

disgusted by the corruption and left. Now, he said, his son was going to vote for a small party. "I told him I don't care which one, as long as it's not Golden Dawn. I'd rather cut my arm off than vote Golden Dawn."

Over the next four months and beyond, as the mood of euphoria at having "stood up" fades, Syriza will need to bring hope to the Thanassises of Greece by proving that it can offer them ordinary, difficult things: a living wage; a state that works for its citizens and lets you open a shop without standing in fifteen lines; judges who don't rule according to their political views; a public sector where promotion depends on the work you've done and not on whom you know. It will have to help the 300,000 poorest families, as it has promised, and begin to turn the productive economy around, and restore workers' rights so employers can't just tell them, when they come for their unpaid wages, "if you don't like it there are hundreds out there waiting for your job." It will have to collect fair taxes and wrest political power back from Greece's oligarchs, resisting their blandishments. And it will have to take "the people" with it at every step. As Vassiliki Katrivanou kept saying to potential voters before the election, "We're not just here to ask for your vote. We're here to ask you for your help and participation afterward."

None of this will be easy. The negotiations with the Eurozone will rumble on for months, with more crisis points ahead in April and June. Some in the left wing of Syriza are already furious at the concessions made, claiming that Tsipras has betrayed his promises. That argument will be bitter, but it must be had; Syriza needs both its liberals and its radicals on board. Syriza has a double mandate—to end austerity and restore lost rights while staying in the Eurozone. These things may well turn out to be incompatible, but polls show that around three-quarters of Greeks still want them both. Leaving the Eurozone is a terrifying prospect; it wasn't only the wealthy who expressed their fear by pulling their last euros from the banks. If it proves impossible for Syriza to implement its program under the current "arrangement," Greece may indeed be pushed into leaving the Eurozone, but only after proper debate and preparation.

In the meantime, though, Syriza has won vital concessions: time, an end to the absurd demand for huge primary surpluses, and the right to design its own reform program. This is a greater victory than it may seem at first—and it wouldn't have been possible without the Greek negotiators' willingness to take a truly radical position, risking everything. In doing so, they have also changed the future of the Eurozone. Cracks have begun to appear in the Berlin Wall. Germany's hardline finance ministry has been forced to concede that politics can't be separated from economics. A small country has insisted on its democracy against opposition from Brussels, sharpening the contradiction at the heart of the Eurozone. Elections are coming up in Spain, Ireland and Portugal, all hard hit by austerity. Syriza's posters before the election announced that "Hope Is Coming" in brightly colored letters. Now it's time for ordinary hope, in black and white. ■



## THE URBAN R FROM THE AS

*Ten progressive experiments reshaping American cities*

IT'S BECOME ALL-TOO-FASHIONABLE IN RECENT years to say that American politics is "broken," to throw one's hands up in horror and mutter about stalemate, paralysis, the outsize influence of Big Money and all the other demons of Washington, DC. And, federally, that may well be the case. Yet, at the city level, politics is a whole different ballgame, with a generation of progressive mayors pushing big-picture reforms on a scale not seen in years. As a result, many regions are being remade for the better around creative approaches to the environment, mixed-income housing, transport, employment, schooling, health and food.

Seattle has garnered international attention with its move to increase the citywide minimum wage to \$15 an hour, achieved after socialist Councilwoman Kshama Sawant pushed the issue to the fore during her 2013 campaign, and after her victory convinced Mayor Ed Murray of the electoral benefits of embracing the higher wage. In

lic spotlight, hundreds, if not thousands, of creative programs and policy experiments are being pushed in cities from Honolulu to Miami, Chicago to Houston. Ideas range from the distribution of free laptops to kids in poor neighborhoods, as in parts of Miami, to innovative public-health strategies to contain the spread of hepatitis and HIV among intravenous drug users in Albuquerque, to Cleveland's well-publicized support for the worker-owned Evergreen Cooperative.

Here are ten urban experiments that have resulted in major changes in the lives of residents. While not generating the headlines of Seattle's minimum-wage increase or New York's preschool guarantee, they nonetheless merit attention, both for their stand-alone promise and their potential to inspire copycat programs that shift the terrain across the country. "It's like turning a paddle ship," says John Duda of the Democracy Collaborative, which has been working with the city of Jacksonville, Florida, to forge a Community Wealth Building Roundtable. "You do it slowly, but if it works, the results will be very important."

#### DETROIT'S URBAN GARDENS

**L**ONG CONSIDERED A NEAR-APOCALYPTIC EXAMPLE of what happens when a big city hits the skids and goes into a steep population decline, Detroit has become home to a vast network of urban farms and gardens. Out of dystopia is emerging, in some neighborhoods, a strangely utopian social experiment.

The transformation of Detroit's abandoned lots into sustainable green spaces started as a somewhat inchoate phenomenon, the farms begun by desperate residents simply trying to survive. But in recent years, urban farming has coalesced into a more organized movement with a fair degree of political clout, the farmers represented by an array of organizations. The Garden Resource Program, which supplies information as well as seeds and vegetable transplants to residents who want to start farming, supports 1,400 farms and gardens in Detroit alone, growing everything from tomatoes to apples. Some even host cattle and goats.

While the city administration was initially hostile, it has recently embraced this trend, realizing that the farms may be Detroit's last, best chance to convert abandoned lots back into something productive. A staggering 200,000 parcels of land were vacant in the city and its surrounding area in 2012. A year later, the City Council passed a zoning ordinance allowing agriculture within the city limits. Farmers' markets are now emerging, and restaurants have started selling meals cooked with city-grown produce.

#### PHILADELPHIA'S LAND BANK

**L**IKE MANY OTHER OLD EAST COAST AND RUST Belt cities, Philadelphia has long been pocked by vast tracts of blight. The best estimates place the number of vacant or abandoned lots between 30,000



A sunflower grows in Detroit at the Earthworks Urban Farm.

# REVIVAL, PHALT UP

by SASHA ABRAMSKY

its wake, San Diego, San Francisco and many other cities have moved toward far higher minimum wages than those guaranteed both federally and at the state level.

Portland, Oregon, meanwhile, has long been renowned for pioneering investments in public transport, creating near-total access to buses and light rail, and helping secure its place as one of the country's most livable cities. And in New York, Mayor Bill de Blasio has pioneered a universal prekindergarten program, offering a preschool place to any child whose parents want it. In September 2014, more than 50,000 kids began attending city-run and city-funded prekindergartens, and the number is expected to rise next year to more than 70,000. Many of America's other large cities, including Seattle, Denver, Boston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago and DC, are also moving toward universal preschool access.

But the city-level changes in America go far beyond these headline-generating moves. Often out of the pub-

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