margin of victory)
Margin of McNerney's victory: 13,472 votes

Results: McNerney carried Stockton and helped offset the Republican voter advantage in California's Central Valley. He serves in the House of Representatives today.

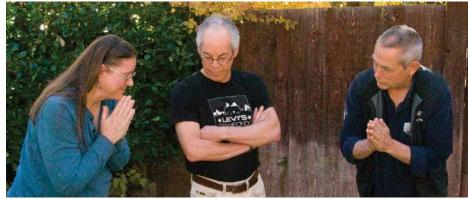


We keep track of knocks in Corvallis, OR 2004

-Sue Moon

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CHALLENGES AND JOYS

On election night, we gathered with other volunteers at a local bar for a Mexican dinner sponsored by the Carson City Democratic Club, to watch the results come in. It was supposed to be a victory party. Instead we drowned our sorrows with margaritas (or lemonade). It was a



real gut punch and a challenge to our Buddhist values. We could at least console ourselves knowing we had helped elect Catherine Cortez Masto to the Senate, the first Latina Senator in US history, and we helped carry Nevada for Hillary Clinton.

In the long term, who really knows what our actions

I was in a car canvassing our last neighborhood in Carson City on election night 2016 when a friend called me from the Bay Area, saying, "I have a bad feeling about this election." He had been listening to the returns from the state of Virginia. He was right. The 2016 election results were traumatic.

I remembered my experience eight years ago. That night I was also driving in a neighborhood somewhere in rural Nevada listening to the results. When Obama carried Florida we knew it was over. My partner and I hugged each other, threw our precinct sheets in the air, and celebrated Obama's historic victory with other joyous campaign volunteers at a hotel in downtown Reno.

Being unattached to election outcomes doesn't come easy for me. To be honest, I was invested, body, mind, and, yes, soul to the outcome, especially this one. But I cannot hate. Though Clinton lost the presidency, I was extremely grateful for the experience of working together in mindfulness with nearly thirty other Buddhists and friends.

-Edwin Herzog

will bring about? The law of karma says beneficial actions bring beneficial results, though it might not happen in our lifetime. Can we live with that? Not to be too attached to outcomes helps a little, and continuing to take action helps, too, like putting together this booklet and sharing this vision. Practice, sangha, and Buddha will guide us through even these hard times. We stay committed and engaged. See you in 2018.

"Something about having chanted "Delusions are inexhaustible, I vow to end them" for ten days, has made the loss of the presidential election easier to bear. That and the stegosaurus spine of mountains between Nevada and California, radiant sometimes with snow, or sun, or both. That and our hosts, archetypes of hospitality, the hugger-in-chief, the man and his dog, the young prince.

"The golden cottonwood outside the zendo window that came to represent my little light shining. But mostly, the sangha, the community, sharing food, bowing, waiting, and making space for each other, singing and discussing and sharing stories with each other, tramping the streets and the apartment stairs together."

- Phyllis Meshulam

"I arrived home from canvassing in Nevada last night in a state of complete exhaustion but with gratitude that I could make a contribution to this election...this was one of the most challenging experiences I've had — lately anyway. We were doing what is called an election sesshin, which means you get up early, meditate for two hours and otherwise live a life whose every moment is scheduled.

"You sleep at night on couches and floors with up to ten people in different rooms. I was lucky to get five hours of sleep a night — often less. The first day I drove to Reno, met the group and started canvassing, hitting about 30 doors in an apartment complex. I swear to you that every Democrat lived on the second level, so I must have climbed 25 stairwells. My knee got badly swollen of course...Elizabeth Warren came to our little Democratic party office in Carson City to meet the volunteers. She gave a barn raiser from the back of a truck and it was wonderful. I will treasure the photo I got of the two of us together."

-Pat McBroom

"Sangha Glitter"

After you all left Carson, I walked through the house. The shoe racks were empty. The coat hooks were empty. The back yard was empty. The office was empty. The fridge was empty. The floors were empty. The closet was empty. The zendo was empty. I wandered around and then, I started seeing it. Sangha glitter.

A sock, a tea mug, a kitchen towel, a bathroom towel, a canvassing note, a t-shirt, a wiping cloth, some grains of rice, a tiny pair of hiking boots.

I caught my breath, my heart pinged, a lump was in my throat and I smiled.

I then noticed that the house was not really empty, it was humming with intent and purpose and a few tears. There was a scent of food prepared and shared, of many people staying in our nest, as though instead of sage, you had smudged our house with love. You have love-smudged us and we will forever be grateful.

> Wendy, Richard, Max and Watson, Carson City, November 21, 2016



APPENDICES

Appendix A 2006 sample letter

Dear Buddhist Friend,

We, three members of Berkeley Zen Center's Socially Engaged Dharma Group, are writing to invite you to join us once again for an Election Sesshin. Two years ago, a total of 22 Northern California Buddhists came together to work to bring about a change in our government. For 17 days, during the first-ever Election Sesshin (Buddhist retreat), we camped out on a farm in central Oregon, maintained a daily practice of zazen, and worked long days campaigning for anti-war Democrat Darlene Hooley, who retained her House seat, thanks in part to our efforts. We also worked to elect John Kerry, who in the end carried Oregon, but...the rest is painful history.

This year's Election Sesshin will begin Monday, October 24th in Stockton, CA and continue until Election Day, Tuesday, November 7, 2006. We have chosen to support Democrat Jerry McNerney, who is running in the 11th district against one of the worst Republicans in Congress, Richard Pombo. All indications are that his is one of the 15 or so vulnerable House Republicans seats.

We are lucky this crucial race is happening so close to us, and we think Jerry McNerney is a good person to support. He decided to run after his son, who joined the Air Force in response to 9/11, urged him to serve his country and seek a change by running for office. He ran as a write-in candidate in 2004 and got 39% of the votes, despite not having support from the state or national Democratic Party and being massively outspent by Pombo. That experience will come in handy this November.

As in 2004, we will rise early, meditate two periods, have a brief service, eat silent breakfast, pack bag lunches and report for work in the McNerney campaign. In the evening we will share dinner, zazen, service, and then to bed. We hope to have some dharma talks as well.

We would like to invite you to help in any of these ways:

1. Commit to join us in Stockton for a minimum of three days and two nights, which will include being trained as an election worker. You can come for more than one sesshin period between Oct. 24 and Nov. 7. There is no charge, but there may be a fee for food. In Stockton you can: walk precincts, make phone calls to voters, help get out the vote by driving voters to the polls on election day; support the campaigners by acting as cook or cook's helper, donate your time as practice leader or priest. Already several other people have signed on to the adventure.

- 2. Raise or donate money for food and gasoline for this project.
- 3. Send this invitation to others you think might want to participate.
- 4. Join our planning committee, and help with logistics, liaison to the Mc-Nerney campaign, etc. We meet next on Saturday, September 25th at 12:30 pm in Berkeley. Let us know if you can come or if you want to be involved in any way.

We are acting as individuals and are not endorsed by any Buddhist organization. We feel it is our duty as Buddhist Americans, which we owe to all the people and beings of the world, to do our best to reverse America's policies of war and destruction of the earth. The thing we can do right now is to try to elect good representatives.

Ed Herzog, Melody Ermachild Chavis, Stan Dewey.

Appendix B

Things to bring on the Election Sesshin

- Clothes in which to meet the public
- Comfortable clothes for sitting meditation
- Warm jacket/sweater (layers for likely cold weather)
- Hat; Rain gear/umbrella
- Sturdy walking shoes
- Slippers (for inside house)
- Water bottle
- Towels/washcloth
- Bathrobe
- Toiletries (razor, toothbrush, etc.) and your medications (shampoo, conditioner and hand soap will be provided)
- Compact suitcase to stow your clothes and stuff
- Sunscreen
- Camping-type sleeping pad for sleeping on floor
- Sleeping bag or bedding (if sleeping in a tent, it may get to freezing; inside temp is kept comfortable.)
- Pillow
- Flashlight and extra batteries (very important for precinct work after dark)
- Eating bowls (ideal: one larger, 2 smaller, fitting together) and personal utensils (Oryoki bowls if you have them)

- Cloth napkin
- Coffee/tea cup
- Paper and pen
- Cell phone
- Clip board and Daypack
- Day pack (or similar) to carry your daily stuff
- Tent and ground cover (optional)
- Your liturgical items, if any
- Meditation bench, if you use one. We have cushions (zafus) and mats (zabutons). Chairs available in the meditation hall.
- Cash: \$12/day for retreat fee

Appendix C Sesshin Schedule

ELECTION RETREAT DAILY SCHEDULE

- 6:30 AM Wake-up clappers. Maintain silence until clappers at breakfast
- 7:00 AM Zazen (sitting meditation), beginning with Robe Chant
- 7:35 AM Walking meditation (kinhin)
- 7:45 AM Zazen
- 8:20 AM Service (offering flowers or incense, nine bows, chanting Heart Sutra and Maylie's Metta Prayer)
- 8:35 AM Breakfast after Meal Chant (first half silent until clappers)
- 9:30 AM Individual cleanup and dishwashing.
- 9:45 AM General clean up jobs. Each person make a bag lunch.

10:30 AM Rest and personal time (also time for Dharma Talks and discussion and training new participants in election work)

- NOON Circle: check-in before leaving for field work
- 12:15 PM Leave for get-out-the-vote work
- 12:30 PM Arrive at Campaign HQ or other work place. Eat bag lunch, on our own, sometime in afternoon. Campaign work--all afternoon.
- 4:30 PM Evening cook stops work, if shopping is necessary.
- 5:30 PM Evening cook returns to house to prepare dinner.
- 6:30 PM All stop work, report to HQ, and return to house
- 7:30 PM Eat dinner
- 8:30 PM Dishwashing and cleanup
- 9:15 PM Zazen Maintain silence for rest of Evening

9:55 PM Refugees. End of program.10:30 PM Suggested time to go to sleep

Appendix D Sample Work Positions

ELECTION RETREAT WORK POSITIONS

- Retreat Coordinator
- Liaison with Obama and Derby Campaigns
- Head Tenzo (Cook)
- Lunch Tenzo
- Treasurer
- Jobs Coordinator
- Greeters and Assistant to Retreat Coordinator
- Medic

DAILY JOBS FOR SIGN-UP BOARD

- Morning cook
- Evening cook and shopper
- Server(s)
- Bag lunch makings preparer
- Coffee/tea table person
- Bathroom cleaner
- General sweeper/cleaner
- Trash hauler and recycler
- Jikido (Zendo cleaner)
- Zendo positions
- Service Leader (or Doshi)
- Doan (bell ringer/time keeper)
- Kokyo (chant leader)

Appendix E Zendo Chants

Great Wisdom Beyond Wisdom Heart Sutra Avalokiteshvara Bodhisattva When practicing deeply the prajna paramita

Perceived that all five skandhas in their own being are empty And was saved from all suffering. "O Shariputra, form does not differ from emptiness Emptiness does not differ from form. That which is form is emptiness. That which is emptiness form. The same is true of feelings, perceptions, formations, consciousness. O Shariputra, all dharmas are marked with emptiness; They do not appear nor disappear, Are not tainted nor pure, Do not increase nor decrease. Therefore in emptiness, no form, No feelings, no perceptions, no formations, no consciousness; No eyes, no ears, no nose, no tongue, no body, no mind; No color, no sound, no smell, no taste, no touch, no object of mind; No realm of eyes until no realm of mind-consciousness; No ignorance and also no extinction of it until no old-age-and-death And also no extinction of it: No suffering, no origination, no stopping, no path; No cognition, also no attainment. With nothing to attain A bodhisattva depends on prajna paramita And the mind is no hindrance. Without any hindrance no fears exist; Far apart from every perverted view one dwells in nirvana. In the three worlds all buddhas depend on prajna paramita And attain unsurpassed complete perfect enlightenment. Therefore know the prajna paramita Is the great transcendent mantra, Is the great bright mantra, Is the utmost mantra, Is the supreme mantra, Which is able to relieve all suffering And is true, not false. So proclaim the prajna paramita mantra, Proclaim the mantra that says: Gate, gate, paragate, parasamgate! Bodhi! Svaha!"

After Dedication:

All Buddhas ten directions three times All beings, Bodhisattva Mahasattvas Wisdom beyond wisdom, Maha Prajna Paramita

Robe Chant

Now we open Buddha's robe A field far beyond form and emptiness The Tathagata's teaching for all beings

Dai zai ge da pu ku Mu so fu ku den-e E bu nyrorai kyo Ko do sho shu jo

Now we open Buddha's robe A field far beyond form and emptiness The Tathagata's teaching for all beings

Metta Prayer by Maylie Scott

- May I be well, loving, and peaceful. May all beings be well, loving, and peaceful.
- May I be at ease in my body, feeling the ground beneath my seat and feet, letting my back be long and straight, enjoying breath as it rises and falls and rises.
- May I know and be intimate with body mind, whatever its feeling or mood, calm or agitated, tired or energetic, irritated or friendly.

Breathing in and out, in and out, aware, moment by moment, of the risings and passings.

May I be attentive and gentle towards my own discomfort and suffering.

- May I be attentive and grateful for my own joy and well-being.
- May I move towards others freely and with openness.
- May I receive others with sympathy and understanding.
- May I move towards the suffering of others with peaceful and attentive confidence.
- May I recall the Bodhisattva of compassion; her 1,000 hands, her instant readiness for action. Each hand with an eye in it, the instinctive knowing what to do.

May I continually cultivate the ground of peace for myself and others and persist, mindful and dedicated to this work, independent of results.May I know that my peace and the world's peace are not separate; that our peace in the world is a result of our work for justice.May all beings be well, happy, and peaceful.

Refuges

I take refuge in Buddha I take refuge in Dharma I take refuge in Sangha

I take refuge in Buddha as the perfect teacher I take refuge in Dharma as the perfect teaching I take refuge in Sangha as the perfect life

Now I have completely taken refuge in Buddha Now I have completely taken refuge in Dharma Now I have completely taken refuge in Sangha

Refuges -- Pali

Buddham saranam gacchami Dhammam saranam gacchami Sangham saranam gacchami

Dutiyampi Buddham saranam gacchami Dutiyampi Dhammam saranam gacchami Dutiyampi Sangham saranam gacchami

Tatiyampi Buddham saranam gacchami Tatiyampi Dhammam saranam gacchami Tatiyampi Sangham saranam gacchami

Appendix F Excel Comings and Goings spreadsheet

2016 Election Sesshin																					
Carson City + Reno, NV																					
Comings and Goings					# MM #	####	###	# \$ #	# \$ ###	####	# # ##	#N###	####	#₩#	# \$ #	# S #L#	#₩#	####	# N ##		
as of 10/29/16	Arrive		Depart		26	27	28	29	30	31	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
(Participant names hidden)																					
1	x 26-Oct	PM	27-Oct	AM	1	1															2
2	26-Oct	PM	27-Oct	AM	1	1															2
3	26-Oct	PM	31-Oct	AM	1	1	1	1	1	1											6
4	26-Oct	PM	31-Oct	PM	1	1	1	1	1	1											6
5	26-Oct	PM	3-Nov	AM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1								9
6	26-Oct	PM	9-Nov	AM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		15
7	26-Oct	PM	9-Nov	AM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		15
8	x 26-Oct	PM	9-Nov	AM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		15
9	x 27-Oct	am	31-Oct	am		1	1	1	1	1											5
10	x 27-Oct	AM	31-Oct	AM		1	1	1	1	1											5
11	27-Oct	AM	31-Oct	AM		1	1	1	1	1											5
12	27-Oct	AM	31-Oct	PM		1	1	1	1	1											5
13	x 27-Oct	AM	1-Nov	AM		1	1	1	1	1	1										6
14	27-Oct		3-Nov			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1								8
15	27-Oct	AM	9-Nov	AM		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		14
16	30-Oct	PM	5-Nov	AM					1	1	1	1	1	1	1						7
17	30-Oct	PM	5-Nov	AM					1	1	1	1	1	1	1						7
18	30-Oct		9-Nov	AM					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		11
19	30-Oct	PM	9-Nov	AM					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		11
20	x 31-Oct	am	3-Nov	am						1	1	1	1								4
21	x 31-Oct	am	3-Nov	am						1	1	1	1								4
22	2-Nov	AM	4-Nov	PM								1	1	1							3
23	x 3-Nov	am	6-Nov	am									1	1	1	1					4
24	x 3-Nov	am	9-Nov	AM									1	1	1	1	1	1	1		7
25	x 3-Nov	am	9-Nov	AM									1	1	1	1	1	1	1		7
26	3-Nov	PM	9-Nov										1	1	1	1	1	1	1		7
27	x 4-Nov	am	9-Nov	AM										1	1	1	1	1	1		6
28	4-Nov	PM	9-Nov	AM										1	1	1	1	1	1		6
29	x 4-Nov	PM	9-Nov	AM										1	1	1	1	1	1		6
30	x 4-Nov	PM	9-Nov	AM										1	1	1	1	1	1		6
31	x 4-Nov	PM	9-Nov											1	1	1	1	1	1		6
32	4-Nov	PM	9-Nov	AM										1	1	1	1	1	1		6
33	6-Nov	PM	9-Nov	AM												1	1	1	1		4
Daily attendance					8	15	13	13	17	19	13	13	17	19	18	17	16	16	16	230	230
Space remaining (zendo & meals,)		18		10	3	5	5	1	-1	5	5	1	-1	0	1	2	2			

Appendix G Election Retreat History

2004	Corvallis, Oregon	Re-elect Congresswoman Darlene Hooley and elect Kerry/Edwards presidential ticket.
2006	Stockton, California	Elect Congressman Jerry McNerney and take back the House of Representatives for the Democrats.
2008	Carson City, Nevada	Elect Obama/Biden presidential ticket and campaign for Jill Derby for Congress
2010	Berkeley, California	Re-elect Congressman Jerry McNerney
2016	Carson City, Nevada	Campaign for Hillary Clinton for President and Chip Evans for Congress and elect Katherine Cortez-Masto Senate

Appendix H Oryoki style meals

Oryoki, translated means vessel that contains just enough. It is a formal style of serving and eating meals practiced in Zen temples. It is a meditative form of eating that originated in Japan and emphasizes mindfulness awareness practice by eating from a set of three bowls and other eating utensils.

