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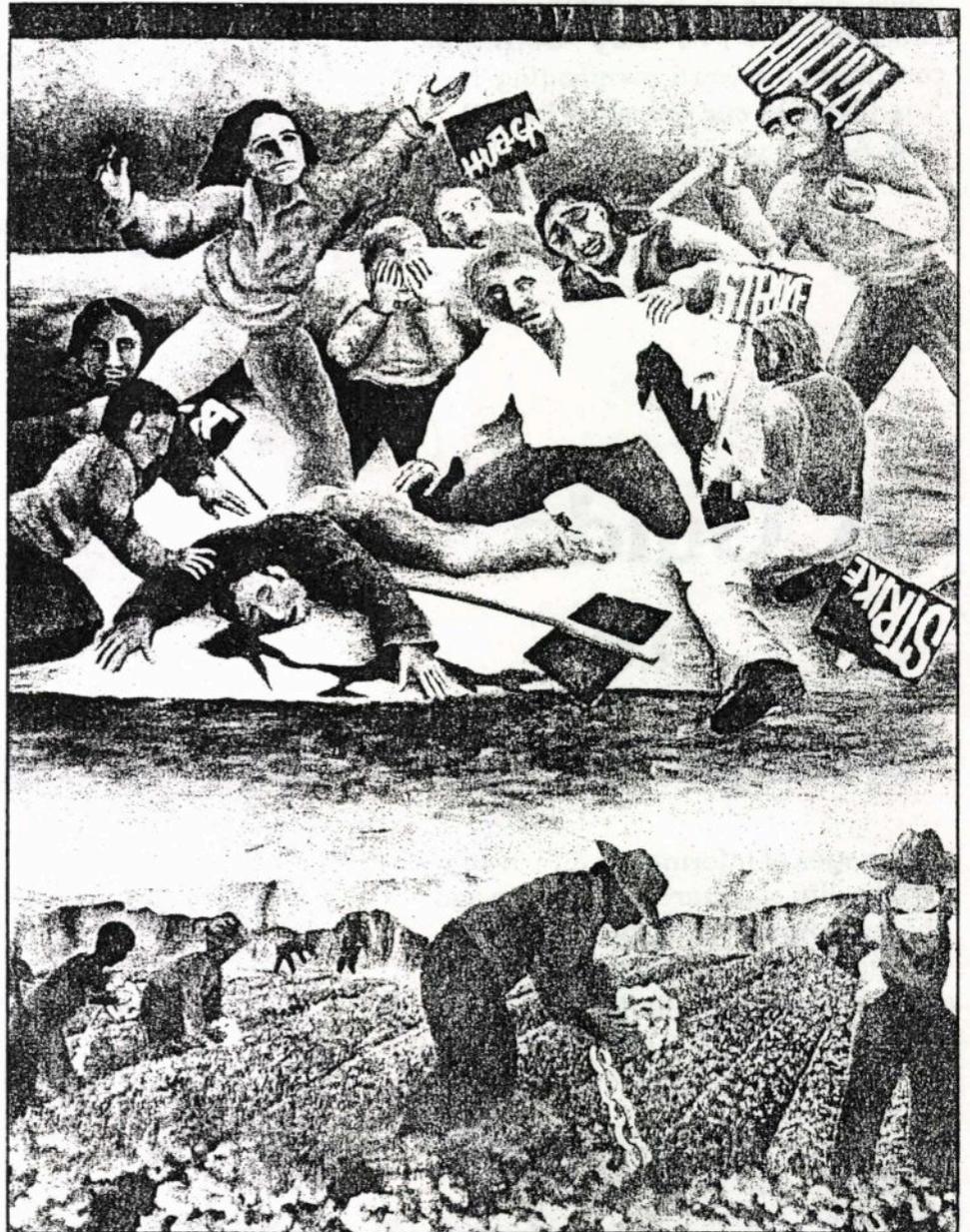
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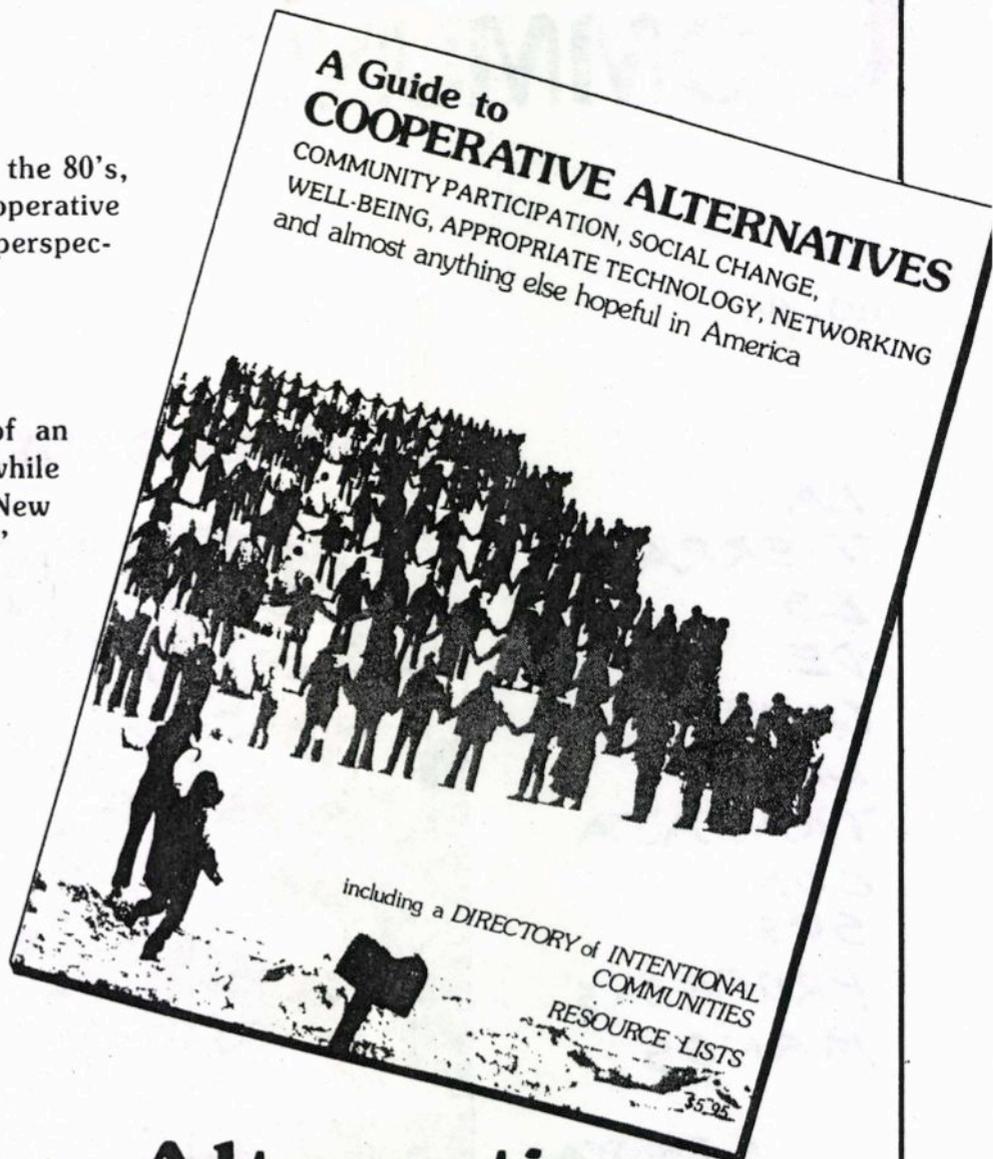
**COOPERATIVES AND COMMUNITIES:
a movement is confronted by its ideals**

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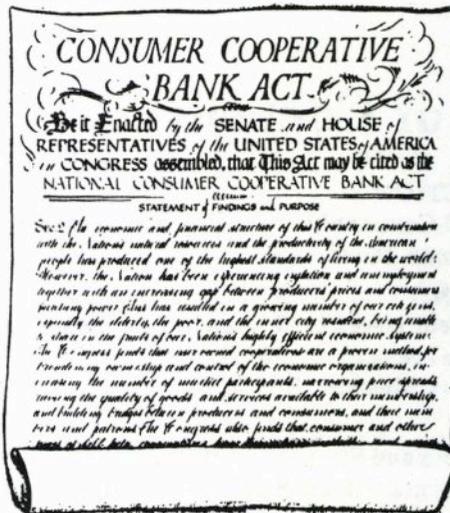


Introducing this issue...

Last summer, after leaving the Consumer Cooperative Institute in Austin, Texas, I visited with friends at Community Congress in San Diego. The high point of our tour was the murals in Chicano Park (see cover and centerfold). Cooperatives, radical human services and people's movements are part of the mix we try to present in *Communities* — along with intentional communities, healing and spirit, humane relationships and economic democracy.

Last year, in our *Guide to Cooperative Alternatives*, we documented *what is*. In this special issue of *Communities*, dedicated to the confluence of the cooperative and self-help movements at the Consumer Cooperative Alliance's "Institute '80", we look not only at what might be — but, if we are to continue to respect our ideals of social justice, *what must be*.

—PF



To address the issues regarding cooperatives and low income and minority communities confronts our ideals about coop activism to combat poverty and racism. It also questions the scope of the movement. How are we going to organize to develop coop principles and lifestyles on a national level, in every community?

This series of articles touches on a wide range of the issues that we must address in order to develop better working relationships between the established coop movement and the "self help" movement in low income and minority communities. Without any attempt to be comprehensive, articles are meant to stimulate ideas on how we might substantively further coop development in all of our communities and in a variety of consumer services.

My involvement with the planning of the upcoming Consumer Cooperative Alliance Institute '80 in

Communities, Journal of Cooperative Living

JUNE/JULY, 1980

Important note: We're skipping our August/September issue. In its place subscribers will receive a double issue in December, featuring a new *Directory of Intentional Communities*

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CONTINUITY

Community Publications Cooperative: Mikki Wenig and Chip Coffman at Twin Oaks; Paul Freundlich in New Haven.

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Cover Design courtesy of Chicano Community Artists, San Diego. Detail from mural by guest artist, Michael Schnor. (see pages 32-33 for more photographs and information). Quotation is by Emilio Zapata and means, *The earth belongs to those who work it*.

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Washington, D.C. in August of this year, has given me the opportunity to be actively involved in the question of cooperatives and communities over the past year. My introductory article **Coops and Communities: A Movement is Confronted by Its Ideals** portrays the "two cooperative movements in this country, why the two movements should work together, and the first real steps we must take toward building a strong, working relationship with one another.

To understand the basic context for cooperative organizing, and some of the concepts we operate under, we offer Stanley Straughter's (from Antioch College) **Development Issues for Co-ops in Low Income Communities** and Phil Kreitner, coop organizer for Ralph Nader, on **New Wave Ideology**.

Cooperation as an ideal and practice has an historical context, too. **Cooperatives and Struggle: The African-American Tradition** by Julian Ellison of the Committee for Cooperative Development clarifies how much we have to learn from each other. **Coop Education in a Decade of Challenge** by Ebba Hierta of the Michigan Alliance of Coops gives a past and future view of the importance of cooperative education in our communities.

To build a feasible coop movement means penetrating every facet of community life with cooperative principles and real strategies for development. The topical articles which follow provide a challenging profile of new cooperative possibilities for virtually every aspect of community life.

Lynn MacDonald, the General Manager of Arcata Food Coop, looks into the reality of sophisticated democratic decision-making in cooperative workplaces in **Structure and Strategy**. Martin Gruneberg, Legislative Aide for Congressman Bingham of the Bronx, talks about **Mutual Housing Alternatives: A New Housing for America**.

A small section on economics begins with **Cooperatives and the Poor: A New Look at the Bootstrap**

Theory by Rudy Bryant of Pratt Institute; continues with Jim Clark of the National Federation of Community Credit Unions emphasizing the power of low and moderate income communities in **The Community Development Credit Union: What Is It? Where Does It Fit in the Cooperative Movement?** Roger Neece of Consumers United Group and Community Futures discusses the possibilities of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank as one step, and only one step in a national scheme of cooperative finance. In **Developing New Food Marketing Systems**, Keith Kemble of the National Center for Appropriate Technology develops her strategies for alternative producer-consumer food systems. Shari Maeda of Local 1734 Art Collective discusses the problems and potential of community arts coops and collectives, while the work of Chicano artists in a series of powerful murals occupies the centerfold.

The issues between us are cultural, as well as economic and political. Paul Freundlich explores the basis of new lifestyles, and some of the problems which follow. Margaret Flintner and Dianne Grandstrom observe present systems of **Health Care Coops: Diagnosis and Prognosis** while looking for a new model. Michael Freedberg of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policy tells us **What Community Energy Cooperatives Could Do**.

Looking at the next few years and the possibilities for low-income cooperative development, Art Danforth, the former president of CLUSA, writes on **Twelve Challenges: Guidelines for Consumer Goods Coop Development in Inner Cities**. Looking both backwards and forwards, at a time when the Cooperative Bank is having tremendous impact on the consumer cooperative movement in America, Bill Lundberg writes about personal and structural changes in **The Last Wave**. Looking not so far in the future, there is a registration blank and information on the 1980

Consumer Cooperative Alliance Institute.

In an article about the wider cooperative world, David Thompson, Director of Research for the Consumer Coop Bank, writes on the **International Cooperative Alliance**.

That's not everything, but what we were able to assemble for some of our more thoughtful practitioners. The point is to help us all to understand as well as possible the challenges ahead. *The cooperative movement* in moderate income communities, the *self-help movement* in low-income and minority communities; strong histories and active cooperative development schemes in finance, housing, food, education, art, energy, management and health. Folks, there is a broad movement for social change in this country. Our ideals have carried all of us this far. It is now time again to confront our ideals, to talk and begin to work together. □

—ND

Norman Davis has edited the "Coop Bank Monitor" for the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policy and is staff for CCA's Institute '80.



The new offices of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank.



Introduction

COOPERATIVES AND COMMUNITIES: a movement is confronted by its ideals

by Norman Davis

One morning at two o'clock, as I was riding my bicycle home from a party I stopped by an all-night neighborhood restaurant to have a chocolate shake and a hamburger. The restaurant was filled with neighborhood youth playing pin ball machines and the juke box, and a crowd of taxi-cab drivers taking a break from work, sitting together, drinking coffee and talking with one another. I sat and ate my junk food and, like a good anthropologist, I eavesdropped on the conversation of the older black men relaxing between their late night cab fares. They were talking about "these hard times" and spoke about how their kids dropped out of school, lacked purpose or direction for themselves, or even cared. The men were baffled more than alarmed.

They continued to talk only a while longer about their kids before recalling earlier good days in their own youth, in the 40's during the Second World War, when Uncle Sam's army pulled them off the streets and the farms and into a massive new world. There was an old excitement in the men's voices. Virtually all of them had been overseas and then returned to the U.S. with veterans' benefits, and the prospects of a more secure future. How they talked on and on about the good old days! In their conversation the 70's did not exist. These times appeared as puzzling as their children's behavior; there seemed to be nothing promising to them about the present.

What struck me was how these folks had to go back almost twenty, and even thirty years and more to recall times of hope and promise in their lives. I was shocked by my own sense of how the 70's came and went and the 80's have sneaked up on all of us, and what have we "social activists" to show for it? Being a student activist seems like only yesterday but it was really a generation ago. The ideals are still burning inside me but how have the ideals been manifested? Listening to the taxi cab drivers' conversation made me ask myself, 'have we accomplished any fundamental social change?' Well, yes and no.

Yes, I am different. What I value is different to a degree from mainstream American culture. There is evidence of these differences in my personal relationships, in my com-

munal lifestyle and in my work and pastimes, and the fact that I can pursue all of this in a supportive and relatively secure community of peers.

But then again, no, the issues of civil rights and class distinction which somehow seemed so much more immediate during the anti-war and civil rights days, these issues have not been popularly addressed since the 60's.

And then I have to recall to myself that once-upon-a-time that was what all of the social activism was about: peace and love, not just for myself but also for people oppressed by poverty and racism. What has happened to all of the idealists and the social activists from the anti-war and civil rights days? Where have all of us gone and what have we been doing these past ten years and more?

The Two Cooperative Movements

Over the past year, by circumstance, my work, centering around the upcoming Consumer Coop Alliance Institute '80, has enabled me to find the answers to these questions. What I have discovered is that much of the activism is in our neighborhoods and communities. It is as if the 70's was a time when we withdrew from common causes into supportive community environments in order to better understand ourselves and our own communities. The activism and idealism is still there but it is focused on ourselves and our own kind, and the result is two fundamental cooperative movements in the United States.

One "coop movement" is predominantly white and middle class, composed both of large producer coops born during the New Deal Era of the 30's and 40's and a network of smaller "new wave" consumer cooperatives which have developed out of the social activism of the 60's and without any large degree of public financial support. This one movement totals about 5,000 cooperative organizations. Within this movement one finds many of the social activists of the 30's and 40's, and the peace activists of the 60's, and much of the "counter culture" from hippy days, grown more responsible and serious. It is to this coop movement that so many of the anti-war activists have come, to re-evaluate their pasts and construct their own lives according to slightly different principles than

most of the rest of America.

The "self-help movement" represents another existing independent cooperative tradition in this country, in low income and minority communities. These other coop experiences are comprised of buying clubs, investment clubs, informal rotating credit associations, coops, credit unions, community development corporations, community action agencies, and worker collectives formed in low income neighborhoods and communities in both rural and urban areas. Financing of these cooperative ventures includes a combination of individual community investments and other, public monies from federal and state entitlement programs including community services, welfare subsistence, housing supplements, medicare and medicaid. Self-help organizations total at least 11,000 and it is within these organizations that social activists in low income and minority communities have spent these past, seemingly quiet, ten years, in their own communities, building new bases for community action.

Why Should We Work Together?

For people coming from such different pasts with different community interests and needs, this is a very tough question to answer. My personal and honest response runs from the pragmatic to the philosophic.

One, the times demand that we work together. In both low and moderate income communities the cooperative and self-help movements are the only phenomenon which are mobilizing people to create ways to deal with times of increasing scarcity.

Two, we may not be able to resolve problems in any of our communities if we do not work together, because the human and material resources at our disposal are extremely limited.

Three, the cooperative and self help movements are both composed of social activists, all of us full of ideals and visions about what we want our lives and our communities to be. We all want self determination and democratic control of our communities based on cooperative economics. We have all started working toward these goals in pragmatic ways. We are 17,000 organizations strong, at least, so no one can deny that there is the potential for a common, broad-based social change movement.

History tells us that activists must work together if we are going to effect real social change in our complex society. Since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it has been political communities of combined and shared economics, social standards, and cultural values, composed of broad and voluntary associations among people, which have usurped power from traditional sources of legitimate authority — the monarchial state, the patrimonial state, the nobility, the patrician families, the church. All of us face a similar challenge as posed by enormous corporate and bureaucratic authority.

INSTITUTE '80: The Consumer Cooperative Alliance

When the original members of the Institute '80 Organizing Committee first conceived of the idea of **Cooperatives and Communities: People in Motion**, we had no idea what we were getting into. Institute '80 was to be a well-intentioned effort to address the question of low income and minority involvement within the cooperative movement. As well meaning as this sounds, it has proven to be full of

classic misassumptions about both the needs and interests of low income and minority communities.

No one is going to come into anybody else's movement. At best, the Institute will be the starting point for working together, and hopefully, as we begin to have more common experiences in our local communities. As we begin to get to know one another as co-workers and friends, only then will we be able to talk about cooperative visions of our communities. If this happens, the future coop movement will not be the coop movement we know today. It will be a social change movement which will be formed by future shared experiences, which blend our customs into both a more communal, people-oriented way of life, and a more self-reliant alternative to the destructive forces of racism and poverty.

But we are still way back at step one, which for the Institute Organizing Committee has been a step that we have been taking for over a year. It has been a series of enormous learning experiences which have begun to alter people's perceptions of issues:

1. The needs and struggles of the middle class coop movement and low income people are substantively different. Yes, we do have similar ideal goals of cooperation, but in reality, while we middle class cooperators combat the overindulgence of our culture, low income people are struggling with survival at a much more basic level.
2. We will not be able to begin working together without first going through a period of seemingly disruptive and certainly uncomfortable but necessary "disengagement" from the historic past. Racism and oppression, anger and suffering cannot be dealt with overnight. We will continue to respond to one another in classic patterns of learned behavior. The only way to change those patterns is through talking with one another and starting to work together. Right now, our different environments and our pasts put us on opposite sides of the street.
3. There are distinct and proud cooperative and ethnic traditions which have so long been subjected to obscurity by the more dominant culture. Understanding this tradition will be a beginning.
4. As we begin to deal with the past, we begin a sharing of different perspectives, a mixture of formality-turned-informality, of humor, of shared problem solving and common judgement.
5. There will be times when we can work together as one broad social change movement, and times when we must continue to be separate movements. As much as we must develop standard ways for sharing resources perhaps through cooperative councils, shared coop goods and services, and schemes of community finance, equally important are the times of "organic growth" of coops in our separate communities, when people must work with the comfort and security of their own strength and culture.

The only things which we may have in common are limited human and material resources, and some idealism about how we want to live our lives. This may not be enough for unity on the issues that confront us. In any case, the effort requires risk: we are all going to have to give up something of our old ways if we want any kind of shared future. □

Organizing



Development Issues for Coops in Low-Income Communities

by Stanley Straughter

The organization of consumer cooperatives in low income communities is a viable method by which people there can participate in a self-help economic program. Many low income cooperatives can be organized; producer cooperatives, worker cooperatives, co-op food stores and a host of other consumer services. Unfortunately, low income people have not been able to take full advantage of consumer cooperatives, and organizations that fund community self-help efforts have failed to develop a success record in low income areas.

The failure of cooperatives in low income communities can be traced to the lack of some essential ingredients in the organizing efforts of community members. One of the first things we must look at is inadequate planning. Planning is essential to organize a consumer cooperative in communities where the people are low income and in some cases are illiterate.

The planning and development phase should research all of the general characteristics of the local community. What is the level of involvement of people in the area with community problems? The answer to this will provide information as to who the community leaders are, the issues the community has been mobilized around in the past, and what issues may have impact on the community in the future. Obviously, this is a community organizing technique that says, "people can be organized best around issues that are relevant to them," either real or imagined. By identifying community issues and activists, the cooperative organizer can then utilize the resource of their experience to effectively develop coops.

The second phase of planning should assess the level of cooperative technical assistance needed in the community. Generally, the low income community has no fore knowledge of what a cooperative is, how it is organized, and the skills necessary to operate the cooperative enterprise. The cooperative organizer will have to develop an educational program that takes into consideration the following:

- What is a cooperative? What is its purpose?
- The role of the board of directors and membership?
- What are cooperative principles and practices?
- How do cooperatives benefit its members?
- An ongoing entry level membership training program.

Many cooperative organizers have failed because they have not given adequate attention to the items listed above. The level of planning can be called the pre co-op stage. The pre co-op stage is often bypassed or short cut by enthusiastic organizers or funding agencies who must "produce" large groups of people in one contract year in

order to receive funding in subsequent years. The OEO funded cooperative programs of the 1960's is a prime example of how not to organize an inner city co-operative.

The organization of a co-operative in any community is a long term process. The pre co-op stage lays the basis for the future struggles the cooperatives must face. This stage provides for the ongoing training of the existing members and sets up a continuous training program for new members as they come into the organization. In addition, during the pre co-op stage a group of cooperative organizers are being developed. These cooperative organizers, in turn, can continue the organizing process by bringing in new members.

The cooperative is a user-owner enterprise, controlled by a board of directors elected by the membership. The board is empowered by the membership to hire a qualified manager and/or staff to run the cooperative enterprise. Failure to communicate the importance of the responsibility of the board to its membership threatens one of the basic features of cooperative principles, control by the membership. If the board of a low income co-op sees the cooperative as "their" business, the membership becomes isolated from the decision making process and insulated from the problems that every new business must face. Few of the people in the inner city who participated in the OEO type co-op programs would know "what a cooperative is and how a cooperative benefits its members." (I must point out that OEO is used more as an example and is not meant to imply that OEO was the only program that failed. Many funding agencies and foundations participated in community self-help efforts over the years, yet few, if any, were successful. However, maybe their failure has pointed the way to success.)

Finally, the cooperative organizer must address himself to financial and business planning. Given that the cooperative has benefits as a social institution, it is in the final analysis a business enterprise. Like every other business, an inner city cooperative will have to raise capital (sell stock) from its membership to set up the enterprise. In addition, a business plan must be developed to determine the needs of the user/owners; their income levels; purchasing power; skills needed to operate the enterprise and expenses to be incurred in the ongoing business.

If a small group decides to set up a food store without considering competition in the area or the cost to start up the venture, it may be that the retail price of food to the community might be higher than other stores in the area, certainly not a benefit to the community. Another situation that often occurs in inner city cooperatives is that a business enterprise is started or anticipated and the community doesn't have people with the skills needed to

Stanley Straughter teaches at Antioch College.

run the enterprise. This situation can doom the coop project to failure.

The sale of capital stock to inner city residents is at best a foreign concept. Usually community people don't have an adequate understanding of how a piece of paper (share of stock) could represent ownership of the enterprise. A financial plan, for example, may determine that the cooperative might require \$50,000 to be capitalized (started) properly. The next decision might be to sell shares of stock to the community at \$10 per share until the required amount is raised. However, if the people show no appreciation or understanding of how their hard earned \$10 will be used there will be little success in "selling" the idea to the community.

Obviously, a sound plan pointing out the financing needed, how the funds can be raised, on what will these funds be spent, and how and who will run the enterprise will not resolve all of the problems. But this preliminary work and education will help to minimize the potential failure.

Usually, a funding organization is interested in being in-

involved in self-help efforts in low income communities. However, these interested organizations and organizers are not prepared to make the long term commitment required for a successful inner city cooperative. The planning stages outlined above may take a year or more. The development of educational materials and tested methods of delivery and communication will take time. Finally, the raising of adequate capital to implement the cooperative enterprise will take considerable time. Unless the funding organization or foundation is willing to participate and provide funds for a long term project that has small gains in the early years, they should not begin.

In closing, I would agree with Art Danforth when he says,

"... don't start something in the cooperative development field unless you are prepared to stay with it for at least three to five years. Without this, you (and any government agency or foundation involved) are perpetrating a cruel fraud on the families you bring into the new venture. And they've had too many hopes raised and dashed, too many deceptive promises." □



New Wave Ideology:

what it is; what it isn't;
why we need it; why we
don't use it; what we must
do to use it.

by Phil Kreitner

As a force for democratic, egalitarian societal change, the principal contribution of the New Wave food co-op movement has been to serve as a major form of institutionalization of the ideology parented in the 1960's by the New Left and the Counterculture.

The breadth of value change espoused by New Wave ideology — political, ecological, social, cultural, economic, and spiritual — puts the 1970's generation of co-op organizing into a class by itself among the several waves of co-op resurgence occurring over the past century and a half of U.S. cooperative history.

However, New Wave ideology, uniquely promising as it is, has a disabling flaw: its political elements are vague, fragmentary, and inconsistent. The disarray in New Wave political ideology is in line with a long history of confused politics in American cooperatives. (see box)

Although New Wave ideology is an improvement over that of the previous generation of cooperators, in that political philosophy is accepted as a rightful component, it still suffers from the peculiar American aversion to deliberate

Phil Kreitner is on the staff of Ralph Nader doing coop networking and organizing.

socio-political analysis. The result is that a plenitude of potentially liberating ideas lacks the strategic connectedness to societal conditions. Connectedness is needed for those ideas to be transferable to the surrounding society, especially to its less-empowered classes. The ecological, social, cultural, economic, and spiritual beauty of New Wave ideology languishes without a context of political analysis and prescription that would give power and focus to help restructure a dying empire and a chaotic, unjust world order.

THE MANY FACETS OF NEW WAVE IDEOLOGY

The **political** aspect of New Wave ideology, although fragmentary in content and rhetorical in expression, can be generally characterized as communitarian. "**Political**" involves the nature of power relations between people and classes, and the institutions which are used by some people and classes to dominate others. The founders of the institution of economic cooperation quite consciously conceived of co-ops as a way for oppressed people and classes to liberate themselves.

"**Communitarian**" is a label for the concepts of human purpose and organization which were articulated by the founders of cooperation. The community is the primary form of social-economical-political organization and its purpose is to support a world of non-exploitative self-determination. Processes of material culture and political control are conducted at the smallest sustainable, equitable scale. Community self-reliance is valued over individualistic pseudo-self-sufficiency at one extreme and unsustainable, exploitative, global interdependence at the other. Purpose is globally perceived and communally discharged. Benefits are communally enjoyed consistent with the vision of global equivalency of enjoyment.

Ecological aspects of New Wave ideology are pre-eminent, centering on the relations between people and natural constituents, especially those involved in food production and processing. The guiding values for co-op acti-

vity relate to "organic" production, the distribution of "natural" (i.e., minimally processed) commodities, and a corresponding revulsion to trafficking in plastic foods, with their chemical pollutants and nutrient imbalances.

A relatively privileged socio-economic class background has afforded the quite homogeneous sub-society of New Wave cooperators the luxury of being able to regard organic liberation as of more fundamental concern than socio-economic liberation. (The class roots of the New Wave are largely the same as those traditionally predominating in the consumer cooperative movement in North America: middle-class Anglo.)

Social values are focused on the quality of inter-personal relations (and much less on inter-class relations). There is a heightened sensitivity to the dynamics and potential inequities of inter-personal politics and a belief that micro-social processes require self-conscious monitoring and discipline. High values are placed on eliminating discrimination based on socio-economic class, race, age, sex, and sexual preference. Practical efforts have been concentrated on the latter two characteristics. This may be due to their being foci of discrimination which are pervasive even in higher socio-economic classes. (Class is conceptualized here in terms of childhood socio-economic status, not the potentially misleading criterion of current income.)

Because organic consciousness tends to be a middle-and-upper-class phenomenon, the desires and aspirations of the born-poor have generally not been well represented or acted upon among the population of born-again-poor cooperators. Thus, the ecological imperatives of New Wave ideology conflict with some of its social tenets. The absence of a strategic prioritizing political component allows concern with organic purity to take precedence over helping the born-poor liberate themselves (accomplishing the latter by restructuring community economic processes to exclude rich outsiders and include poor insiders.)

Cultural—Economic elements of New Wave ideology are embodied in lifestyle changes characterized variously as "simple living," "voluntary simplicity," "living lightly," "back to the land," etc. High values are placed on conservative use of non-renewable resources, use of natural products, material self-reliance, etc. Time conventionally spent acquiring material things and social power is turned to enjoying people, including oneself. Creating the essentials of life is valued over buying non-essentials. Wants are derivative of needs, not vice versa. Both technology and private profit are not sanctified as ends, but are regarded critically as possible means.

However, the absence of a clearly communitarian ideological mirror allows a potentially salutary new ethic to remain stuck in the traditional individualistic mold: the "self-made man" is now "doing her/his own thing." Specifically, the quest for organic purity and completeness leads some cooperators to go unecologically long distances and deal with politically inimical entrepreneurs instead of using the co-op to support local enterprise and build broad (combined middle-class and lower-class) community organization and consciousness.

Spiritual awakening in the New Wave ideology takes an exploratory approach to re-establishing the ancient nexus of soul, earth, and cosmos. The process has involved a bewildering array of hybridizing experiments

borrowed from religious philosophies and metaphysical belief systems from around the world and back into history. The beauty of these uninhibited attempts at spiritual path-finding is that they have broadened the range of spiritual options at a point in history of crisis in human purpose.

Again, the lack of a politicized communitarian ideology has permitted the new spirituality to perpetuate a tradition of societal detachment, with devotees often practicing their faiths at the extremes of dogmatic sectarian proselytizing or isolated self-celebration. The lack of dedication to the liberation of people suffering from earthly oppression is dismissed with the smug self-justification of affluent individualism: the way to free the world is to free oneself.

Getting a Synthesizing Strategy

The foregoing analysis leads to one obvious conclusion. Cooperators have to stop talking about the need to talk about movement purposes and goals and start making a systematic, continuous effort to (a) conduct analyses of the societal conditions that inspire the formation of cooperatives and (b) devise strategies for using the collective means of the cooperative for the collective ends of our society. We should stop relegating such deliberations to the ephemeral, unaccountable conditions of conferences. Americans are very uncomfortable dealing with matters of ideology, and the conference environment is the worst place to deal with awkward issues. It is virtually foreordained that nothing gets resolved to the point at which it can serve as a guide to action.

As far as the area of ideology is concerned, conferences should be reserved for approving or rejecting the work of standing groups. In line with our communitarian ideals such groups should be constituted by locality and region, and even by sector, if constituents so desire. Regional gatherings can ratify regionally negotiated societal analyses, goal prescriptions, and attainment strategies. In this area, the only function of national organizations and gatherings should be to see that regional strategizing is done in full knowledge of, and in coordination with, similar efforts in other regions of the U.S., North America, and the world.

The Co-op as a Social Movement Organization

The most profound effect of the failure of American cooperators to promote an integrated, or at least accommodated, political consciousness has been to let the concept of the co-op as a social movement organization recede into the background of cooperative consciousness, clear only to the long-suffering hard core. Among institutions dedicated to democratic, egalitarian societal change, the cooperative is unique in that it operates in the exchange economy instead of in the grants economy. For the bulk of co-op participants, their contributions of money/labor are made primarily in trade for goods or services for themselves, rather than as donations to a cause. The potential to be self-supporting economically gives co-ops a vital role to play in the world of progressive societal change. First, cooperatives can popularize and legitimize the notion of citizen producer/consumer involvement in societal

THE POLITICS OF IDEOLOGY

Political volatility is a quality inherent in the cooperative form of economic organization. As a democratic organization engaging in processes of creating and distributing economic power, a co-op is an especially tempting target for power-hungry people and groups to usurp, dominate, and manipulate for their own ends.

The fear by American cooperators of political ideological assertiveness stems from (a) pressure for cooperatives to play by the national house rules (usually capitalism or state socialism), (b) a history of disruption by sectarian political adventurism, and (c) the lack of a substantial, legitimate communitarian socio-political tradition in U.S. history.

American cooperators' reaction to a disconcerting history of internal political turmoil has been to erect and hide behind a myth of apoliticality. This myth rests precariously on the logic that co-ops can be depoliticized by (a) opening them to people of all ideological stripes ("classless" consumerism), (b) decreeing that ideology is irrelevant (pragmatism), and (c) denying the asso-

ciation between ideology and inter-personal politics (liberalism).

This logic embodies three questionable assumptions: (a) any economic institution, especially a democratic one, can exist with indifference or equanimity in a societal environment of conflicting ideologies and the classes of people they serve, (b) a person or organization can be non-ideological, and (c) by being non-ideological, co-ops can reduce inter-personal political hassling.

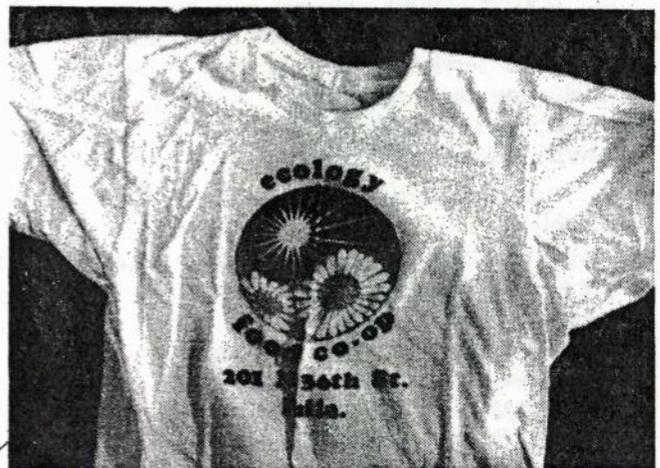
The first assumption is foolish on the face of it. The second assumption overlooks the relation that being explicitly non-ideological is the same as being implicitly accepting of prevailing ideologies. The third assumption ignores the association between personality and ideology, thus locking cooperatives into the role of ego-toys, and denying them the opportunity to use ideology to discipline ego-individualism. Ego-individualism is one of the several threads of the Cooperative Paradox, in which the very qualities of the societal environment which impel people to the cooperative alternative act internally to prevent co-ops from functioning as effective alternatives.

change, rather than as a guilty, liberal pastime subsidized by discretionary individual income. Second, co-ops should be able to convert some of their own economic surplus into direct support for other societal change efforts.

In order to fill this role, however, cooperators must first confront the nature of participant motivation in their co-ops. Most co-ops in America are locked firmly in the role of being "apolitical" tools in the hands of people and groups with implicit, repressed, or otherwise hidden ideological agendas. The commonest agenda by far is "**material advantage** (price/quality) for **me, now**," which is a statement of ideology as potent as it is simple. It is the ideology of materialist individualism. If this motivation is not attended by a commensurate commitment to using the

co-op as an instrument of giving **political advantage** to **powerless people** in the **near future**, then the co-op itself will be more a part of the problem than of the solution.

Without clear, but flexible, political strategies for gaining institutional power we have nothing but pure hope about seeing our social, cultural, economic, spiritual, and economic visions made intelligible and accessible to all people. To that end, we need to recognize that the bottom line of co-op development strategy is not co-op development but community empowerment. This notion has two implications for the nature of any development strategy. First, "cooperation" is ultimately **economic** cooperation, not **producer** or **consumer** cooperation. We must have limited patience with the short-sighted, self-



T-shirts courtesy of Mr. Kreitner's exclusive collection.

servicing distinctions that have historically caused most of the strategic gulf between these two forms of cooperative organization. Second, "cooperation" involves the coalition of member-controlled enterprise with other organizations working to implement community-scale technologies and/or build community-controlled institutions. Broad-based regional coalitions are essential for the realization of a strategy to cooperatize and regionalize the economy.

If American co-ops are to live up to their traditional responsibilities as social movement organizations, they must self-consciously act like the triple-purpose operation that the co-op was originated to be: commercial enterprise, educational institution, and community organization.



Community Alliances

by Kris Olsen

Volunteer fire departments, trade unions, barn raisings, childcare centers, chambers of commerce, the minutemen, men's and women's support groups, the PTA (Parent-Teacher Association), and protest demonstrations. What common denominator links this diverse assortment of organizations? They are all examples of a community alliance; of a network of cooperating human relationships. The mission of a community alliance? The enhancement of each individual community member's ability to survive and flourish.

A thriving example of a contemporary community alliance in an urban area is People's Community Enterprises, a neighborhood Community Development Corporation in Duluth, Minnesota.

PCE has local people involved with issues such as affordable housing, access to alternative energy and energy saving options, a need for more jobs in the area, and the expansion of neighborhood services. Attempts at resolving these problems has resulted in the development of a co-op grocery store, a planned co-op hardware store, and a home remodeling collective. The progress made in achieving these solutions was aided by networking with people in other local community agencies, local businesspeople, and the Duluth city government. One of the aims in selecting cooperative services is to affirm community control, participation, and self-reliance. Community people are thus empowered to take part in decisions on issues that concern them and their community.

A rural community alliance is G.A.S.P., General Assembly to Stop the Powerline. Its genesis occurred in westcentral Minnesota. The reason was as a reaction to the siting and construction of one of the largest powerlines in the United States through local fields and pastures and near people's homes. Their reaction was in response to

Kris Olsen is one of the founders of the All Cooperating Assembly in the North Country, and until recently long-time staff organizer.

These three functions can be both distinguished and pursued by clarifying just what is meant by education. Education needs to be conducted relative to each of the co-op's three functions. **Consumer** education gets people in the door with higher quality/lower cost appeals to their material self-interest. **Cooperative** education keeps people inside by showing them that co-op bargains are community bargains, there for all who will work cooperatively to get them. **Political** education sends people out the door understanding why we need to create our own co-ops and other democratic alternative institutions, and what our responsibilities are to get all people access to co-ops, especially those most in need. □

questionable processes and decisions regarding site selection, and in the research done for the needs assessment that was necessary to obtain construction permits. They fear possible impairment of land use, depreciation of property values, health hazards from the powerline to people and wildlife, and whether the powerline is economically feasible.

The community of people that G.A.S.P. has become have been successful in bringing the powerline issue to national visibility, in raising consciousness about the above mentioned issues, and in generating research into those same issues. Organizations such as People's Community Enterprises and G.A.S.P. are beginning to expand their community to regional and national scope, and are working with other community organizations at all levels.

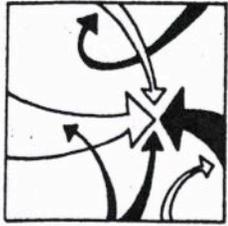
The principles of the Community Union, a community alliance of the West Bank neighborhood in Minneapolis, Minnesota, perhaps best symbolize many of the contemporary community alliances. They read:

The Community exists to nurture and defend the unique community that has been built and continues to evolve on the West Bank.

The Community Union advocates:

1. Respect for the local community and its needs. Recognition that there exists in Cedar-Riverside a large community of people who know and trust each other.
2. Sound ecology, including decentralized community based energy and resource planning.
3. Recognition of the destructive effects of automobile based planning, and resistance to it in our neighborhood.
4. Respect for the unique cultural history of this neighborhood. Defense of our culture against commercial exploitation. Maintenance of this area as a seedbed for art, music, and progressive economics.
5. Community based economic development. We advocate businesses that are locally controlled, and that provide services and employment to the local community.
6. Immediate steps to maintain and rehabilitate the existing housing stock, and to build additional affordable housing under community control.

This community has a history of mobilizing to defend these principles and we will continue in that struggle. □



History

Cooperation and Struggle: The African-American Cooperative Tradition

by Julian Ellison

Anthropologists have recently demonstrated that the pre-capitalist economies of Africa were cooperatively organized. Exchange occurred not for profit but to assuage material need. The tribal economies of West Africa had well developed cooperative institutions. The caravans carrying gold, salt, steel swords and other goods from the Ghanian, Malian and Songhai empires across the Sahara to the Mediterranean in the European Middle Ages were organized cooperatively. In the small kingdoms of the forest belt along the Gulf of Guinea there were cooperative labor exchanges and rotating credit associations known as esusu.

These traditions were brought to the Western hemisphere by Africans during the Atlantic slave trade, and though attenuated by slavemaster suppression over the centuries, and transformed by contact with the European cooperative traditions, the African tradition survives even today. A major example is in the rotating credit association, or esusu. In the Caribbean it is called susu. In the U.S. South, it is called the ring. It formed the basis for the establishment of burial societies, which in turn were transformed in the twentieth century into mutual insurance companies, and savings and loan associations.

The esusu could survive because it is essentially a private activity that can be easily hidden from those attempting to suppress it. Other forms of cooperation, including the establishment of cooperative settlements or communes require freedom if they are to flourish. There are many examples of successful, long lasting communal settlements having been organized by African-Americans, prior to 1900. They were virtually all conflict or struggle based, stretching back to the Maroon camps of escaped slaves in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Most information on such early cooperative activity is available about the communes established along the Canadian border in the 1840's and 1850's. (See Richard S. Pease and Jane Pease, **Black Utopia** for a listing, history and analysis of these settlements.) Colonies were also established by African-Americans in Mexico, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad, Panama and West Africa.

Canadian settlements were located near Windsor, Ontario, right across the river from Detroit. These communal settlements were created with the assistance of the Abolitionist Movement, and served as terminal points on the Underground Railroad. Financial assistance was obtained from wealthy whites in New England and in Europe. The Scotch-Irish people of Appalachia hid runaway slaves and provided food and directions for them on their way north. The settlements therefore were not intended to be exemplary institutions but support mechanisms for other social and political activities. They provided staging areas for blacks engaged in lecturing, organizing and struggling against the slaveholding regime.

These efforts took place independently of the Owenite movement in England during the same period, the Charles Fourier Phalanx movement in France, and the Rochdale movement. Owen, Fourier, St. Simon and Louis Blanc were social theorists attempting to apply their theories. Black intellectuals of the period were much more concerned with day-to-day struggle. They thus had much more in common with the Rochdale cooperators, although there is no evidence of collaboration between them.

Following emancipation in 1863, and the Union victory in 1865, the southern agricultural economy was in disarray. Many Blacks migrated from the south, some to Kansas and Oklahoma, others to northern cities, still others to southern cities. The majority, however, remained on the land, and after a brief period of about seven years the system of share-cropping was developed by the farmer planters as a means of tying Blacks to the land again under their domination.

As one reaction to this return to exploitation, Blacks and some whites in the Populist Movement organized the Colored Farmers Alliance and Cooperative Union (CFACU) in Texas in 1886. (Ray Marshall and Lamond Godwin, **Cooperatives and Rural Poverty in the South**, Baltimore, 1971, p. 30) Eventually this group would have members throughout the South, perhaps over one million according to some accounts. But it was a short-lived experiment. In September 1889 National Guardsmen called out to suppress black demonstrations in Leflore County, Mississippi opened fire and killed five persons. The cause of the demonstrations in the majority black



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areas was economic competition fostered by CFACU with white farmers organized into the Southern Farmers Alliance. This episode signaled the end for CFACU as white reaction spread across the South. (William F. Holmes, "The Leflore County Massacre and the Demise of the Colored Farmers Alliance", *Phylon*, September 1973, pp. 267-274)

It was in this context that DuBois' study of cooperative black business enterprise nine years later in 1898 must be viewed. He was the first major intellectual to attempt to systematically describe and analyze the cooperative activities that Blacks had been engaged in for centuries. His cooperative commonwealth concept, far from being an abstraction, was a factual depiction of activities he and others had observed in Canada, Kansas, Oklahoma and across the South.

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1900-1918: Evolution of Black Cooperative Thought

Modern black cooperative theory began with Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' description of black business enterprise. Data were obtained in the course of a survey undertaken by Dr. DuBois in 1898.

In 1907 DuBois undertook a larger study on the same theme, presenting a larger number of examples, and developing the idea of the "Group Economy". (DuBois, *Economic Cooperation Among Negro Americans*, Atlanta University Publications, 1907, pp. 178-179) In 1910, DuBois left Atlanta University to serve as Director of Research at the NAACP, and editor of the organization's monthly bulletin, *The Crisis*. He presented very concisely the outlines of what would become by 1940 his black cooperative commonwealth strategy.

First, DuBois said, because the functional origin of black income was uniform, i.e. came from labor, no economic classes existed, no basis for conflict existed, and Blacks could, if astute, organize cooperatives much more easily than whites. Moreover, as the example of the English cooperative movement, a minority movement there, showed cooperation could succeed as a non-majority effort.

Second, in order to forestall opposition from whites, the black cooperative movement had to forswear government financial assistance and remain initially at least nominally non-partisan. This would permit it to grow strong enough to serve as a power base for later racial and political reform efforts.

The movement would have to develop large scale enterprises to succeed and become independent. The first step was to establish local cooperative stores in towns and cities with 10,000 or more black population. These stores would sell food, clothing, and household goods to patrons. Capital would be raised by selling shares to patrons. These stores would then join to form wholesaling operations to

purchase directly from producers on behalf of the retail cooperative stores. The final elaboration of the scheme would have to await the Depression.

What is striking about it even in unfinished form is at once its antiquity, going back to the freed-slave colonies and the European utopian communities, and at the same time its modernity, being focused entirely on the cities toward which Blacks were then migrating in unprecedented waves. (Emmet J. Scott, op cit)

To cap this phase of his thought on the subject, DuBois invited Dr. James Peter Warbasse, surgeon and founder of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. (CLUSA) to write an article for *the Crisis*. Warbasse responded with "The Theory of Cooperation". (March, 1918)

DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

At a series of conferences in late September 1916 sponsored by Tuskegee Institute and involving black farmers and white bankers and planters, a proposal to organize a Farmers' Loan Association in Macon County was developed. This Association was intended to work with the "Farmers Loan Bank" then being established by the federal government. (Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, N.Y., 1969, pp. 81-82 n.)

The reference is to the federal land banks and national farm loan associations created by the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916. President Woodrow Wilson signed the Act on July 17, 1916. The national farm loan associations were cooperatively owned by farmers in 12 federal land bank districts. These associations in turn ultimately owned the stock of their district land bank. The last of the 12 federal land banks was chartered on April 3, 1917. By the beginning of December, 1,839 farm loan associations had been organized and 1,985 others were being organized. Some of these, such as the one proposed at Tuskegee, apparently, had an entirely black membership. (See W. Gifford Hoag, *The Farm Credit System: A History of Financial Self-Help*, Danville, Ill., 1976, pp. 213-217n.)

III. THE INTERWAR PERIOD, 1919-1940

By 1919, cooperation had become relatively widespread among Blacks, particularly in rural areas. (George W. Blount, "Thrift and co-operation among Negroes", *Southern Workman*, August 1919)

In 1921, E. Franklin Frazier travelled to Denmark to spend a year studying the Danish cooperative movement. Upon his return, he published three articles in the *Southern Workman* reporting on and analyzing the experience.

In the first article Frazier sketched the history, character and extent of the cooperative movement in



Denmark. The second article described in detail the management and operations of local Danish cooperative associations, and presented extracts of their by-laws. The final article distinguished between cooperation as he had observed it in Denmark, based on the Rochdale principles, and the concept of cooperation between the races which was a popular philosophy among black intellectuals at that time.

Though he did not mention it in the article, a third concept of cooperation also had some currency at the time. This concept, focused on business, considered any form of business organization engaged in by more than one person as cooperation. Such cooperation was urged on Blacks by virtually all black spokesmen, from DuBois to Dr. Robert R. Moton, who replaced Booker T. Washington as head of Tuskegee Institute. Frazier also distinguished among production coops, consumer coops and cooperative credit societies. He then advocated this form of business organization for blacks, basing his recommendation on the contention that this Rochdale type of cooperation would also contribute to the other two types. He cautioned, however, that unless cooperators were educated and/or intelligent they could be cheated by coop leaders/promoters. As examples, he mentioned some black farmers in North Carolina, whose marketing coop had failed because of malfeasance on the part of the leaders.

DuBois' interest in cooperatives as a tool for black economic development led him to correspond frequently with Warbasse. On February 13, 1925, for example, he wrote Warbasse asking if the trustees of the CLUSA fund would be interested in helping start cooperatives in Harlem. The request was clearly for financial assistance in this undertaking. The idea of awaiting the accumulation of Black's own capital before beginning to develop cooperatives thus was implicitly rejected by DuBois. Warbasse's reply offered only the names and addresses of other Blacks who had contacted CLUSA expressing an interest in cooperatives, and hence was non-responsive. (Herbert Aptheker, ed., *The Correspondence of W.E.B. DuBois*, vol. 1, p. 305, Amherst, Mass. 1971)

In 1940 DuBois summed up his views on the potential of cooperatives to aid black development in his book, *Dusk of Dawn, An Autobiography of a Race Concept*. In the book he expanded the idea of group economy he had first presented in 1907. The concept involved consolidating the many small proprietorships that had developed in segregated black communities through the device of group purchasing of supplies by these firms, expanding the mutual insurance companies and savings and loan associations that constituted the largest black firms to finance this development and creating black consumer markets for black farm output.

The decade of the thirties, of course, was a period of massive federal involvement with coops. In April 30, 1935 President Roosevelt created the Resettle-

ment Administration (RA) by issuing Executive Order 7027. RA established 13 known black subsistence communities. Planning for the first one began immediately, in May 1935. This community was located near Newport News, Virginia and was later converted into a housing development of 159 units surrounded by a greenbelt of farms and gardens.

The 13 black settlements had a total of 1,151 family units and contained 91,992 acres of land. In addition, there were 19 of the scattered farm projects that were racially integrated involving 1,117 family units and 161,992 acres. This "integration" usually meant two racially distinct settlements in the same general area. Thus Black cooperative settlements totaled 32.

The projects started by RA or inherited from FERA and the Division of Subsistence Homesteads included 82 scattered farm projects, 59 inherited settlement projects and 37 new settlement projects, 32 which were rural agricultural. The total number of projects was thus 178. Black projects represent 18 percent of the total number of projects by this count.

After the transfer of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads to RA in 1935, the Division of Self-Help Cooperatives was liquidated by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) upon the expiration of authorizing legislation in June 30, 1938. As far as Blacks are concerned, this signalled the end of the New Deal's cooperative program. Although some black cooperative communities thrived in rural areas, the program as a whole must be judged a failure. (However, see Lester Salamon, *Land and Minority Enterprise*, 1976, for a positive analysis of the long term effect of these settlements.)

THE COOPERATIVE LULL, 1940-1964

Between 1940 and 1960, the black cooperative movement was generally dormant. Most economic activity centered on employment and public accommodations discrimination issues. The use of the economic boycott by Martin Luther King in Montgomery in the bus boycott episode triggered again direct action, self-help attitudes among Blacks, and brought many young black college students out of their dorms and classrooms to the dusty roads of the rural South to organize around economic issues. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), organized by these students in 1960, was foremost among various organizations in promoting cooperatives. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) also were involved to some extent, although CORE's base was in northern urban areas. Interestingly, all three organizations had their origin in the church, still the strongest institution in the black community.

As early as 1941 CORE, heavily influenced by



Mohandas K. Gandhi's philosophy of non-violent social action had established an **ashram** (cooperative) in Harlem as a sort of headquarters and crash pad for members coming through New York from other parts of the country. The **ashram** was founded by J. Holmes Smith, a white former Methodist missionary to India who had been closely associated with Gandhi. (August Meir & Elliot Rudwick, **CORE**, p. 14) Most of CORE's activity in cooperative organizing, however, took place in the South during the 1960's.

Following the Freedom Rides in 1961 CORE, whose strength lay largely in Mississippi Valley cities stretching south from its home in Chicago, developed a southern program. David J. Dennis, one of their field coordinators in Mississippi and former head of their New Orleans chapter, in March 1963 organized 18 women in Ruleville, Mississippi into the Ruleville Cooperative. The cooperative produced quilts and other craftworks. In early 1965, a sewing cooperative was started for black women in Madison County, Mississippi who had lost their jobs for protesting discrimination.

In 1966 the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality (SEDFRE), a tax exempt arm of CORE formed in 1962, broke its ties to the parent organization and established itself as a non-profit national training and technical assistance organization specializing in community development. It was during this period that CORE was evolving from the integrated, non-violent civil rights organization associated with A.J. Muste, James Farmer and Floyd McKissick to one espousing the African nationalism associated with Roy Innis.

Among those involved with SEDFRE were Antoine Perot and Ruth Turner of Cleveland, Kenny Johnson of New Orleans, and Spiver Gordon. Perot and Turner, now married, are associated with Agricultural Teams, a cooperative technical assistance group based in Ithaca, New York. Johnson and Gordon work for the National Rural Center in Georgia and Alabama, respectively.

Some cooperative or quasi-cooperative activity continued through the 1940's and 1950's however, and for the first time the locus of these activities was the cities of the North and Midwest. For one example, during the late 1940's a number of black investment clubs were started in New York, Washington, Chicago and Milwaukee. These clubs acted as sort of informal mutual funds for small groups. In 1951 the clubs joined to form the National Association of Investment Clubs (NAIC), and established a headquarters in Royal Oak, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit. (Beverly Jensen, "Go Invest Young Man, Go Invest: A Look at Black Investment Clubs", **Black Enterprise**, December 1976, pp. 75-7)

During the 1960's the membership of the clubs in Brooklyn was heavily West Indian. It was an easy step to go from the susu, in which the members'

weekly or monthly payments were held by a treasurer either at home or in a bank savings account, to an investment club in which the periodic payments were invested on the stock or bond markets. But while susu members tended to be low income women of any age, investment club members tended to be middle income, middle aged, professional men. However, the investment clubs tended to involve the entire families of members, while susu or ring activities were more clandestine, probably a lingering tradition from the period of slavery.

THE OEO PERIOD, 1964-1970

The tiny seeds of cooperation being broadcast by SNCC, CORE and SCLC in the South, and by NAIC and other, local groups in the North, were provided a generous dose of fertilizer by the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (EOA), which created the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). OEO's role in the development of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and the Southern Cooperative Development Fund is well known. (For an account of this episode, see Marshall & Godwin, ch. 3) Also involved with the development of this predominantly black federation, and financial/technical assistance organization were many white institutions, including the Selma Inter-Religious Project, the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, CLUSA, CUNA, the Ford Foundation, Field Foundation, New York Foundation, Cooperative Assistance Fund, Episcopal Church, Methodist Church and Presbyterian Church (Marshall & Godwin).

Government participation was critical, however, lending a legitimacy to these organizational efforts that would not otherwise have been obtained. The foundation and church support provided seed money for organizer's salaries. CLUSA and CUNA provided technical assistance and OEO financed the capital budget.

OEO was established in the Office of the President by the EOA on August 20, 1964. (By coincidence perhaps, the National Consumer Cooperative Bank Act was signed on August 20, 1978.) OEO assistance in the establishment of cooperative ventures for low income families was included as an eligible activity under two Community Action Program (CAP) focal activities: consumer information, education and mutual aid; and housing and home management. (OEO, Community Action Program, **Community Action Program Guide**, vol. 1, 1965, p. 26) By 1968 OEO could report that nine percent of surveyed neighborhood centers (delegate agencies) in CAP had credit unions and/or consumer cooperatives. The survey also revealed that 28 percent of the centers offered consumer education and action programs.



OEO's cooperative assistance programs included, at various times, (1) rural coop loans, (2) rural coop grants, (3) CAP credit union assistance, and (4) CAP consumer coop assistance.

The model for OEO was Mobilization for Youth (MFY) and the community action projects of the Ford Foundation's Gray Areas Program. (See Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*, N.Y., 1970, pp. 56-57 and chs. 3-6 for an intellectual and political history of the development of both MFY and OEO.) MFY was established on New York City's lower east side in 1957 by white social reformers in the settlement house movement and the Columbia University School of Social Work. It was funded by the Kaplan and Taconic Foundations, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the New York School of Social Work for four and a half years while preparing the proposal on which their program was based. The lower east side is one of the poorer neighborhoods in the city. The Ford Foundation started its Gray Area Programs in 1961, with grants to Oakland, New Haven, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and the state of North Carolina for community action to rebuild deteriorating central cities. Through 1965 the foundation provided \$12 million to these projects. (Ford Foundation. *Community Development Corporations, A strategy for Depressed Urban and Rural Areas*. A Ford Foundation Policy Paper, May, 1973.)

MFY's 619 page proposal was funded in 1961 by a consortium including the Ford Foundation, the City of New York, the National Institute of Mental Health, President John F. Kennedy's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (PCJD), the Labor Department, and a few other federal agencies. The program was inaugurated at a White House ceremony on May 31, 1962.

MFY started a number of food buying clubs on the lower east side beginning in 1965. Among the major sponsoring organizations for these buying clubs were United Puerto Ricans and the Negro Federation of the Lower East Side. (Harold Weissman, ed. *Community Development in the Mobilization for Youth Experience*, N.Y., PP. 71-82. (In 1968, MFY received an OEO grant to unite existing cooperatives in the neighborhood into a cooperative association. (OEO. *Annual Report*, 1968) It was apparently the first such cooperative consolidation program established in big city minority ghettos.

However, available figures indicate the overwhelming predominance of OEO cooperative assistance went not to urban centers like New York, but to rural areas.

THE SEVENTIES

On May 24-27, 1969 the National Black Economic Development Conference met in Detroit, Michigan. The conference adopted a proposal presented by

James Forman, formerly a leader in SNCC and the Black Panther Party, that was later to be dubbed the Black Manifesto by news media. For our purposes, its most relevant passage called for establishment of the International Black Appeal, one of whose three functions would be to develop cooperatives, not in the United States but in Africa. This meeting was financed largely by the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Action (IFCA), which was condemned in many quarters for doing so. (Robert S. Lecky & Elliot Wright, eds. *Black Manifesto; Religion, Racism and Reparations*, N.Y., 1969, Appendix)

On March 10-12, 1972 one of the most significant gatherings of the decade convened in Gary, Indiana. Called the National Black Political Convention it brought together black local, state and federal elected officials, college professors and intellectuals, community action program executives and staff, and unattached community activists to write a national black political agenda. The honorary chairman was former Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Serving as co-chairmen were Congressman Charles Diggs of Detroit, Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, and Imamu Amiri Baraka, head of the Committee for a Unified Newark, and the Congress of African Peoples. When the conferees departed, the document they had adopted included several references to cooperatives.

In the Economic Empowerment section of the document, item five was "to encourage exploration of alternative forms of economic organization and development of an economic system that promotes self-reliance, cooperative economics, and people ownership (sic) and control of the means of production and distribution of goods." (National Black Political Convention, *National Black Political Agenda*, Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 9) The cooperative economics referred to is taken from the literal translation of *ujamaa*, the swahili word used by the Tanzanian government to describe the economic development strategy adopted in 1966.

In the Rural Development section, Blacks were called upon to establish land banks to assure "continual black ownership and control of land to be used for cooperative crop production, soil fertilization research, and animal husbandry", and to "create a Council on Rural Development to lend technical assistance to black farm owners, to create cooperative marketing ventures, to develop ways of creating food processing plants in the South, to conduct research into modern farming methods, and to plan a national design for rural development".

Black office holders and seekers were asked to "establish a Tennessee Valley Authority-type vehicle to function as a planning, coordinating and management structure for a rural industrial development program in the Black Belt. This institution was to be publicly funded black-controlled, and to



emphasize cooperative-type ventures.

Among the participants at the 1969 Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit were representatives of CORE, SEDFRE, SNCC, the Black Panther Party, (BPP), the Black Workers Congress (BWC), Nation of Islam (NI), Republic of New Africa (RNA), the Black Economic Research Center (BERC) and Community Action Program delegate agencies.

At the 1972 National Black Political Convention participants included the same groups as well as the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), Southern Conference of Black Mayors (now National Conference of Black Mayors, NCBM), Congress of African Peoples (CAP), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), NAACP, National Urban League (NUL) and Emergency Land Fund (ELF).

As far as cooperative development goes, the most important of these organizations were the community action agencies and the Congress of African Peoples. Two of the major principles by which the latter group's members were guided were "ujamaa", explained above, and "ujima", another swahili word meaning collective work and responsibility. The Congress of African Peoples included a large number of intellectuals among its members, among them faculty members at major universities in African and African American Studies programs. It was led by a major black intellectual, Amiri Baraka, a poet and playwright with several Broadway plays to his credit. This organization had made a serious attempt to revive and expand the study of African cultures, history and economic structures, and to re-establish relevant traditions and structures in the United States.

The intellectual weight and glamor of the Congress of African Peoples inspired community action agencies to adopt the cooperative part of CAP's economic strategy, and utilizing agency economic development programs undertake a systematic effort to organize consumer cooperatives and low income credit unions. While no figures are available on the number of such cooperatives and credit unions established, this writer was aware of at least one cooperative or buying club in every black neighborhood in Brooklyn, at least three credit unions in black Brooklyn neighborhoods, investment clubs in Brooklyn, and at least one minority cooperative or buying club in every borough in New York City. Moreover, cooperatives were known to exist in Newark, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Youngstown, Chicago, Houston, Milwaukee, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Many more undoubtedly existed, but research in the field would be required to document their existence, history and current status.

In the mid-1970's perhaps the largest black cooperative in the country was organized by Dr. Nathaniel Wright, Jr., his brother Benjamin Wright,

his wife Jeanne Jason and a few colleagues. The BMI Cooperative (for Black Media Inc.) members are black newspapers across the country. The cooperative publishes a monthly supplement, the **National Black Monitor**, solicits national advertisers and performs miscellaneous other services for the over 100 papers that are members.

In November 1976, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE) gave Opportunity Industrialization Centers (OIC) a grant of \$900,000 to establish community investment cooperatives in Jacksonville, Florida; Rocky Mount, N.C.; Augusta, Ga.; Springfield, Oh.; Oklahoma City, Ok.; Saginaw, MI; Trenton, N.J.; and Santa Ana, Ca. Each community investment cooperative (CIC) would serve as a vehicle by which community residents could invest in profit-making businesses. The return on these investments would provide seed money for developing locally owned enterprises. To facilitate this latter phase of the program, a local branch of Progress Venture Capital Corporation, the OIC sponsored Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Company (MESBIC), was to be established in each city. ("Minority Firms Get \$900,000 Boost on Road to Self-Sufficiency", **Commerce America**, November 22, 1976, p. 12)

A new element in this program is the deliberate focus on medium sized cities rather than the rural areas or metropolises that had previously been the targets of black cooperative organizers. The involvement of SBA and OMBE in a cooperative venture was also noteworthy. These two agencies had always had a policy of not financing cooperatives to that point. The focus on smaller cities is also a feature of BMI Cooperative, because most of its members are located in such cities. Because both BMI and OIC are headquartered in major cities, these efforts represent the development of a black cooperative network tying together big cities and small towns. Since rural cooperatives had already established links to urban areas, the network is nearly complete; all that is needed is the linkage of small cities and rural areas.

To bring this story as close to the present as possible, it should be noted that the National Black Convention of 1972 created an on-going structure called the National Black Assembly which has met every two years since then. The *cooperative* or *ujamaa* plank has remained a staple of the Assembly's ending document. However, the weight given these pronouncements by community organizers has waned considerably. Elected officials have consolidated their position as leaders of the national black community, displacing to a large extent the charismatic leadership characteristic of the 1960's and early 70's. On February 28-March 21, 1980 these officials called a meeting to write another Black Agenda. This writer was asked to participate on a panel on housing, urban and rural development, and introduced information about the new National Consumer Cooperative Bank. As a consequence, the



gathering adopted a plank recommending the organizing of a national task force "to monitor the developmental processes and operational methods of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank and to promote, encourage, and spearhead cooperative economic development within poor and minority communities." The chairman of this conference was Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, who had been a co-chairman of the 1972 convention.

Another emerging development is the growth of regular communication among African Americans with cooperators in Africa and the Caribbean. In 1974 many of the participants in the Gary meeting of 1972 had a chance to visit cooperatives and Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania during the Sixth Pan African Congress held in that country at the University of Dar es Salaam. Among the participants in these tours was Father Albert McKnight, now a board member of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank, and this writer. In 1970 Guyana declared herself the world's first Cooperative Republic, and some African American cooperators were provided land to develop in the interior of the country. In 1978



Agricultural Teams sponsored a seminar on cooperation in Antigua and Dominica, the latter of which was scheduled to become independent later that year or the next. Among the participants were this writer, several former members of SEDFRE, representatives from ELF, the current head of the National Black Assembly, and representatives of several church groups which financed the seminar. While there, we toured the cooperatives on both islands. The ones in Dominica are sited precariously on the slopes of forested mountains.

It is interesting to point out that the International Cooperative Alliance has no members from the English-speaking Caribbean, although Haiti and Puerto Rico are members. Cooperative development is hence predominantly an indigenous phenomenon in the Caribbean, as it is in Africa. And in both areas, as well as in black communities in the United States cooperation is viewed as an economic development strategy. Cooperative organizations are viewed as providing a material base from which desirable social change can be effected. □



Co-op Education in a Decade of Challenge:

A Synergy of Past and Future

by *Ebba Hierta*

Cooperation means "working with" and "working together." Historically, the principles of mutual association and aid have been the motivation for cooperative solutions to breakdowns in a community's social and economic life. The responsibilities of co-op education are to provide the climate, experience and knowledge necessary for citizens to work together to build viable organic relationships. Such relationships are essential for creating stable self-reliant communities that can then become the linked cells in a planetary network of mutual aid.

To provide the climate, experience and knowledge necessary for such education, we need to integrate our vision and our skills. Historically, the very force of cooperatives as a response to urgent conditions has dictated immediate and direct skill objectives, like technical training, and has passed by the larger focus. Yet in other cases we have been strong on social purpose and responsibility but weak on building and managing our

organization. At our current juncture in history, we cannot afford to repeat our historical failure to integrate these two aspects of our mutual focus. Can we develop communities and leadership that share a common cooperative vision and are technically skillful? By examining our past and present efforts, we can discern how to focus our goals and process.

Our heritage includes that of the 19th century cooperators who identified with the creation of a new society of self-supporting 'villages of cooperation' who regulated their own production, distribution, education, and governance. (An excellent review of this history is "The Utopian Heritage of the Cooperative Movement," by David Thompson in *Communities*, #35, 1978.) This heritage of self-regulation and mutual support is today set in a society increasingly oppressed by unemployment, poverty, disease, institutional congestion, social scarcity, and general conceptual disarray.

In response to such burgeoning economic and social crises, co-ops are offering viable social and economic resources for individual fulfillment, family stability and community revitalization. As we respond to this challenge, we are incorporating the vision of our heritage and building new and revitalized forms of mutual association and aid to develop self-reliant cooperative communities. This is not to say that there is not a place for large, specialized, commercially efficient co-op enterprises. Rather we must reconsider which productivities are most appropriate on a local, regional, national and/or international scale, to best serve the needs of self-supporting cooperative communities.

Currently, two viable forms of self-supporting co-op systems can be seen. The first is a "working model" of mutual aid whereby the community is an intentional center of cooperative culture, demonstrating cooperation as a

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way of life. In these 'cooperative villages,' production, distribution, education and governance take place through participation in work, study, recreation, and reverence for the ecology. In the second form of mutual association and aid, families, churches, neighborhood and community organizations engage in various cooperative relationships for consumer controlled services which help counter inflation and marketplace inequities, and increase control of resources and linkages between producers and consumers. Although these services operate within the context of a macro-economy that separates producer and consumer, they are a means for self-help and local economic self-reliance.* Ultimately these relationships could transform to the "working model" above, producing mutual support networks of self-reliant and -governing neighborhood co-op villages. For their immediate stability and later transformation, it is integral that these multi-service co-ops exercise non-commercial education through member orientation and member participation in daily operations; develop localized technical support networks; facilitate community organizing through coalitions; and foster new community intelligence through education and demonstration.

The past two decades have seen major contributions to visionary thinking on co-op development. And there is a sense of urgency to support the evolution of a new human spirit. Under present economic conditions, as government withdraws financial support from its Human Services, the spirit of mutual aid is a means to developing the infrastructures that can foster the growth of cooperative communities. We must revitalize and personalize the cooperation on which we have laid our foundations by coming together in mutual aid to develop common solutions for ecological survival. Our cooperative attainments call for personal attunements and the ability to see the implications of our actions in all areas of our lives. We must recognize the symbiotic relationship between personal and collective health, the interdependence of human life, and the interdependence of human life with all other life, so we can cross all boundaries and produce new co-ecological ways of being. We are in a century in which learning and light are coming together. The enormous technological advances and great creations of the century need to be harmonized and personalized by uniting with the human spirit. We can develop egalitarian structures, moving from oppositional and expansionist methods to inclusive and cooperative methods.

With cooperative ventures on all scales, we must broaden our thinking about skills for the future. We must move beyond an era of adaptation to a fragmented and inequitable system. This has served to perpetuate the inequities of the separation of producer and consumer

* Examples of such cooperative services include barter fairs, community gardens and edible landscapes, solar greenhouses, graineries, canneries, food farm markets-buying clubs and storefronts, bakeries, electric-generating windmills, housing, home building supplies, auto and bicycle repair, laundries, performing arts, child care, insurance, health, and credit unions.

roles which contributes to alienation. Co-ops need to understand the underlying logic of organizational dynamics and learn specific planning tools, strategies and technical means for greater efficiency to develop new cooperative ventures and revitalize self-supporting cooperative communities. The technical skills of larger, more specialized and commercially efficient co-ops can be used in collaboration with the expertise and ideology of small-scale, ecological, and local community controlled co-ops.

We need innovative ways of combining organizational and technical skills with the vision of viable self-supporting cooperative communities that integrate producer and consumer roles. One example is a project of the Southern Cooperative Development Fund aimed at rural poverty. Following a two-year training period, farm families can buy their own 30-acre farm (part of a 300-acre project), if they participate in the local cooperative. The objective is to preserve small family farms while enabling farmers to realize some economies of scale. Through the co-op, the members grow and market their crops, purchase supplies, obtain loans, and receive municipal and social services — making the co-op a community as well as an agricultural cooperative.

Recognizing the need to integrate vision and skills development, we need to develop methods and strategies for co-op education. It is valuable in this process to consider some of our successful historical experiences with cooperative education. In 1844 (the same year the Rochdale Cooperative Society was founded), Nikolai Grundvig founded the first folkschool in Denmark. He had been greatly influenced by the ideals of British co-ops. His folkschools are often credited with having rejuvenated Denmark by creating the basis for participatory government through the experiential citizenship training of the folkschools. Danish immigrants brought the folkschool experience to America in the 1880's. Two ageless spirits of the movement, the Highlander in Tennessee and Circle Pines Center in Michigan, have similar origins in the Ashland Folkschool, the School of Organic Education, and kindred experiments of the 1920s and 30s.

The folkschool tradition is based on the principle that the school must reflect the life and common experiences of the students. Education for cooperative citizenship is experiential and productive: skills are gained by learning a process from beginning to end, "from grainery to bakery." Reflective of the culture of the people, such an education fosters moral fiber. Where teaching and learning are reciprocal art forms and the cultural arts are a form of participatory expression, students can explore their own creative and intuitive powers and develop traditions for passing on their art forms. Such an educational climate supports the culture and creative, productive, and interdependent work roles for all ages. It provides optimum conditions for skills development and fosters an integral and concrete sense of direction for the future.

In looking to the future of cooperative education, we would do well to support "working models" of self-supporting cooperative communities that can also

serve as learning centers in the folkschool tradition. They would serve as regional centers of cooperative culture intended to educate through demonstration and participation. A point Jack McLanahan makes in his discussion on overcoming failures of the co-op movement (*New Harbinger*, Nov. 1976, Vol. III, #4) is the need for such cooperative "growing centers." These co-op "colleges" would be "heart centers" of the movement, providing environments to nurture cooperative ways of life. Through short- and long-term experiences, "our places" would integrate the vision of cooperative living with much technical skill training. These regional demonstration-learning centers, in collaboration with local and national co-op organization, could have formal reciprocal relationships with co-op businesses in the macro-economy (e.g., centralized solar cooperatives), with conventional schools, and with community organizations, as well as with urban neighborhood life-long learning centers. Such reciprocal arrangements would secure internship placements and up-to-date infusion of co-op curricula. These centers could effectively foster local community leadership development. During the early days of "citizenship education" in Appalachia, the Highlander Folkschool (now the Highlander Research and Education Center) was forced to close by officials, due to political adversity. Myles Horton and others from the school continued to teach, under cover, in the homes and neighborhoods of the black ghettos. In many ways these home-based Citizens' Meetings fostered local leadership development. Citizenship education was led by members of the community who knew the Community's needs. Education and training designed and operated by a community's own leaders is an important method of cooperative education and training. (Materials from the Agricultural Marketing Project, Tennessee, prepared by Lindsay Jones, are available as an example.)

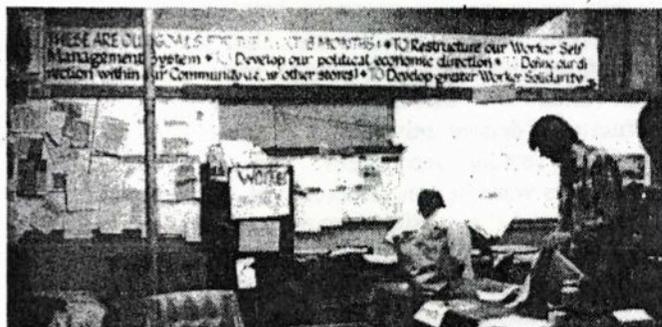
Life-long self-education and training by a community's own leadership, within the experience of a living-learning environment, can and needs to go on in both urban and rural settings and in both modes of mutual aid described earlier. In the "working model" and the folkschool climate, experience is the teacher. It is here that success is measured not only by attainment of a goal, but by the dynamics inherent in the pursuit of that goal. When we can learn skills from beginning to end, our understanding of the work process and our integral role in it has much more meaning. These environments also support more informal interactions — singing, doing chores, taking walks, and planning for the future together — which enliven technical skills training and foster ongoing relationships and natural support systems.

Education and training in an experiential context should also include research (another failure of our movement pointed out by McLanahan). Local co-ops could conduct feasibility studies, by collaborating with regional centers and/or associations, developing questionnaires and carrying out door-to-door interviews to secure much needed consumer information. Regional cooperative associations and education centers would benefit their members and society at large by facilitating both pure and applied research on cooperative development relevant to eco-

nomie, social and education/training concerns.

The relationship of co-op education to public education is also important. These are the 'outreach' channels for co-ops. Through reciprocal arrangements between the forms of co-op education and public education, we can infuse information **about** co-ops into conventional channels and influence curricular guidelines to secure an experiential approach to co-op education that is both cognitive and affective in its substance. We must also assure that our co-op education, for internal as well as outreach purposes, does not follow conventional curriculum modes which too often result in an impersonal and fragmented approach to education and training.

Cooperative education must integrate vision and skills development in a climate that demonstrates and fosters the creation of safe, humane and co-ecological alternatives. Rather than dancing to the tune of the system, we must change the tune to the rhythm of our dance. □



Cooperative education at 1) public events (Oregon Country Fair), 2) the work place (Arcata Coop), and 3) conferences (CCA).

Decisionmaking



Structure and Strategy

When the new wave co-ops discovered the concept of democratic management in the early and mid seventies and began to apply it to their businesses, they failed to define or understand either of the words, "democratic" or "management." Democratic meant that everyone had to decide everything regardless of their knowledge, skill or special interests, and "management" was equated with an oppressive individual or group of individuals who had to be structurally eliminated. The resulting structure, or lack thereof, could better be described as anarchic mismanagement than as democratic management. The history of the worker collective at the Arcata Co-op was no exception.

Democratic meant voting rights. If everyone could vote on everything, that meant it was democratic, right? No mind was given to those who couldn't, or wouldn't, attend the innumerable, unending, intense, and emotionally draining meetings. If you didn't appreciate the meeting syndrome, there was no place for you in a democratic workplace. Voting decided everything. If you were at a meeting, you could vote. If not, too bad for you and your input. Attempts were made to create structures which were totally egalitarian; structures which failed to recognize a basic truth of human relations, that leadership, whether formal or informal, will **always** arise and can only be controlled and directed when it is identified in the structure, deliberately selected, and held accountable through formal procedures. The so called egalitarian structures were in constant turmoil, with accusations of a "power elite," a small, often unnamed group, maliciously and malevolently intent on sabotaging the democratic rights of the workers in the name of **business**. Because the decision making structures were so vague and so ill defined, people hung around the co-ops constantly, fearful that some major decision would be made while they had stepped out for dinner or gone home for the weekend.

Along with a limited view of democracy and how it worked, new wave co-ops totally failed to understand the concept of management. When we discarded the managers, we forgot (or most probably never knew) that the manager had a function to perform, a set of responsibilities, not the least of which was to produce the results desired from the business — whether in terms of economic or social and political goals. Management is a function which is independent from ownership and or power; it is a powerful tool for achieving the goals and

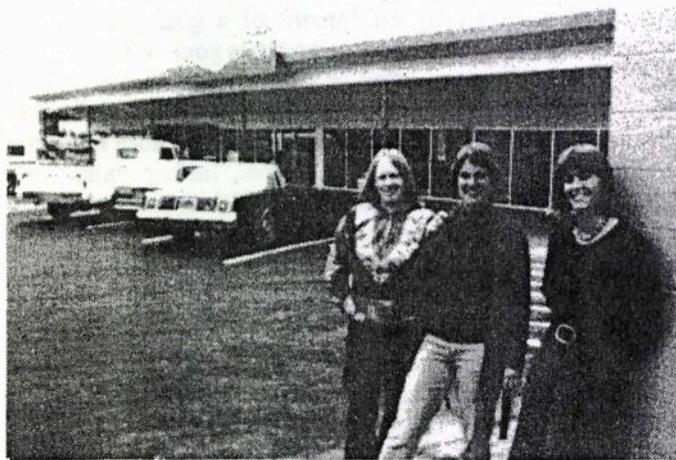
Lynn MacDonald is General Manager of one of the largest new wave food coops in Arcata, California.

by Lynn MacDonald

objectives of an organization on a predictable and regular basis. It is a tool which has been well used by the corporate world of big business, and until consumer co-ops learn to use that tool, the sum total of their efforts will be random, unpredictable, and amount to very little. The tool is not at fault; it can be used to achieve a wide range of goals and is in fact well suited to use by a democratic organization such as a consumers co-op.

Somewhat distilled, the functions of management are: planning, staffing, directing, coordinating, controlling, evaluating, and communicating. Whatever the structure of a co-op, if it fails to build these functions into a formal organizational structure, it will be neither democratic nor successful as a business. These functions allow a business to bring the means and the ends together into a pattern of purposeful actions.

Planning seems to be the last thing we as cooperators get around to and yet it is probably one of the most vital, dynamic and exciting aspects of any business. A formal planning process in a consumers co-op allows for input from all levels of the organization before decisions are made. It forces a business into a problem solving attitude, allows for group interaction, refines thinking into solutions for the problems. Planning permits a co-op to make deliberate choices about its future. Without planning, no one knows what the issues are in advance and thus, there is no way to try to impact them. A well constructed planning process will seek maximum input,



Lynn MacDonald (right), general manager of the Arcata Co-op, with Cindy Stapenhurst (center), and Kathy O'Leary (left) of the management team.



clearly articulate goals and objectives, and thereby avoid the high frustrations and unclear expectations which are the result of crisis management.

Staffing is an important aspect in a democratic workplace. Hiring procedures can be designed which allow input from both the immediate work group and the overall business concerns.

Directing, coordinating, and controlling may or may not be able to be handled by a wider group. The larger the size of the workforce and the business, the greater the need for centralization of these functions. What is important is to define the nature of the jobs, the extent of the authority, the policies governing that authority and to be certain that those individuals so charged are held accountable for the exercise of authority. Authority can be delegated without instituting a reign of terror and egocentered, inhumane decision making.

Evaluation must certainly be the most widely disburged management function of all in a consumers co-op. The ultimate question is of course, "Is the cooperative meeting the needs of the membership?" Evaluation should concern itself with this broad assessment as well as the evaluation of specific plans and systems, of board members, management and staff. Only through an extensive evaluation system can the total picture of the results of the operations be known. And then, one moves right back into the planning process, using that evaluation as a base for future plans.

The absolute need for both formal and informal means

of communication throughout all levels of a consumer co-op should be obvious to all. It should be the base of the management structure as well as an ongoing education program.

Peter Drucker wrote, "Structure follows strategy." Most of the new wave co-ops adopted a structure that sounded good in concept and never stopped to think if it was an appropriate structure to accomplish their goals. The structure was accepted a priori as a positive and absolute good. Those who deviated were shunned and denigrated. In the case of the Arcata Co-op, our goal was to serve the population of Humboldt County with good and services under cooperative ownership; our chosen strategy was a natural foods style supermarket. Our structure was designed without either of these things in mind and in fact it worked at odds with them. Only when the operations started showing serious signs of ill health did it become apparent to us that our structure was inadequate for our goals.

No one set of goals, objectives, strategies and structures are suitable for all co-ops. Each co-op must work within its membership, board and staff to design an organization which meets their specific needs. Democracy demands a carefully defined structure that is more than just voting rights at meetings, a structure which ultimately holds the entire cooperative business accountable to its membership. Management also needs a carefully defined and delineated structure, built upon the understanding that it is a function and a responsibility, not a power base for an individual or a few individuals. □



Housing

Mutual Housing Associations: A New Housing Alternative for America

by Martin Gruneberg

The private market for low, moderate, and even middle income housing has virtually broken down in our country. The high cost of construction has drastically slowed the production of such housing, and the high cost of maintenance has often led to rapid deterioration. The principal strategies developed by the Federal Government to deal with these problems are public housing and subsidies to private developers. Both approaches have had, at best, mixed results. Public housing has been very expensive to build, and management has often been bogged down by red tape. Private developers are most interested in earning the profit from building the housing. The high cost of maintenance often results in poor management once tenants move in. Mutual housing, a form of housing developed extensively in several Western European countries, would be a more efficient and responsible vehicle for producing and managing low, moderate, and middle income housing in the United States.

A mutual housing association is a private, not-for-profit corporation created to develop, own, and manage housing for low, moderate, and middle income people. The MHA is run by housing professionals experienced in the production and management of housing. A key element in the operation of a mutual housing association is the requirement that all residents of the association's housing developments be members or stockholders in the association. This assures the residents the opportunity to take part in setting policy for the management of their own housing.

There are a number of dimensions to the operation of a mutual housing association. First, the MHA conceives and plans the development of the mutual housing projects. This involves evaluating the housing needs of a particular area, deciding on the appropriate kind of housing development, selecting a proper site and putting architects to work designing the housing.

Second, the MHA takes responsibility for raising the capital necessary to finance the construction, purchase, or rehabilitation of the housing. Since an MHA develops, owns, and operates a number of housing projects, it can have substantial capital resources of its own on which to draw in financing additional housing projects. Further, an established mutual housing association operating a number of housing projects is in a strong position to gain financial assistance from banks.

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Third, the MHA hires a contractor to undertake the construction or rehabilitation of the housing. The MHA experience in dealing with contractors insures that the contractor will be reliable and that the housing built or rehabilitated will be sound.

Fourth, in order to become a resident in a mutual housing project, a person must first become a member or stockholder in the association. The option to become a member in the association and pay rent rather than purchase stock makes the mutual housing project accessible to lower income people without capital to invest. An individual after becoming a member or stockholder in the association is put on a waiting list and is provided housing once it becomes available. This approach creates a pool of prospective tenants to fill the housing project when they are ready for occupancy. A market for the housing thus is created before the housing is built. Also by requiring prospective residents to become members or stockholders in the association, the MHA creates a source of capital to finance the housing projects.

Finally, when housing is ready for occupancy and the tenants move in, the MHA shares responsibility for setting management policy with the residents. The residents elect a residents council which decides such questions as the level of carrying charges and the amount of maintenance and security the building will have. The MHA is responsible for implementing the policy established.

The ownership of the housing remains in the mutual housing association. The MHA is responsible for meeting the long term financial commitments undertaken in building, purchasing or rehabilitating a housing project. This insures ongoing responsible ownership and guaranteed continued tenant participation in setting policy for the management of their housing.

The policy of the mutual housing association itself is set by a central board of directors. The board is elected by vote of all the members and stockholders of the association, who are the residents and prospective residents of the various mutual housing projects. Thus, although the residents of each individual project do not have actual ownership control of the project, they take part in electing the central board of directors which sets policy for managing the ownership's interest and for developing new housing projects. This guarantees that the mutual housing association remains responsive to the interests of the residents of the mutual housing buildings.

There are several advantages offered by the mutual

housing approach to the production and management of housing. The MHA is a permanent institution committed to providing housing to people of low, moderate, and middle income. It would be willing to undertake housing developments in areas that profitmaking concerns would be reluctant to enter. Further, the MHA retains control of the housing it builds, rehabilitates or purchases, thereby insuring continuous responsible management. This prevents the milking of properties which often occurs when private developers manage housing. In addition, since the MHA is a private corporation, the government expense and red tape involved in public housing is avoided. Finally, the tenants are involved in setting the management policy for their own housing. This develops greater tenant concern for maintenance and helps reduce management costs. Further, it insures management responsiveness to tenant interests.

The mutual housing association also remedies three of the major defects which plague traditional cooperative housing projects in the United States. First, the mutual housing association is committed to promoting and developing new housing projects. Current cooperative housing projects are usually one-shot deals, with no concern about developing new housing projects for people in need of housing. Second, since the residents do not actually own a housing project, they are unable to sell the building when it becomes profitable and end its cooperative nature and its accessibility to people of modest income. This often occurs in traditional cooperative housing projects. The MHA retains ownership of the mutual housing projects once they are built. In this way, mutual housing associations is a tool to prevent the displacement that occurs when private landlords convert low rental properties to high-priced cooperatives or condominiums. The mutual housing association can take title to the building and preserve its availability to people of modest income. Third, since the mutual housing association develops and manages a number of housing projects, it can build large capital resources with which to undertake new housing projects. Groups interested in developing cooperative housing projects have traditionally had great difficulty in raising sufficient capital. Even with the creation of the new National Consumer Cooperative Bank, this is likely to remain a significant barrier to the development of individual cooperative housing projects.

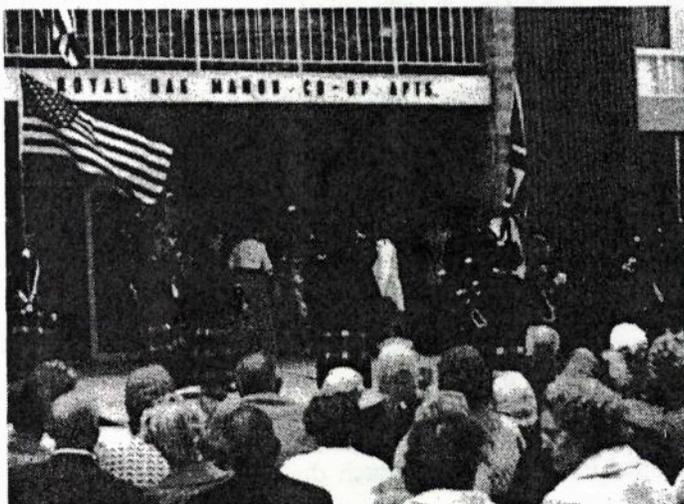
The mutual housing approach has been adopted with great success in several Western European countries; West Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark have had national non-profit cooperative housing systems in operation for over twenty years. The West German system has been in operation since the end of the 19th century, and currently accounts for 30 percent of the housing in the country. The system is national in scope, with nearly 1500 local associations, 10 regional centers, and a central national organization called the Head Federation. Sweden has two national cooperative housing systems, called Riksborgen and HSB. Great Britain and Canada have recently adopted major housing policies incorporating the basic mutual housing concepts.

If the mutual housing concept has been so successful in

these Western democracies, then it may also be a workable alternative for the United States. A mutual housing association in Detroit, called Cooperative Services, Inc., has been in operation for over a decade, and has developed owns, and manages over 2000 units of low and moderate income housing. The Association for Mutual Housing in New York has already developed plans for two multifamily housing projects, both in the South Bronx, which will provide 370 units of low and moderate income housing. In addition, mutual housing associations are currently being organized in Boston, Arlington, Virginia and Montgomery County, Maryland.

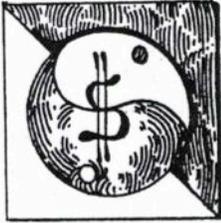
Despite these promising beginnings, mutual housing remains an unfamiliar concept in the United States. If it is to get off the ground in this country, a mechanism must be created to promote its development. At the urging of Congressman Jonathan Bingham (D-N.Y.) the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation, the National Consumer Cooperative Bank and HUD have agreed to form an interagency task force to promote the development of mutual housing associations in the United States. The purpose of the task force would be to develop with care a number of demonstration mutual housing associations. The task force would provide the local groups sponsoring the demonstration projects with technical assistance in planning and organizing the MHA, grants for working capital, and access to the programs of the participating agencies to assist in financing the production of housing. The task force would monitor the operation of the demonstration projects, and if they are successful, assist local groups around the country in replicating the projects.

Mutual housing responds to a critical housing problem in the United States — the need for responsible and efficient production and management of low, moderate, and middle income housing. While substantially new to the United States, the concept has a long track record of success in Western European democracies culturally similar to our own and one excellent American example. The mutual housing concept holds great promise for dealing with some of America's most difficult housing problems. □



Celebration at one of the Co-op Services buildings, Detroit, Michigan.

Economics



Another Look at the Bootstrap Theory: Cooperatives and the Poor

by Rudy Bryant

Poor people in America have been repeatedly challenged to pull themselves up by their bootstraps and repeatedly they have failed. Their efforts can be likened to those of crabs in a barrel — none can crawl out because the others pull them back in their own effort to get out. The poor compete keenly but as individuals in a capitalist society without enough capital to succeed. They maintain that it is impossible to pull yourself by your bootstraps when you don't have boots.

Perhaps it is time to reexamine that "Bootstrap Theory" to determine if indeed the poor are without boots. With today's economy in the state that it is the condition of this nation's poor continues to deteriorate. Soaring inflation in the cost of all necessities — housing, food, health, clothing, fuel, — has substantially increased the number of families having to choose between paying the rent, staying warm or putting food on the table.

A relatively high unemployment rate over the last fifteen years masks a swollen population of the chronically unemployed not to mention the untold hundreds of thousands who have given up looking for work. It is ridiculous to assume that these families will ever be able to compete successfully in capitalist America. Without capital they seem trapped in an ever deepening cycle of poverty. Seemingly we have a population without boots.

To add to this dilemma the prognosis for the children of the poor is devastatingly bleak. They are dropping out of school in alarming rates — nearly fifty percent of those entering high school in New York City drop out and half of those who do graduate can function at best at eighth grade level. Teenage crime rates are soaring and most of it is against the elderly and poor. Teenage gang activity is on the rise. Youth unemployment in some communities approaches fifty percent and as if the picture were not bleak enough, teenage pregnancies are up, approaching twenty percent of all live births, thereby assuring yet another generation of welfare dependents, uneducated and untrained — again seemingly without boots.

Not true! The poor are not without boots or bootstraps. Define "boots" as resources — skills, time, money, etc., and "pulling oneself up by the bootstraps" as the collective effort of the poor to use those resources to better themselves. We need only to identify those resources, channel its use and reuse such that it has a longer term

benefit to the poor. In essence then, we have detailed elements of a cooperative.

An astounding amount of money — one resource — passes through the hands of the poor in poor communities. Unfortunately it does not remain there very long and for the most part gets used only once or twice before flowing into more affluent communities. These dollars come into the community for instance, in the form of salaries; welfare subsistence and social security payments; third party rent payments, i.e. welfare rent checks or Section 8 supplements; and third party health care payments i.e. Medicaid and Medicare. It is used more than once where it purchases goods or services (i.e. food, shelter) from owners who are local residents and/or employ local residents who also spend their income locally. Because poor communities seldom have a high degree of owners, either of businesses or property, most income flows quickly out of the poor community. Developing cooperatives is one way the poor can increase their ownership of businesses and property and, in so doing, begin to multiply the benefits they get from income.

Cooperatives have value to the poor both on an economic level and on a socio-political level. First, economically a cooperative is a vehicle for resource formation, particularly capital. Coop members pool small amounts of individual resources through purchase of shares to support a coop venture thereby creating enough dollars to undertake the venture or to attract outside resources, i.e., banks, government financing, etc. Second, the out-of-pocket dollar expense of goods and services provided by the coop is reduced to the coop member. The greater amount of volunteer hours coop members contribute to the venture, the more substantial individual savings can be. Third, in addition to savings to individuals because of volunteerism, the absence of a profit motive helps to reduce cost. Because the coop venture exists primarily to serve its members, it needs only enough income to pay its costs and establish a reserve fund for unforeseen emergencies. Profit can add substantially to the cost of goods and services. The level of the profit margin varies from industry to industry — in the supermarket industry it is about one percent; in housing in New York City seven percent is the acceptable standard. Fourth, because cooperatives buy in bulk or greater volume than do its individual members, the coop is able to effect savings in the cost of goods and services. In effect, the coop replaces the retailer (in some instances the wholesaler) in

Rudy Bryant teaches at Pratt Institute in New York.

the chain of sales from production to consumption of goods and services. In so doing it takes advantage of lower costs available for larger quantities of buying.

Fifth, in addition to out-of-pocket savings from all of the above, coops do help effect savings in yet another less tangible and more long-range way. Through coops, members control the quality of goods provided. In food goods quality means better nutritional value for money spent. In other types of goods quality might mean greater durability thereby reducing the number of times the item has to be repaired or replaced.

In all, buying things cooperatively can substantively reduce the cost of living to the poor yet cost savings are not the only benefit. Equally important to the economic benefits are the socio-political impact of coops.

Being poor is stressful living. The day to day struggle to make ends meet — keep food on the table, clothing on the kids, a roof over your head and the body in good health takes its toll on the spirit. That the poor also are trying to survive a depression (while the rest of America suffer only from a recession) exacerbates the problem.

But here, too, cooperatives can help.

The membership of a cooperative is not a disparate non-group of people. It is a group of people committed to helping each other cope with adversity through sharing. As such, members find that theirs is not an isolated problem, but truly a shared experience of being poor and powerless. First, through their membership and participation they find sympathetic ears to their situation. In shared problem solving they not only help their fellow members but



experience a sense of satisfaction in having helped. Second, the success of the coop venture itself contributes to their sense of accomplishment in having done something which helps themselves and others. Finally, as a group, members now have the potential to affect the outcome of other issues and problems they face — political power.

Cooperatives, then, while not capable of solving all the problems of being poor do offer the poor opportunity to reduce the impact of poverty, cope with the stress of being poor in America, and also constitute a vehicle for the development and exercise of political power.

The key to the poor making the bootstrap theory work for them is group effort — through cooperatives. □



The Community Development Credit Union:

What is it? Where does it fit in the Cooperative Movement?

by James N. Clark

The growth in complexity of our society and world has reawakened individuals and neighborhoods to the importance of regaining control. As people reflect on how to pursue these goals and where to start, discussion tends to center on the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. This necessarily leads to thinking about the

Jim Clark is Executive Director of the National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions.

economic resource of our communities, the flow of capital, the importance of capital accumulation and who controls our community capital. Too often, we find that the traditional banking institutions control the economic resources of a community and, more often than not, move capital out of communities with the justification that a greater return can be obtained elsewhere. In effect, we have turned over the power of our dollars, the very core of our community economic resources, to these financial institutions. In return we allow ourselves to be attracted by prizes and a variety of interest schemes and savings plans while overlooking where our community capital is going. This is especially true in poverty communities.

In a study conducted by the Metropolitan Area Housing Alliance in Chicago, 38 poverty community zip codes were examined to establish the amount of money deposited in savings accounts by residents of these same zip codes. To everyone's surprise, savings accounts surpassed \$1.8 billion. These funds were deposited in hundreds of financial institutions and branches throughout Chicago. The financial institutions returned only \$9 million to the same communities in the form of desperately needed home mortgages. Thus for every \$10 extracted from the poverty communities involved only five cents returned as home mortgages. As might be expected the non-poverty zip codes in the city were provided 50 times more financing for home mortgages.

Summary Profile
National Federation of Community Development
Credit Unions

The National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions (NFCDCU) incorporated as a not-for-profit membership corporation in 1974 and is committed to developing a strong and permanent organization that represents the concerns of all CDCUs. Its present membership consists of CDCUs from all regions of the country, State Credit Union Leagues, the Credit Union, National Association, the national Association of Federal Credit Unions, cooperative associations and other associate members that support the goals of the Federation. NFCDCU's board of Directors consists of 10 regional representatives and alternates, and five members-at-large. Since its inception, it has been able to unite and organize CDCUs into an effective unit to assure that there will be adequate support of the movement of community development credit unions.

NFCDCU's long term development and support plan calls for a combination of advocacy, on-going training, substantial management and technical assistance capacity, capitalization support, and the provision of technical services in CDCU conversion to data processing. The Federation continues its efforts to organize all credit unions com-

mitted to the concept of servicing predominantly low income persons.

The Federation's membership and its organizational base have grown. It is concerned about the overall cooperative movement and works to support it. It is also reaching out to the traditional credit union support organizations for assistance to assure that the CDCU movement receives the kind of support that will see CDCUs through their growth years. This can ensure their development into strong, viable, self-sustaining financial cooperatives.

NFCDCU invites all CDCUs to join our Federation as members, and all others who support our work to join as associate members. **The National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions** can be reached by writing to **NFCDCU, 16 Court Street — Rm. 1807, Brooklyn, New York 11201** or by phone at **(212) 522-5904/05/06 Jim Clark, Executive Director**. Information about being placed on Federation mailing lists and obtaining copies of **NFCDCU's Analysis of Community Development Credit Unions** and other material can also be obtained by writing to the above address.

In inner city and rural communities, the CDCU, a community owned and operated financial cooperative has evolved. The CDCU is a dynamic entity that responds to the needs of its members and community. It is a cooperative that has many agendas. It has the role of a financial institution — savings and loans, reinvestment, capital mobilization and self-financing; as a neighborhood institution — a cooperative with a community agenda, group leadership, community building and organizing; as a learning institution conveying data, inspiring, deepening awareness and teaching skills. It is a cooperative that develops a new spirit of self-confidence and faith in the capacity of its community to revitalize itself with much attention directed to developing policies that reflect community priorities.

For a community development credit union to become viable, stable and carry forth its community agenda it must clearly establish what it is and what it is not. It is not a profit making institution; all of its income is used to cover operating expenses with the balance distributed to its members in the form of services, benefits, dividends and return of interest. It is an entity that directs much attention to alerting and educating its members about traditional lending and banking practices which often lead to the disinvestment of communities. It counters this disinvestment by teaching the power of people cooperating and working together to revitalize their own community.

For a community development credit union to accomplish its goals, it is imperative that people be involved in all aspects of credit union operations. The task of operating a CDCU is not an easy one. It is a most demanding

cooperative requiring much expertise in the areas of management, marketing, credit, and administration. It is labor intensive — having the ability to provide many services — but also in its production of income. It must operate in a manner in which sufficient income or in kind services are generated to cover the expense of operations. It must set realistic goals and develop plans that allow it to be a sound, stable, vital entity and at the same time respond to its members' and community's needs. And it must do all this through the involvement of its members in all aspects of credit union development, in a competitive atmosphere where often alternative financial institutions attempt to frustrate its efforts.

Historically in this country, credit unions have been consumer oriented cooperatives. But as one reviews credit union history, it is clear that many have also been community oriented where policies developed centered on community need. The CDCU is certainly consumer oriented but from its inception it has also been concerned with the development of a neighborhood cooperative institution where people begin to own and control the wealth of their neighborhood. Community development credit unions generally have residential charters but there are also some with an associational common bond having as a secondary goal, the providing and coordinating of economic development in their community. CDCUs have developed and are generally oriented to providing services to low income people and the communities in which their members live and work. They are located in both rural and inner city areas and can be state or federally chartered. Some of the

services that the CDCU can provide depending on the policy set by the board of directors are as follows: savings; borrowing to include home mortgage loans (up to 30 year maturity), business loans (up to 12 year maturity), home improvement, debt consolidation, automobile, student loans, and under certain circumstances loans to organizations; check cashing, money order/food stamp and postage stamp purchases; credit disability, credit life, automobile and crime insurance; share drafts and consumer/housing and financial counseling. CDCUs can accept deposits by non-members (persons or organizations outside its field of membership) not only maintaining its own community capital but by also attracting outside capital into the community through the credit union.

To do these things the board of directors, committee members and general membership must bring to the CDCU their talents and develop among themselves the many skills needed to carry out the community agenda. The CDCU is only as strong as its membership and their ability to participate in the work and decision making. Since it has many of the powers of other financial institutions and is a vehicle for reinvestment and capital mobili-

zation, it requires its members to have a very clear understanding of the importance of community capital; how capital flows in a community; and the actual operations of neighborhood economics.

Since the CDCU's nature is cooperative it seeks to develop a strong partnership with other cooperatives. It is a vital link in the cooperative chain for it can help finance cooperative ventures. It also needs the skills other cooperators bring. It is strongest when it is working in union with other cooperatives.

Although much needs to be done to develop the movement of community development credit unions, they have demonstrated their ability to survive — often in what must be considered a hostile environment. The National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions and other organizations are working most vigorously to assure that CDCUs have every opportunity to grow and prosper. To this end we reach out to those in the cooperative movement and others who support the full development of this most vital financial cooperative — the Community Development Credit Union. □



The National Consumer Cooperative Bank

— and Other Tools for Cooperative Community Economic Development

by Roger Neece

The implementation of the NCCB is filling a much needed role in community economic development (CED) by providing direct investment and technical assistance to cooperative ventures. Also, the NCCB is acting as a focal point for discussion of the role of cooperatives in community development, as opposed to traditional entrepreneurships and private development.

The NCCB's money is also crystalizing discussion of the means for inter-relating the various sources of capital for CED into a coordinated program of development capital. Some of the sources are development corporations, community development credit unions, grants, low interest loans, and loan guarantees from development organizations like the Southern Cooperative Development Fund, Federation of Southern Cooperatives, National Rural Development Finance Corporation.

Community organizers and people involved in community economic development are beginning to see clearly that the NCCB is only one tool for cooperative community

economic development; only one part of the financing package needed for development. This is in-part because of the NCCB's present lack of below-market-interest-rate money, and the strict eligibility criteria which rule out loans to many community structured development organizations, for instance, groups trying to organize worker-owned businesses in the wake of plant closings.

Recent legislation opening all Economic Development (EDA) and Small Business Administration (SBA) loans and technical assistance programs to worker-owned businesses provides some prospect for future sources of capital and expertise. However, these programs are constrained by the agencies present lack of familiarity with cooperative business structures. CED efforts have been toward private ownership and entrepreneurship and away from coop programs designed to harness local resources and maximize impact on local communities. An example of this are the efforts of a local Washington, D.C. neighborhood to develop a complex of community-owned businesses, only to be told by EDA that to qualify, the majority of the business development would have to be undertaken by private entrepreneurs outside the community.

Community development finance specialists are beginning to understand that we cannot look to a finance agency under government control to meet all of our needs. We must begin now to organize cooperative community development finance vehicles which begin and remain under the control of CED groups, and their regional and national organizations.

Existing U.S. models for this type of development finance mechanisms include local community development credit unions, and regional loan funds such as the Coop Fund of New England. Models that hold even more promise are to be found on the international scene, where community and regional economic development have been

Roger Neece is an economic planner on the staff of Consumers United Group.



Food

Developing New Food Marketing Systems

by Keith Kemble

I believe food will be the issue of the 80's. If energy has been the issue of the 70's, then it follows that food production with its incredible dependence on large scale, energy related production techniques will be the next weak link in our economic system.

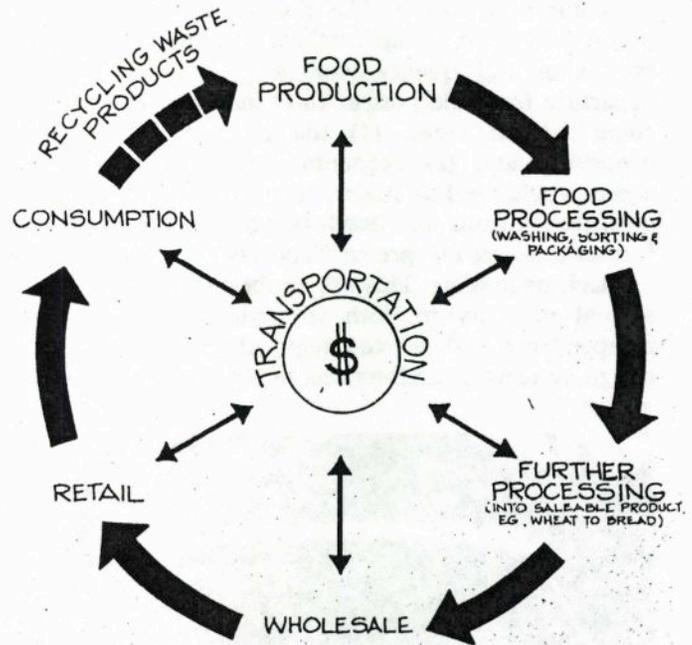
The visions of cooperatively owned food networks is certainly common ground to most of us, but these networks often only include a portion of our food cycle. Food cooperatives (storefronts, buying clubs and warehouses) and their federations deal only with a part of the food system; the part closest to consumption. I point this out not as a criticism but as an assessment of where we are in the development of our visions. It is interesting, I think, that most of us have begun our experiences of dealing with food issues at the consumption portion of the food (as consumers). We've moved backward through the system to gain some control and decision making in the retail and wholesale levels of food. Gaining control in the areas of food production and processing, however, has been more difficult. There are certainly a lot of folks struggling to make a living in food production and perhaps even more who wish they could have the opportunity to struggle. Entry barriers to farming, especially the capitalization of land and machinery, are prohibitive. Furthermore, the risk of producing a crop without an assured market is restrictive.

We need to develop, encourage and support local food production. We need to carefully analyze the potential for regional food independence through a system of community food audits. (Much the same as the current community energy audits which are being initiated around the country.) With the information from these audits we need to design programs to manage our community food resources. We need to further protect our food supply with a sustainable system of agricultural production.

We need to develop and initiate the use of technologies to create and sustain local food self-reliance: commercial scale greenhouse production, small scale machinery and processing equipment, non-chemical food production techniques and **producer and consumer owned marketing systems.**

I emphasize this last area because I believe it is key to the independence of the food networking concept. Marketing is cited over and over as the most critical problem facing

the small scale producer. The producer is most often locked into marketing through the traditional system of brokers and wholesale houses because **alone** she/he cannot

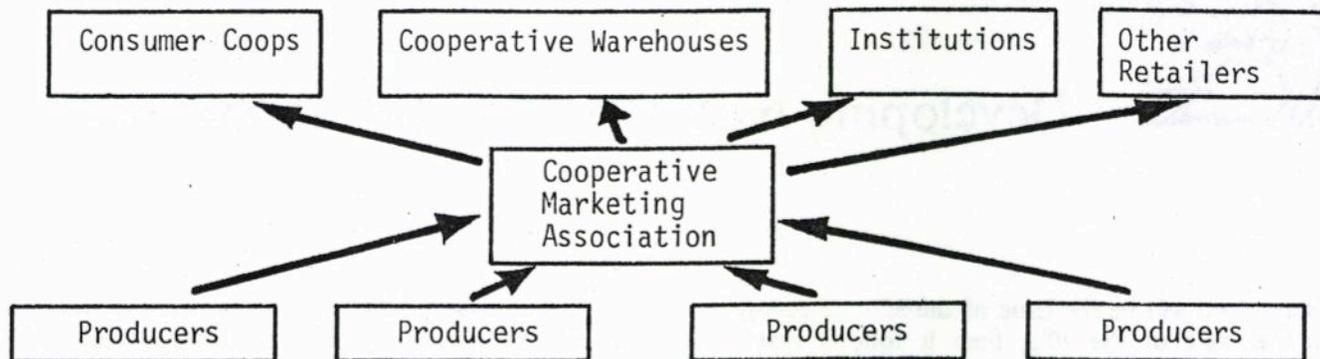


effectively deal with problems of transportation and delivery, consistent quality and supply, and the business and public relations demands of marketing. Likewise, our storefront coops are not usually in a position to be able to survive the inefficiencies involved in trying to deal directly with the producer. Subsequently, the need to be able to compete for a share of the retail market pressures the coops into supporting large, profit oriented wholesalers: the very organizations which control capital in our present economy and the decisions which effect our food resources.

There is a critical need to begin creating new marketing systems that bring both producers and consumers together in cooperatively owned ventures. Mutually beneficial systems based on the fundamental principles of cooperation would (1) alleviate some of the problems in marketing for the producer, wholesaler and retailer (2) develop sensitivity to the needs of others involved in the food system (3) allow for decentralized decision making (4) insure an equal share in the "profits" of the food industry and (5) educate others not familiar with cooperative principles by involving them in the structure.

Keith Kemble is on the staff of the National Center for Appropriate Technology.

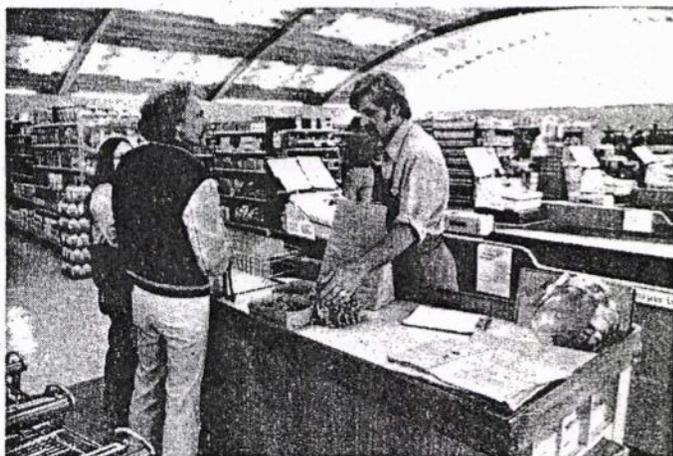
The physical design of this system could look something like this:



Details of a system like this could be copied from industry (how to set up trucking arrangements, grading, packaging and quality control procedures, etc.) The departure from the present food industry would need to come in two areas: (1) the concept of cooperative ownership and (2) accountability. The accountability aspect would need to explore means of creating structures in a simultaneous and decentralized manner so as not to further replicate our present food system by concentrating the decision making. This will not be an easy task. There is a dual necessity to both strengthen community food independence and develop regional food networks. The design systems to address this duality will, of course, be

specific to the different regions of the country. In some areas of the country, production is greater than consumption. Outside markets will be critical and intra/interregional coordination will be necessary to the survival of the producer. Conversely, many areas of the country cannot presently produce all their food needs without severe dietary limitations. Again, intra/interregional marketing systems will be vital.

We face some challenges in building these networks that are a combination of critical necessities, political/philosophical expressions, and creative approaches to problem solving. I think the 80's will be a stimulating decade for those of us involved in the issue of food. □





The Arts

Arts and the Alternative Community

by S. Maeda

Like other alternative, cooperative groups throughout the country, alternative arts groups have proliferated out of a commitment to social change and to providing arts access, skills and services outside the at-large commercial system. Such groups offer a diversity of resources including graphic design, offset printing, silkscreen printing, educational or therapeutic workshops, street theater, gallery or exhibition spaces and performances. Recognizing the arts services and skills which have arisen out of its own needs is critical to the survival of alternative arts groups.

While the alternative community is one of modest means, support of its arts groups involves locating them as well as choosing to utilize their services. Because alternative arts groups are generally small, labor-intensive businesses, they are occasionally unable to compete with *overground*, technology-heavy establishments. In such cases, the alternative community must weigh elements of price, quality, worker control and safety and political goals when selecting services, entertainment or goods. The alternative community can also support its artists, who are trying to work effectively within a series of popular misconceptions — i.e., that artists are privileged *bohemians*; that we are artists *for fun* or for pure *ego gratification* — while choosing away from the system of *strokes* given an elite few created by commercialism and competition.

There are, however, some criticisms of the relationship between the arts and the alternative community. For instance, artists or arts groups are asked to donate labor, materials and designs based on the notion that art is simply a work of love, inspiration and therefore free. While we all are aware of economic exigencies, some attention must be given to the artists' processes and needs as well.

It seems that artwork is viewed as an extra *frill* and therefore is not budgeted for as a necessary, professional expense. While such funds are not always available, especially to an alternative group, our work can often be devalued by the common misunderstanding that because an artist worked for free (out of belief in a higher goal), it's easy to do, or that it took little time or effort.

We are often called upon late in an organizational time frame through a kind of *while you wait* mentality (i.e., "Can you design and print 800 banners — free — by

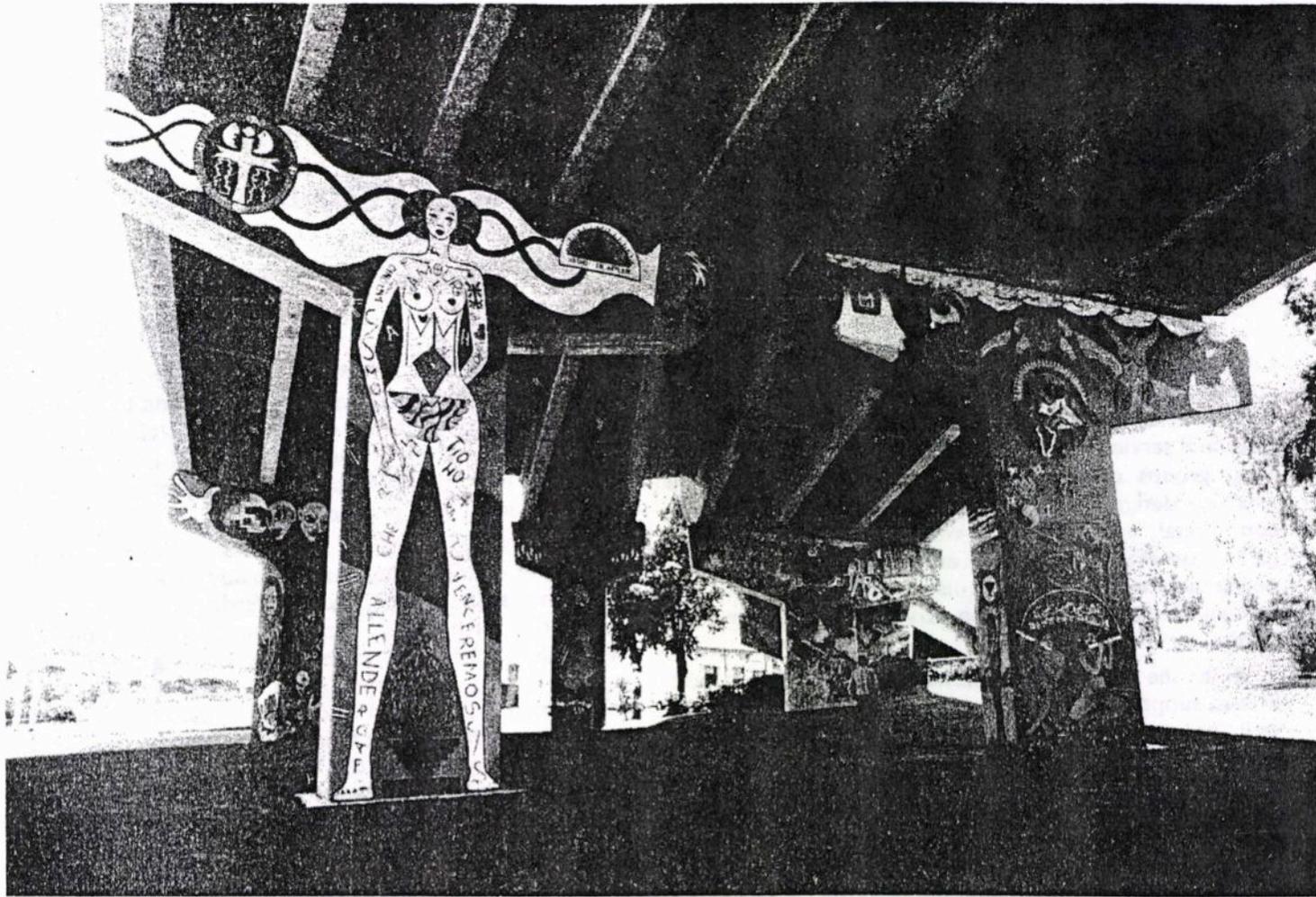
tomorrow?") Our artwork, even when volunteered, is often used without permission, without credit to the artist, out of context, or often mishandled, mislaid or thrown away. While we see the need for less self-interest in art, there's a fine line between that and respect for the work and individual who produced it.

We all suffer from the fragmentation inherent in the dominant culture today. Artists, many of whom create in isolation, suffer from a lack of feedback, support, or a sense of worth within their community. A community could do much to inspire innovative, exciting arts outreach — by creating opportunities for artists to develop and share their skills in non-traditional ways. Some examples of such exchange among artists and alternative community include: a local business establishment invites an arts group to exhibit work on their walls or provides an outdoor wall for a community mural; community fundraisers include arts groups as working components in their activities; local galleries provide exhibition space and thematic inspiration for community artists. We all, collectively, must learn more active involvement in all elements of our culture, both as creators and participants. □



LOCAL
1734
ART
COLLECTIVE

Shari Maeda is a member of Local 1734 Art Collective in Washington, D.C.



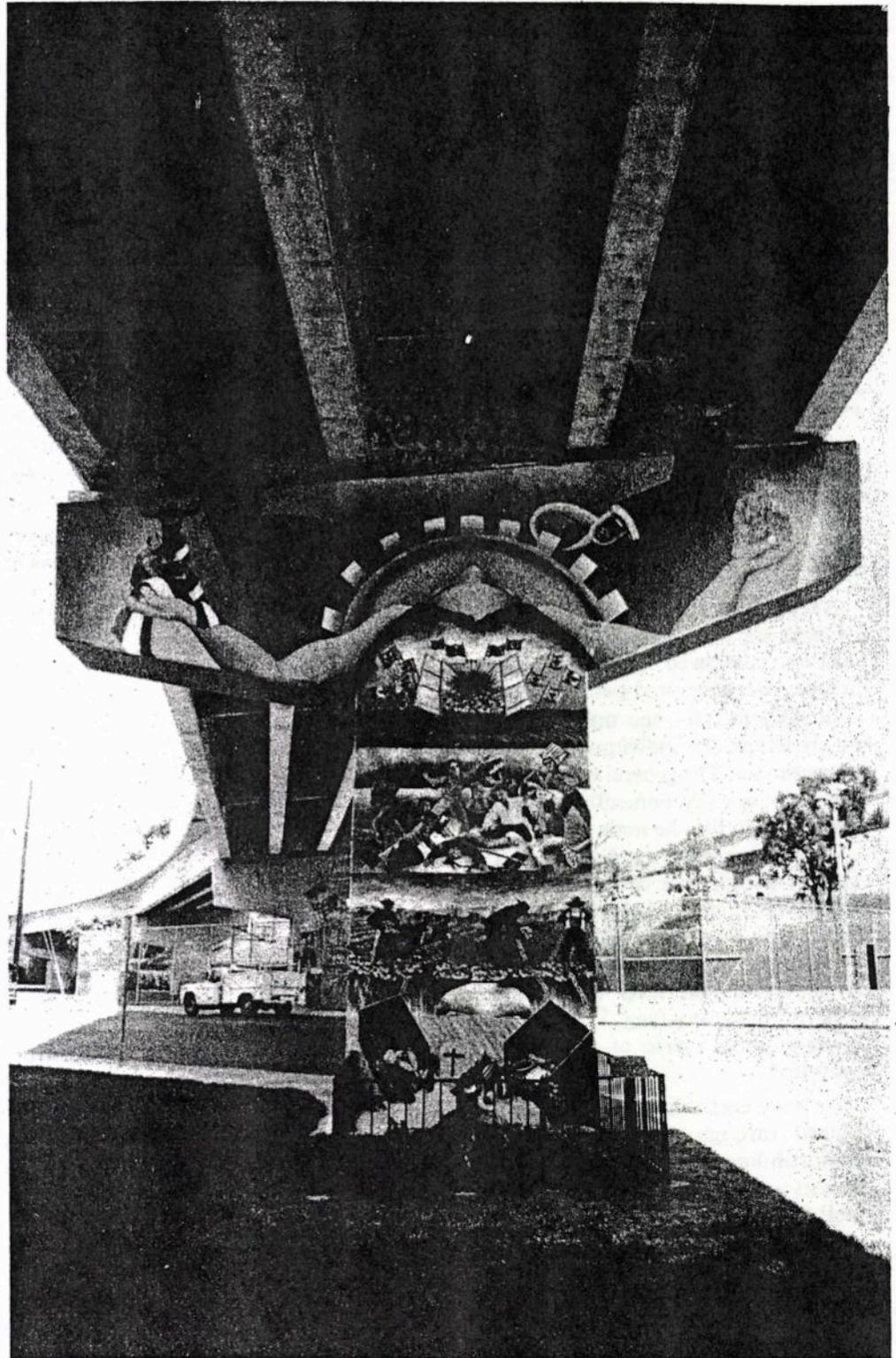
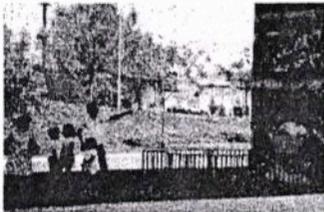
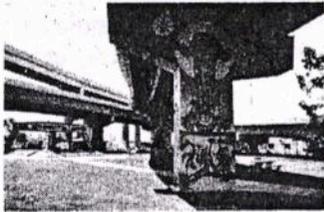
Underneath the Coronado bridge, as it prepares its g
mainland, is Chicano Park. For most of those driving
necessary but irrelevant. For those who took over the
where the bridge goes is equally irrelevant.

The giant murals painted on the piers of the bridge ar
Rivera; art wedded to politics. The struggle this ti
community has been effectively denied access to th
marinas and condos define the shoreline. And, of cours
holds it up.

Let us take notice then on what foundations our society
eloquently, so we must train ourselves to listen carefully
to San Diego and left their mark; listen to a people's c
of Chicano Artists of Aztlan, Victor Ochoa, Coyota, C
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Felipe Atama, Guillermo Rossette.....

All The Way To The Bay

*text
and
photographs
by
Paul
Freundlich*



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Lifestyle

Models and Paths

On my son's tenth birthday I formally introduced him to the community volleyball game he'd been watching from the sidelines for years. People were patient with him that night, perhaps even more than they are with any new person who is not experienced or skilled. Watching him develop the last two years as a competent team player, occasionally seeing him go off to volleyball with other housemates; part of the long procession of adults and kids who've flowed through our house, known in the day care and alternative school, met at Another Place . . . there is a satisfaction, no different I'm sure than parents have been feeling as their children took their place within pioneer villages or primitive tribes.

All social and political systems are ways of defining the continuum between "me", "us", and "them." "Mine" refers to all that I control without need to explain. "Ours" refers to what I share control over. "Theirs" is outside my control (or our control).

At the furthest extremes the continuum doesn't exist: In a fascist state or hierarchical culture "mine" includes the most one is allowed to control; in a collective state, "us" includes everyone, and personal control is minimal.

In America, for the middle class, the definitions are mostly left to the individual, floating between patriotism and paranoia. The general ethic, however, has traditionally been to honor thy immediate family, cheer for the home team, and go for the main chance.

Those of us who have had the chance to be involved for the past decade in a cooperative lifestyle have sought to redefine the American continuum for ourselves. The initial insight was of connection without limitation. Given the size of our society and the limits of our spiritual development, that level of collective "us-ness" didn't work for many very long. What has survived the wilting of flower-power is a series of communitarian and cooperative institutions.

We have taken the mind-blowing visions of the sixties, reached through drugs, rallies, therapy and marxist-feminist-human potentialist-spiritual-environmentalist analysis — that we are sisters and brothers beyond sex roles; living too close on this planet to accept the categories

Paul Freundlich was project director of Training for Urban Alternatives, co-edited A Guide to Cooperative Alternatives, and has lived communally with his son for the past ten years outside of New Haven, Connecticut.

by Paul Freundlich

of victors and vanquished; free to be ourselves in the flow of spiritual and physical connections — we have organized to provide institutional frameworks. In communal houses, intentional communities, consumer cooperatives, work collectives, new games, parent-controlled daycares, and student-centered alternative schools we attempt to share control over relationships, work, living space, child care and play.

The high value America accords the right to choose is consistent with a society which prizes mobility and individualism. The realization that for many, choice is systematically denied, has been a basis for a liberal identification with the cause of social justice. Manifesting that concern has been difficult, and to the degree motivated by guilt, often self-defeating.

The loud and clear message which developed in the sixties from the racial and ethnic ghettos was, "We're doing this ourselves, our way. Your culture has its own problems (which cause us plenty), so get your own house in order."

Some of us took that message to heart. Powerless to do more than protest, we accepted that we must be whole before we could help others; that if politics is more than rhetoric, we needed experience, and economic and political power.

The lifestyle which emerged in the 70's was essentially tribal. Our extended families and work groups are the units within alternative communities in Boston, Tallahassee, Eugene and Austin (to name a few). The communion which began with the passing of a joint in the 60's has extended to shared work and play over time; the recognition of our changes and our continuity, ourselves and our children.

But without trotting out all the success stories of extended communal networks providing housing for hundreds and cooperative workplaces generating millions in cash flow; without doing more than noting that a few hundred thousand Americans, mostly white, middle-class in background, and of the generation mid-twenties to early forties have some of the forms in which to dance, shop, live, work, celebrate, worship; realizing that another few million enjoy some aspect of that life — well, what about all the folks who dropped back into nuclear living and corporate work? What about the bum trips and the political paranoia, over-extended families, too-open relationships, endless collective meetings fraught with ego

battles, all the businesses which didn't realize that process (often terrible) by itself wouldn't balance the books or satisfy customers?

We have tired a lot of people right out of cooperative lifestyles. From one end they were told to assume political guilt if they weren't involved with every cause (the universal *us*); at the other end they failed spiritually if they couldn't be at peace in any circumstance (total responsibility for *me*); somewhere in the middle was the imperative of relating honestly. As people grew older they yearned for secure relationships, and the buried expectations of class and education overwhelmed pretensions of poverty and working class solidarity.

But it's hard creating a new culture, and those who've survived and to create a cooperative lifestyle have had an extraordinary capacity to bear contradictions. We have had to balance *flow and choice; simplicity and complexity; security and openness; political engagement and personal fulfillment*. Mostly we've had jobs within the movement. Without jobs, and for those who haven't had them, the contradictions are distracting and ultimately alienating.

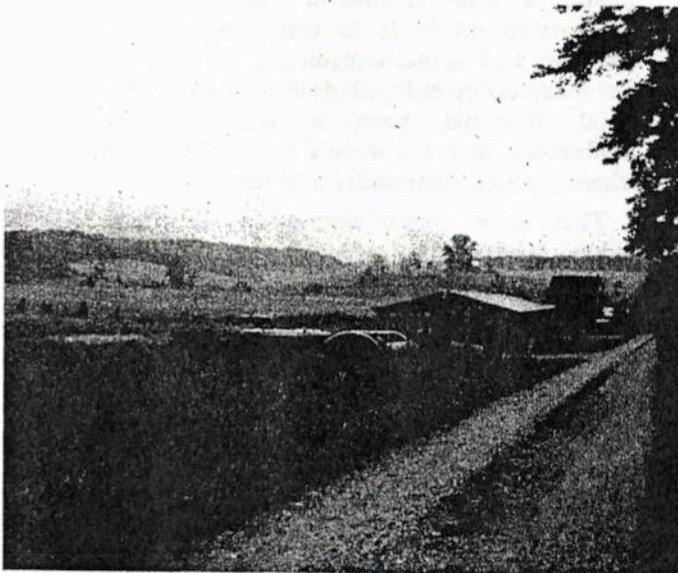
Although there perhaps is a generalizable "cooperative lifestyle," I see a number of paths:

1. A number of institutions [co-op, new age, social change] are created in and around an urban setting. Although people burn out there is sufficient frequency of social failure [failed marriages, etc.] and a reasonable university nearby to keep producing an annual crop of the curious. Businesses get started, people move into coop houses. Parents with kids start schools. There are a few centers of cooperative life: a food storefront like New Haven, Arcata, Leone County, Wheatville; a neighborhood like Adams-Morgan, West Bank, 5 Points; systems of economic and political support as in Santa Cruz.

Besides those who work and live cooperatively, there is enough history of demonstrations, collective work, play, struggle, sexual experimentation, kids, so that a social and political community exists within the larger city. As some people go back to careers and others move into traditional success as professionals, elected officials, workers, parents, artists, spouses . . . they remain connected. There is an "old person" network for jobs and housing. There are parties. There is the glue of the kids who grew up together in the co-op daycares. There are the continuing conversations about what might be.

Within this world people drink less; think more and longer about parenting; more buy new cars with embarrassment when the old clunker finally gives out. While fear remains about national politics, locally there is a cooperative way of life which is supportive internally, and has some effect on the city.

2. A rural center of community is created. The primary reason for coming together varies from



Twin Oaks to Koinonia to Alpha, but usually includes a more agricultural and simpler life, slower pace, healthy food, mutually-respectful relationship, collective governance and [much to the surprise of some] very hard work.

As the community is successful, some people find it demands too much or their ideas change, but it remains a secure base and they settle in the area. Over several years the community becomes accepted by its neighbors; in fact is increasingly seen as a source of local vitality, planning and leadership. The community has found an industry which supports it, and is connected regionally and nationally to other progressive forces [though many people in the community may remain suspicious of large-scale political and social involvement].

3. There is one, dominant alternative institution in an area. It provides jobs and a center for a developing lifestyle. Because the experience is intense, the affect is tribal in nature; you have to have grown up in it to truly understand the language. In Eugene, Oregon it is clear that even past membership in Hoedads is probably a lifetime social credential. Being a Hoedad, as with involvement in the women's movement, in itself brings a whole community and way of life.

4. There are a series of networks spread within a region. They offer access to an alternative, communitarian, cooperative way of life. Healers, anti-nukers, spiritual disciplines, food coops, health food stores, Family Synergy all provide the physical locis and events which demand occasional participation while rewarding with a sense of purpose and social connection. People can live relatively traditional lives in terms of jobs, family, neighborhood, while shopping and working in a coop or demonstrating for a sound ecology; it makes it possible to support and enjoy values which seem difficult to manifest in everyday life.

At centers like Another Place, Circle Pines or Rowe the experience of dropping [back] into cooperative lifestyle or spiritual search takes place for a weekend or a week, usually while doing some specific learning around a new-age discipline. Publications like Communities, New Age, Co-op, New Roots, Cascade, Mother Jones all provide continuity and connection at little cost [quick, subscribe now!].

5. At spiritual communities and ashrams, and in political community and economic organizing, the deeply committed continue to explore the potential for consciousness and involvement. Findhorn, the Abode, Movement for a New Society, Kerista Village, Mass Fair Share, the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, Federation of Egalitarian Communities, and Community Futures are some of the activists and explorers without whom a cooperative lifestyle would seem much more vulnerable.

Nothing stays the same. We can only prepare ourselves. We may have the option of remaining a small, safe subset of American dreams. We may be overwhelmed by economic depression or political nightmares. We may provide some of the models toward a more connected, community-scale American reality.

We will have some room to choose our allies. That choice at least can be made beyond the necessary barriers we needed to define our own style. The movements of people to survive in their own communities, and revive or develop useful cultural traditions, economic institutions and political power is our movement, too, if we choose.



Last year our house went off to see Bernardo Bertolucci's proletarian film epic, "1900". After three hours of class struggle, violence and sex, my son and I were off into a world far from either his public school or our co-op lifestyle.

Now we're reading Arthur Koestler's novel of Spartacus aloud. On the news are riots in Miami. Friends flow through the house and we talk politics and strategies.

But they are all stories. Only as we live and work together across the lines of struggle will they be more. If there is anything we should know from our participatory culture, it's that we learn by living our values. □





Health

Health Care Coops: Diagnosis and Prognosis

by *Dianne Grandstrom and Margaret Flinter*

Good health, like good food, is basic to enjoying life. We've developed a cooperative system of purchasing food — but in the end, it's the decisions about what we eat that determines whether we'll be well nourished. Good health is also partly dependent on available systems of care, and partly a matter of individual choice to live wisely. Social class, income and geography all play a role in expanding or limiting those choices.

Our level of health is an interplay between biological fate (genetic heritage) environmental risk (infection, radiation, accidents) personal behavior (smoking, eating, exercise) and physical/emotional/spiritual harmony. The health care system is society's attempt to repair, strengthen, or promote the integrity of the organism when it goes awry. Vulnerable organisms that we are, there are times at many points in the life cycle when we need to purchase health care — be it preventive (well childcare or a stress reduction class) acute/curative (appendectomy) or rehabilitative (therapy after a stroke).

The national development of health care coops has not occurred with the speed of food coops for obvious reasons: the diversity of health needs and resources to meet them; the expense of facilities and personnel; and a powerful, dominant medical system. Perhaps, most importantly, because health care, unlike food, just isn't on most people's minds as we go about our activities. And those who are sick or chronically ill don't have the strength to organize.

Coming from the perspectives of a health organizer (Dianne) and a family nurse practitioner (Margaret), we believe health care cooperatives (HCC) provide an opportunity to make health care available and useful to all, with more for those in greater need. The HCC has the potential to refocus the health industry on assisting people to attain and maintain health first, while providing quality medical/technological support when disease or trauma strike. It can integrate the whole range of skilled healers and caregivers into the provider system; not just physicians, nurses and other traditionally licensed personnel, but parents, teachers and therapists. (After all, the largest number of primary health care providers in this country are neither physicians nor nurses, but family members.) It offers the potential for consumer control and personal empowerment.

To develop a perspective on health care cooperatives, we have to first understand where we are (the status quo),

where we want to go (potential) and to map a course from here to there (strategy).

WHERE ARE WE NOW?

Where do people receive, purchase or bargain for health care now, and to what extent do these sites fit into a cooperative vision? The setting for health care depends on income, geography, type of health problem, personal politics and preference. The affluent American, rural or urban, is likely to make the average three visits per year to a personal physician; for generations having your own doctor, like having your own home, has been a symbol of security and prosperity. The fear of a cooperative venture for these people lies in the loss of personal relationship with their caregiver; the stigma of being like a *clinic* patient.

Low income people have a different history and set of choices. In rural areas there have rarely been enough doctors to go around, leading to informal systems of local healers, direct service health departments and public health programs. The Rural Health Initiatives legislation has given rural communities a chance to develop their own primary health care clinics, with physician or non-physician providers (nurse practitioners and physician assistants) able to receive direct third-party reimbursement.

Urban low income people have traditionally been resigned or assigned to the outpatient clinics of large hospitals. There, quality medical care has been available, if you could manage the problems of transportation and discontinuity of care, and perhaps language and cultural barriers as well.

Less than 1% of all Americans are served by an HCC. health care coop movement began in 1929 when Dr. Michael Shadid, an Oklahoma physician, helped organize the Farmers Union Cooperative. Washington, DC followed with Group Health Associates in 1937. Group Health Cooperatives of Puget Sound in the state of Washington is thirty years old and 300,000 strong, and Minnesota has had two large HCCs since the 1940's.

The essential difference between health care coops and other health institutions is member ownership and access to policy and decision making. Few hospital patients have not felt some degree of fear unrelated to their illness —

Margaret Flinter is a nurse practitioner with experience in rural and urban clinics, and Dianne Grandstrom is a member of the Consumer Coop Bank Health Task Force.

connected to their total lack of control over the setting and situation. The goal of health, safety and satisfaction may be the same for providers and consumers, but how it is achieved depends on the context and institutional policy. A decision making body of exclusively health providers will inevitably (even if in good faith) make different decisions than a board with consumer representation.

What does a HCC achieve? Short term cost savings in HCCs are well documented. This is a primary objective of management, and as with other coops an important attraction.

Most HCCs offer prepaid coverage of health needs to individuals and group, usually through employers. Standard services range from health maintenance through diagnostic, curative and rehabilitative, either on an out-patient (ambulatory) or in-patient basis.

Contrary to popular opinion, people do have access within a group practice to the individual caregiver they want, and the type of treatment they prefer. Unlike dealing with an individual practitioner, a substitute is structurally available during off-hours or vacations.

Membership in a comprehensive plan buys security that you won't be wiped out financially by illness while the federal government is still fiddling with a national catastrophic insurance plan for all Americans (or at least all employed Americans). The annual per capita health costs of HCC members are less than the national average, primarily due to the lower rates of hospitalization and shorter hospital stays. It is difficult, bordering on impossible to apply a dollar value to the illnesses that didn't happen and the work days that weren't lost because of health maintenance and disease prevention activities.

Have HCCs gone farther than traditional service plans in the areas of disease prevention and health promotion? They certainly have the incentive, and with a rounded staff, the skills. Their objective is to assist people staying or getting well. Clinicians are salaried, and though a level of efficiency in seeing numbers of patients is obviously

necessary, there is no built-in individual financial reward for seeing as many patients as inhumanly possible in one day. Opportunities are opened for counseling, teaching and health care through group sessions. Given a range of health disciplines on staff (ie; nutritionists, health educators), client needs can be matched with an appropriate provider.

Coops and other HMOs (Health Maintenance Organizations bringing together a variety of services) have been leaders in bringing people to the notion that the consumer should be involved in health on a policy level.

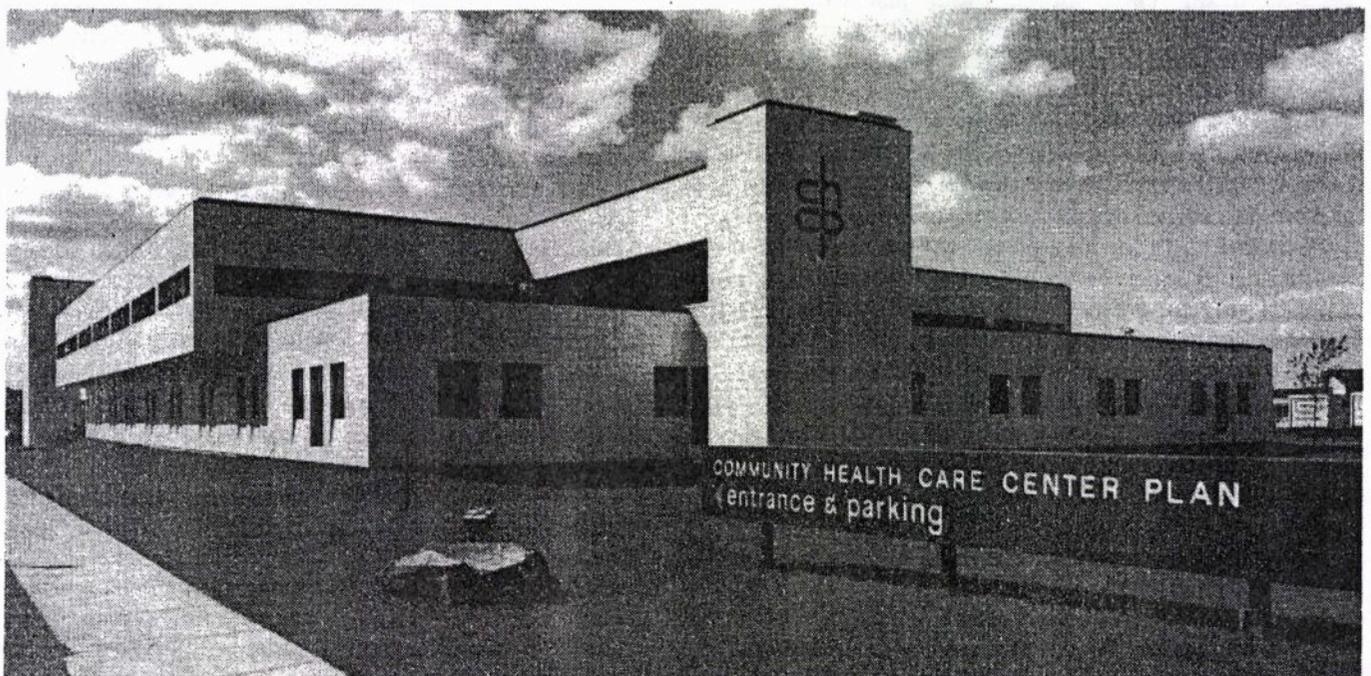
WHERE DO WE WANT TO GO?

What is the population served by health care coops? Age, for example, has a big influence on the type of service a coop will decide to offer. A community of senior citizens will be more interested in physical therapy and optical services than family planning.

The development of senior citizen housing complexes has led to many **stay-well** projects and home care services. This is a natural site for the development of cooperative health care (Cooperative Services, a leader in coop housing for the elderly, is planning congregate housing: nursing services integrated within an apartment complex.)

Employees with health benefits have the power to negotiate contracts with HCCs, and the bulk of HCC memberships are made up of workers groups. Many university health plans have gone to a coop-like structure with a fairly low membership fee because of their basically healthy population. It is conceivable that existing membership coops, particularly food and housing, could negotiate group rates with HCCs or HMOs for their own memberships, thus providing another affordable route to prepaid health care besides the workplace.

How do we enfranchise the groups without medical purchasing power: the medically indigent, the elderly, children? Since 1965, federal programs to reimburse



providers for care have existed in the form of Medicaid and Medicare, but limit people to a fee-for-service system by reimbursing only episodic, acute care and not preventive or health maintenance services. EPSDT (early periodic screening, diagnosis and treatment) attempted to provide preventive services to children, but was successful only in areas where a structure for providing outreach and health services to low income families already existed.

Like other forms of coops, HCCs have mainly reached middle income people. Prepayment is a major issue. The country is divided between those who can afford to think about how illness might affect them financially, and those who must operate on a *take your chances* basis, with the local emergency room as back-up primary caregiver. If it's a choice between prepaid health care and food or heat — it's clear which will come first.

Somewhere between the private and public systems have been the creations of the sixties: neighborhood health centers, community governed clinics, holistic health centers, women's health and self-help movements. Small size, in-neighborhood location, governance by community members and respect for consumer demands has led to the survival and excellence of many of these forms.

For those who desire alternative healing (massage, therapy, herbology, etc) the issue becomes membership control and decision making. Until people who are knowledgeable and can advocate alternative choices are sitting on planning boards of HCCs; until they are willing to work at demonstrating the feasibility of including them, it probably won't happen.

Assuming that consumers want to own, govern and be cared for in a cooperative health structure, are HCCs attractive sites for the providers without which they can't function? The resistance to salaried physician jobs is still strong in America. But it is eroding among younger members of the profession. More and more opt for security, humane work hours, and a chance for full personal lives as parents and spouses. For alternative healers, it may provide a legitimacy that allows one to earn a livelihood, as well as access to more traditional medical skills when necessary for their clients.

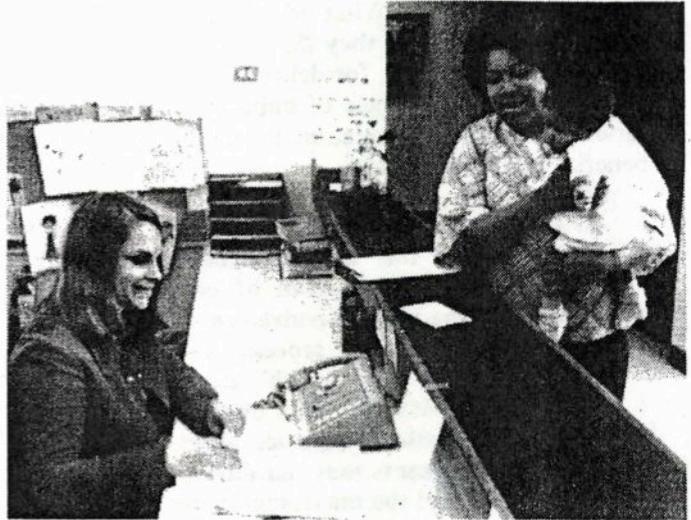
Staff is critical. While most consumers don't walk around thinking about health care all the time, caregivers spend a lot of time thinking and practicing because we enjoy it (hopefully). Choosing staff who can serve an educational and training function for other staff and members is critical; allowing traditionally trained practitioners opportunities for exposure to alternative therapies is equally important.

STRATEGIES

If it's hard finding start-up money for a grocery store, how do we finance the development of health care coops? Are grant monies or federal funds essential? Do you seek out a basically healthy clientele unlikely to experience devastating illness? Do you exclude alcoholics, heavy smokers and bad drivers?

Large HCCs like Puget Sound survive financially because the risks are pooled; only a small fraction are likely to need the most intensive and expensive per unit services. Screening tests, surgical procedures and medic-

ations are evaluated carefully; not just for medical reasons, but for economic ones, too. In a HCC, a predominately healthy population can carry the risks of a smaller number of unhealthy or *high risk* people. The system does not work, however, in reverse. The issue of open or closed membership in health care coops has not been fully resolved.



Community Health Care Plan, New Haven, Connecticut.

One approach would be to allow Medicaid recipients to convert their fee for service coverage into purchasing power toward a prepaid plan such as an HCC. Extending this option to all federal medical aid recipients has obvious implications. It erodes a dual health care system based on income instead of need. It allows the population most *at risk* by virtue of age, longstanding illness, or chronic socioeconomic disadvantage to benefit from ongoing, supportive health services.

Can all the facilities and levels of care required to serve people be incorporated into a cooperative health care system? One of the keys is recognizing that the coop doesn't have to own all the services. Regionalization and contractual arrangements for speciality services are economically and medically sound concepts.

Radical change is rarely born in the medical community. Changes in the care of the terminally ill (hospice), surgery (out-patient basis) and obstetrics (birthing centers) have largely come from consumer demand for personal preference, control and cost containment.

CONCLUSIONS

Who owns health care coops? Members own it, control it on the democratic principle of one person, one vote. Control by members is a revolutionary concept in health systems. Traditionally providers have not respected consumers as capable of making responsible decisions about health care.

Membership usually includes subscription to a service plan, and assumes a willingness to operate on cooperative principles. But, as in any other type of coop, being a consumer of services doesn't necessarily dictate

active interest. People may care about access to control without feeling a need to exercise it — waiting for something to feel *wrong*. People have other business in their lives (even coop business). And few people have had a chance for involvement in the management of any major organization, let alone a voice in the mystical medical world.

The vision most often expressed in this magazine is that of a healthy society, rooted in community, sanity and democratic structure. What advantages accrue to society via health coops? Are they *the answer*, or one of many alternative mechanisms for delivering services? Can there be an incremental process of building health care coops, service by service, population by population? The clear benefits of HCCs include:

1. Positive health incentives: Remove the profit motive from the health arena, making the preservation or restoration of good health the goal, with the active involvement of adults and children part of the process. Considering the magnitude of the health care industry, a significant move in this direction won't go unnoticed; cautious vigilance around new legislative developments that can adversely affect as well as positively affect the movement is needed.

2. Comprehensive services: Bringing a variety of caregivers, services, educational and self-help alternatives under one structure [if not one roof] can give consumers a better understanding of the full range of behaviors which affect health [also making health care more convenient]. There are fewer chances for people to fall through the cracks, than if seen by one provider. Perhaps the strongest educational component is the logical process of choosing when to remedy a health problem at home, and when to seek a more formal service. [Health care providers know perfectly well that people are likely to consult a family member, relative, friend, neighbor and the local druggist before they seek help from us; we might as well share our body of knowledge as widely as possible.]

3. Responsiveness: With a well-rounded community of interests, special biases are subordinated to a more objective response to new information and changed conditions. Cooperative research, with consumer involvement and participation, could design and test new theories about effective delivery systems, treatment modalities and personal health behaviors.

As for reservations, many of them have already been stated. The concept of membership, cooperative ownership and participation is not obvious to many Americans; particularly as related to health care. Trust is basic to cooperation, and in many low income communities, trust has been systematically eroded.

A more positive reservation about developing HCCs lies in the potential of people to involve themselves in existing

health care structures which deal directly and immediately with community health needs. The HSA (Health Service Administration) has created regional boards made up of 51% consumers, 49% providers which are mandated to make major decisions on health expenditures in communities, based on demonstrated need and local resources; the cooperative and self-help movements need representation on them. Public health departments, voluntary health agencies such as VNAs and neighborhood clinics all have to answer to a community via a board of directors or town officials. There are fewer *mysteries* in health care when active boards are involved. Salaries, costs, distribution of health problems and client satisfaction become public knowledge. Organized community boards can decide what they need, can afford, and should request; whether it's a grant for a family planning clinic, a paramedic training program, or just a community effort to attract private providers to town.

There are two significant new factors to be considered in the viability of HCCs. One is the catastrophic illness coverage which, if passed by Congress, would make it easier for coops and other HMOs to take care of *high risk* populations and provide a full range of services. The second major factor is the National Consumer Coop Bank. Respecting the competing priorities, there should still be the money, resources and technical assistance to fund demonstration health care coop projects.

To sum up, there are a number of reasonable steps with which to proceed. First, looking at existing models of cooperative health care, and making reasonable extrapolations from them. A second is considering traditional services which might be controlled by community boards, or where consumer input could be improved. A third approach would be to use the boards and membership of large food and housing coops as a basis of access to present HMOs, HCCs, insurance plans and prepaid plans, or to create new ones. A fourth step is to examine the more sophisticated cooperative development of health care in other countries (though understanding the limits of operating within different systems). Finally, perhaps it is time to speculate about a comprehensive design of health care, controlled cooperatively, including present coops, clinics, hospitals, traditional and non-traditional healers, paraprofessionals, family, neighborhood and workplace.

The ideal has always been to respond to a community's needs for preventive, curative and rehabilitative care, based on need, not class nor income. In the past decade there has been a growing desire for a way to meet those needs, which respects both provider and client. In a complex, technological society, health care cooperatives are a reasonable response to affirming these ideals.

We (Dianne and Margaret) have seen what a difference appropriate health care can make in people's lives, and we've seen what an empowering force membership cooperative structures can be. We suspect there's a lot more development of cooperative health care services happening around the country than is being written about. We welcome hearing of such projects through this magazine. □

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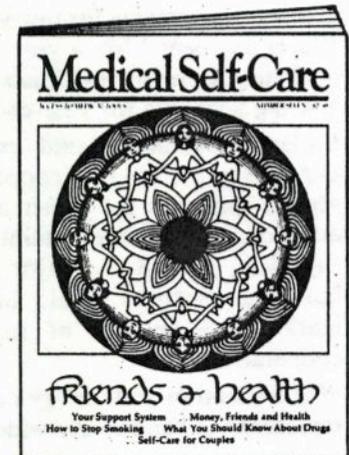
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Energy

What Community Energy Cooperatives Could Do

by Michael Freedberg

The Community Energy Cooperative presents a real alternative to the direction of national energy policy. It can provide a structure through which a comprehensive, community-based energy program could be implemented. At the same time such a program could be managed by energy consumers themselves. It can be developed on a nonprofit basis, thus reducing costs, and utilize possible subsidy programs to make alternative energy resources more cost effective.

The Community Energy Cooperative will utilize the Coop Bank as its major source of financing, but could also use other local and federal resources, such as the 3.5 billion available each year to local governments for housing and other community development programs. Combining these resources, the cooperative can develop alternative, renewable energy sources as a vital tool in neighborhood revitalization and community development — not only by producing cost savings for coop members, but also by generating income and new jobs through the creation of small neighborhood businesses.

A number of communities have already established energy cooperatives, in both rural and urban areas. Among the wide range of activities which energy cooperatives could undertake are the following.:

Bulk fuel purchasing. According to a study undertaken by the Association of Neighborhood Housing Developers in New York City, substantial cost savings can be achieved through bulk fuel purchases — as much as 8 cents (almost 10 percent) per gallon. The cooperative would supply credit arrangements for low-income members, and arrange "level payments" on a year-round basis. These payments and surplus revolving funds can be invested in interest bearing accounts for year-end rebates to coop members.

Boiler maintenance and repair. As part of a fuel purchasing system, the cooperative could supply standard service contracts for boiler maintenance to members. In addition, preventive maintenance services could be supplied, as well as major upgrading needed in older buildings. Services would be supplied at a lower than market rate because of the nonprofit nature of the cooperative.

Weatherization and energy conservation. The cooperative represents a community-wide purchasing network for a

wide variety of energy services and goods, beginning with weatherization of members' homes.

Energy auditing. Successful energy auditing programs have been initiated in many communities, particularly through local Community Services Agencies. The cooperative could supply auditing services to individual members at a small charge or as part of its weatherization program. The cooperative could also train local residents in auditing skills, thus meeting community employment requirements as well.

Energy legal aid. Energy consumers require legal assistance in a variety of areas — both in terms of protection from shoddy equipment and in resisting rate hikes and shutoffs. The cooperative could supply legal aid to members at special rates.

Energy economic development. The Coop Bank is authorized to spend up to 10 per cent of its assets on producer cooperatives — thus allowing energy cooperatives to receive financing for a variety of business ventures. These might include solar greenhouse construction, wind generator recycling, heat-generative waste recycling plants, etc. The cellulose insulation plant run by a local cooperative, for example, supply the insulation installed by the cooperative's weatherization crew in members' homes. Similarly, solar energy systems manufactured on a local level could be marketed commercially, or sold or leased to members at reduced cost. The economic development ventures thus created would not only contribute to local economic growth, but would produce additional revenue for the cooperative. These revenues would allow the cooperative to repay the Coop Bank loans at a faster rate, as well as create its own venture capital fund for future enterprises.

Leasing and installation of alternative energy systems. With direct Coop Bank financing for solar energy installations, the individual consumer would not be required to cover the up-front capital costs of initial installation, and would at the same time pay less for monthly fuel charges. Cooperative financing and leasing of solar hardware thus relieves individual users of the primary obstacle to widespread solar usage — the high front-end costs. Other alternative energy technologies could be installed where appropriate under a similar leasing arrangement, while the cooperative would also be in a position to provide financing for individual consumers wishing to purchase equipment directly.

Energy education. The cooperative would be able to

Michael Freedberg is on the staff of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies.

undertake an aggressive consumer education program as part of the overall services it supplies.

Energy job training. With Coop Bank financing the cooperative would be in a position to attract local CETA job training funds, or provide other job training opportunities on its own. Local residents, cooperative members, would thus learn skills in an expanding industry, with substantial long-term employment opportunities.

Energy planning. The cooperative would undertake comprehensive studies of community energy needs and usage, and would be able to effectively plan an integrated energy consumption and production system, including waste and garbage recycling, building design, transportation systems, etc. Planning would thus be done on a local level, with input from local citizens.

Energy design and research. The cooperative would provide specific design services for cooperative members in planning individual installations. In addition, the coop could undertake its own research into new or innovative technologies for implementation on a demonstration basis.

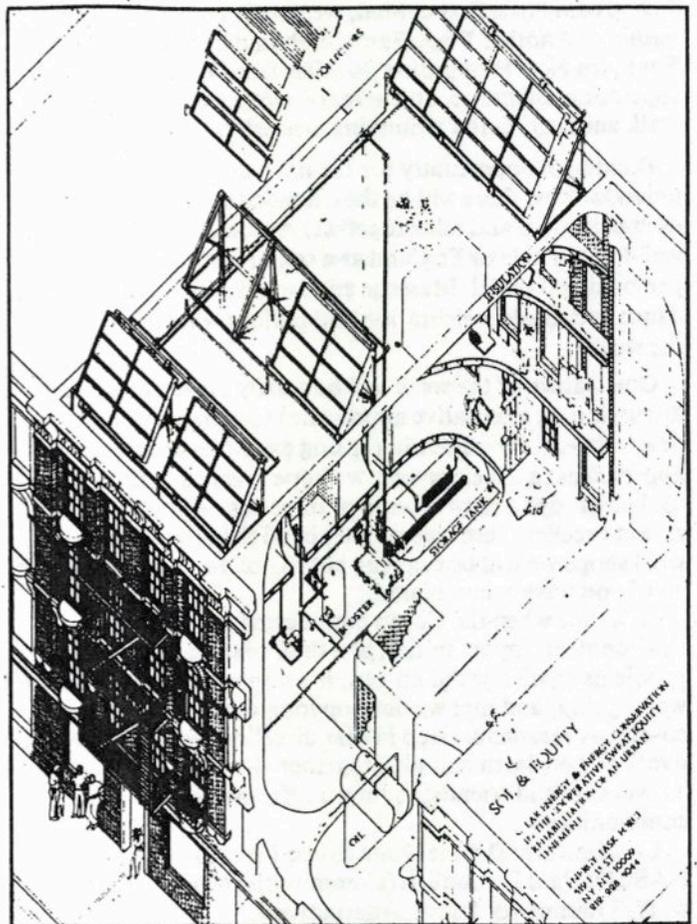
Energy advocacy. The cooperative would also provide a community, city or county-wide vehicle for lobbying actively for increased private and public sector support for its members' needs.

Energy storage. By combining their individual purchasing power and consumption of energy, individual consumers could increase the community's energy storage capacity

through the coop. Solar energy storage, for example, could be expanded beyond the sometimes limited storage available to individual homeowners or solar energy users.

Energy production. In rural areas, farmers could undertake the production of gasohol for their own use (or for sale), while in urban areas, where the use of wind energy is feasible, an energy cooperative could produce its own electricity by investing in appropriately-scaled wind generators. Production of other alternative energy resources, such as methane, could be undertaken by the cooperative as well.

The potential for cooperative energy activities is great. The particular program developed by one community will depend largely on available resources, the most immediate needs of local residents, and the most appropriate technologies for the particular area. Community groups interested in developing energy cooperatives (or other kind of coops) should remember, however, that cooperatives are **business ventures** designed to provide necessary services or goods at lower cost to their members. As such, loans from the Coop Bank will be made to those communities which develop cost effective plans incorporating adequate market research and a reasonable ability to meet short or long term credit requirements. The Coop Bank will, hopefully, provide assistance to groups interested in developing energy coops and, as required by the Bank legislation, provide the low-interest financing the low-income communities will need to make them work. □

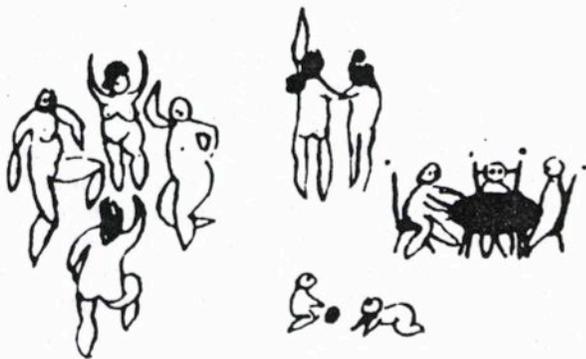


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SUNDAY, *Cooperation Among Co-ops*, Shanti Frye, National Consumer Co-op Bank. Art Danforth, retired president of CLUSA, intends coming.

MONDAY, *Vertical Integration Among Co-op Institutions*, Michael Schaaf, Coastal Enterprises (A CDC working with rural co-ops).

TUESDAY, *Making our Co-ops more Attractive and Efficient*, Harrison Drinkwater, Hanover Consumer Co-op.

WEDNESDAY, *Co-ops as a Part of Their Community*, Joe Ballow, NECTI and former New Haven Food Coop.

THURSDAY, *Worker and Producer Co-ops*, Terry Mollner, Roger Neece and Paul Bernstien, Community Futures (a cooperative economic development support group).

OTHER WORKSHOPS on member education, group process, culture, politics, womens and mens groups. Tell us your needs and resources.

EVERYDAY: swimming, volleyball, music, dance, conversation, yoga, cooperative games, good food, woods and fields...

For decades Circle Pines in Michigan and Camp Sierra in California have provided co-op people a chance to play, learn and work together.

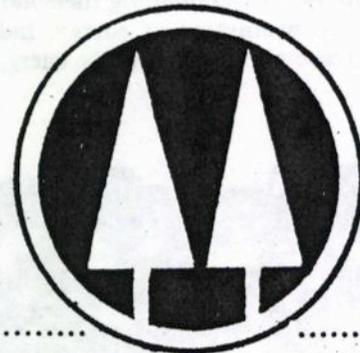
Now in the summer of 1980, there will be an East Coast Co-op camp (the first annual, we hope). For one week we will gather at Another Place Farm, high in the rolling hills of Southern New Hampshire, 70 miles from Boston. There is a spacious main house, and acres of pine forest in which to walk and tent. Good swimming is nearby.

Besides an opportunity for formal workshops and presentations, there will be the extended social time to exchange ideas and relax together. Another Place is well-known in New England as a center for healing, both personal and social. Massage and sweats, good healthy food, dance and music, celebration and politics will all be part of the week.

One feature of the week will be a daily presentation and discussion on alternative approaches to cooperative development. By presenting strong examples of different approaches to development, we hope everyone will take back to their co-ops a clearer sense of direction. Although we expect excellent resource people, in all the discussions and workshops we will be drawing heavily on the expertise which all of you have accumulated.

At a time when the Co-op bank seems to offer new development opportunities; at a time when economic problems challenge our co-ops, it's important we know where we're going, and that we develop long-term trust between co-ops. A reasonable step in that direction seems a chance to live together, learn and play together — to know each other as co-workers and friends; to return refreshed to our communities.

Co-directors: Debbie Dunn (Mass Pirg; formerly staff, NASCO); Paul Freundlich (Communities Magazine; former staff, Training for Urban Alternatives).



REGISTRATION for EAST COAST CO-OP CAMP,
July 25—31, 1980 / **Another Place**, route 123,
Greenville, NH 03048. Phone (603) 878-1510.

name _____

co-op _____

name _____

name _____

I prefer communal sleeping space in the house will bring tent

I am enclosing \$50 deposit per adult, \$25 per child, total _____

We've tried to keep the costs low as possible, which means \$125, Friday through Thursday, including good vegetarian food — half-price for children. But if you register by June 20 are a member of Another Place (see other side) are the second or more person registering from a shared-income group , you pay — \$115 if you checked one box; \$100 if you checked two boxes; \$90 if you checked three boxes.

Please register as soon as possible for us to plan the best possible experience. Tell us what you want and what you can offer.

The New England Cooperative Training Institute is providing some low income scholarships. If you wish to apply, check here and send us a page saying why. We're looking for people with either WSI or EMT certificates. We encourage people to stay for the entire week, but if it doesn't get too crowded (please call first) there will be a day-rate of \$30. Participants will live as a cooperative community; sharing in the food preparation, clean-up and childcare, with coordination and supervision provided by the staff.



Future

Twelve Challenges:

Guidelines for Consumer Goods Co-op Development in Inner Cities

by Art Danforth

1. Establish at least a five year plan for each new cooperative.

Unless some sort of ground work already exists, you cannot hope to develop a viable new cooperative in a year or two. Don't force development of artificial annual statistics to support requests for annual budget allocations.

2. Provide a three month orientation program for a nucleus leadership group.

Basic materials and program should be developed nationally, for local or regional implementation. Groups should be rather small, to encourage full participation.

3. Integrate consumer goods and housing cooperative development where possible.

Outright subsidy is needed to bring monthly housing costs within the reach of low income families. Where this can be secured, the total community will benefit immeasurably by a coordinated cooperative development program — including, of course, community credit union and child care facilities.

4. Conduct a demographic study and market survey.

The new cooperative's success depends on the same economic factors as any other small business. So far as possible, these should be known in advance.

5. Provide a two year community organization program.

During this period, continue orientation of the nucleus group, reach out into the community, incorporate; develop basic member investment and board/committee structure.

6. Develop a positive board training program.

Building on the basic orientation, move forward into study of decision-making, board-manager relationships, internal structure, understanding financial statements; include visits to other cooperatives. Develop the materials nationally for regional or local implementation.

7. Develop specific capital and operating budgets.

Professional guidance is needed here, as in most other

aspects of the program. Basic guidelines should be developed nationally. But the local nucleus group must acquire a good understanding of just what is needed for a viable consumer cooperative.

8. Establish positive member investment goals.

Starting well before opening (as noted above), study and secure group acceptance of targets to be reached at specific future dates. The NCCB Act encourages this, since it requires any SHD investment in local co-op equities to be repaid in no more than thirty years. Don't accept voting memberships from outside the broad trading area.

9. Negotiate improvement of general community services.

Review current levels of police and fire protection, scavenger service, child care services and adult education programs. Assure improvement to adequate standards before full commitment to development of the consumer cooperative.

10. Secure the most competent management possible.

Never limit recruitment to the local area. Provide for effective and competent supervision for several years into the future; the preferable method is to include the new inner city group as an integral part of an area-wide multi-unit consumer cooperative. If this is not possible, then assure such supervision and continuing training by management contract with some nearby consumer cooperative that has a sound and stable operation. (In areas where neither of these alternatives is possible, arrange a similar contract with some sympathetic and competently managed retail food operation in the area.)

11. Provide special funding for staff training programs.

No small business can absorb these added costs. Various existing state and federal programs should be researched to see how this assistance can be provided. With this help, most of the staff can be recruited within the local community. Working with trainees and inexperienced staff is expensive, and the added costs must be provided for.

12. Plan a continuing member and community information program.

The co-op store should become a community center. A cost-effective plan with continuing volunteer effort is needed. A modest handbook and basic materials should be developed nationally. Strong consumer information, with point of sale emphasis, is an essential part of this program.

Any effective cooperative development program requires these basic ingredients:

This 30-page booklet should be available from Art Danforth by July; it summarizes most past experience, includes specific study references, and indicates several materials that need to be developed if we are to increase the number of viable inner city co-ops. Write for price and list of other materials available.

Art Danforth is a coop consultant and former President of CLUSA, 7306 Brad St., Falls Church, VA 22042.

Community Organization related to the social problems and interests of the area.

Cooperative Technical Assistance providing appropriate organizing, educational and management skills through the services of persons experienced with cooperatives. Avoid the use of "instant experts".

Financial Assistance from a sympathetic and understanding lending source. When a cooperative's membership is drawn primarily from low income families, basic member investment must be supplemented with outside investment in equities so that conventional financing can be secured. □



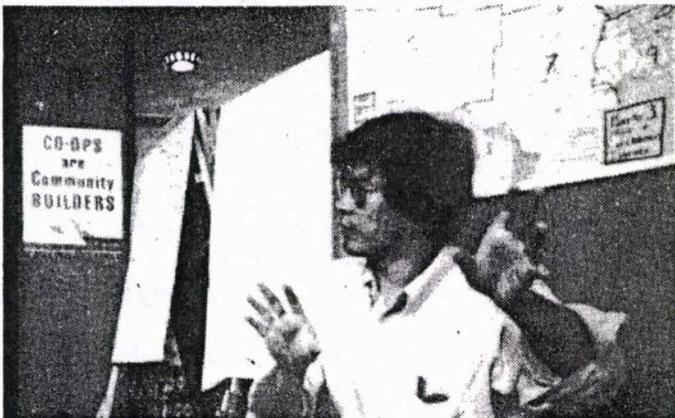
The Last Wave*

by *Bill Lundberg*

I went to my first CCA Regional Institute in 1974. It was held in Fitchburg, Mass. at the then existent Fitchburg Co-op. Out of that meeting arose the New England Food Co-op Organization (NEFCO). I have not missed a CCA Institute since. After my first National Institute I came back to the NEFCO Organizing Collective I was then working with and wrote in the NEFCO Newsletter: There is a vast movement out there with a breadth and history we have no idea of — "We are like Frogs in a Well thinking that little patch of blue above our heads is the whole sky." My sky has been getting bigger ever since, (and there are rainbows in it).

From my experience in CCA emerged my long term commitment to the movement and my commitment to working between new and established co-ops, to help build links and begin to institutionalize cooperation between the two. My experience since then has only confirmed my belief that new and established cooperatives have to work together if they hope to live up to their potential. That belief is what led me to work with Universal.

When I first came to Universal in October of 1978, we were mainly concerned with developing relations between established cooperatives, i.e. the five co-op grocery regional members of Universal; Associated, Mid-Eastern, Central States, Uni-Co-op and Midland and their



Bill Lundberg has joined the Bank as Senior Technical Assistance Officer for food, after two years in the grocery division of the Universal Cooperatives.

members, and new co-ops, mostly the 35 "new wave" warehouse/federations and their members.

Since then we have progressed to the point where one of Universal's members, (Central States Cooperatives) Board, Management, and most of its members are new cooperatives, such as FORC, DANCe, GIPC Michigan and Blooming Prairie. Central States has been the fastest growing of Universal's members who deal with the grocery department over the past year, bringing departmental sales from \$125,000 at the end of its fiscal year 1979 to \$500,000 projected for the end of its 1980 fiscal year.

New co-ops are also firmly represented within Universal East Coast member, Mid-Eastern Cooperatives. During this time Universal's Grocery Department has also developed a new Whole Foods Advisory Committee of representatives from new and established co-op warehouses across the country. Acting on their recommendation, the Grocery Department has developed an entirely new line of products (CO-OP label "Natural Pack") to satisfy the needs of new co-ops, as well as the more "whole foods" oriented members of established cooperatives.

We have also begun dealing with the increasing demands by co-op warehouses to develop contracts and act as a national brokerage for the purchase of bulk whole foods.

I have a sense that Universal's Grocery Department has begun to move into a central role in developing product sources and distribution channels for new as well as established co-ops. There is a growing sense of convergence as new and established co-ops begin to work more and more closely together, institutionalizing what had begun as tentative and exploratory relationships.

We have achieved a certain momentum in this development. It is essential that this momentum be continued and expanded.

The joint support of the Co-op Bank, the creation of development and technical assistance plans and programs amongst Universal's Regional members, the proposed development (or redevelopment) of a consumer cooperative services position within the Co-op League, and the overall development of a sense of convergence and common purpose (even amongst those with differing methods and constituencies) are all indications that we are putting together the pieces necessary to create a consumer cooperative movement which could have a significant effect on our economy and our society.

Remember, Power may Corrupt, but Leadership Creates! □

* The title, "The Last Wave", relates to the newsletter **Co-op Wave Lengths** that Universal's Grocery Department put out for a short time before time restrictions forced us to cease publication.

Your are invited to:

**INSTITUTE '80
COOPERATIVES AND COMMUNITIES:
PEOPLE IN MOTION**

**Tuesday, August 12 — Saturday, August 16, 1980
Howard University Law School
Washington, D.C.**

Co-sponsors: CCA, Howard University, University of the District of Columbia



About the Institute: Institute '80, **Cooperatives and Communities: People in Motion**, represents the first major effort of the consumer cooperative movement to join together with low income and ethnic minority communities from all over the continent in order to share resources, experiences and perspectives, and to develop ties between leaders of consumer cooperatives and community development organizations.

ABOUT THE CO-SPONSORS:

The Consumer Cooperative Alliance (CCA), an organization of consumer cooperatives and individuals in the U.S. and Canada, was started in 1929. It was later incorporated as the Cooperative Institute Association in 1950, and in 1974 became CCA, which is member-controlled through an elected board of directors. The purpose of CCA is to aid existing co-ops with information, training, technical assistance and resource sharing, and to foster the growth of new and existing co-ops in local communities and regions throughout the U.S. and Canada.

Howard University was chartered in 1867. Today, with 17 fully accredited colleges and schools, Howard has stood among the few institutions of higher learning where black Americans and other minorities can participate freely in a truly comprehensive university experience.

The University of the District of Columbia is the land grant university for the District of Columbia. The cooperative extension service of the university offers educational programs in home economics, natural resource development and agriculture, community resource development, and 4-H and youth development.

Facilitators: Fifteen to thirty facilitators will make up the Institute staff. They will attend a training workshop one week before the Institute and then facilitate the Institute as a team. Room and board for both the week prior to and the week of the Institute will be paid for all facilitators. If you are interested in being a facilitator, please fill out related information on the registration form.

Where: Howard University Law School, Washington, D.C.

Accommodations: a room in a local hotel, or sleeping bag space in a private home.

Child care: will be available at minimum charge.

Transportation: check with your regional representative listed here.

Information packets will be sent to you two weeks prior to the Institute.

Scholarships: Partial scholarships are available to individuals, based on need. If interested, please answer the related questions on the registration form.

When: Tuesday, August 12 — Saturday, August 16, 1980.

Registration: There is limited space, so requests will be made on a first-come-first-served basis by date of postmark and by equal representation of various groups. There is a special discount for early registration of individuals or groups of ten or more. A \$10 deposit will hold a place at the Institute if you register early. The rest can be paid at the Institute in August. More details are listed on the registration form.

Institute '80

Cooperatives and Communities: People in Motion

A separate form should be used for each person.

Name _____

Co-op/Community organization _____

Address _____

Phone _____

Type of Co-op/Community organization and community served _____

Institute Fees: We are offering a special discount to individuals or groups of 10 or more who register before August 1, 1980. Groups are asked to send in individual registration forms with one check. A \$10 deposit will hold a place at the Institute if you register early. The rest can be paid at the Institute. **Registration at the door** will be \$85/person for the entire Institute.

- We wish to register before August 1 for the whole Institute as a **group of 10** or more for **\$55 per person.**
- I wish to register** for the whole Institute before August 1 for **\$65.**

Workshops will be well facilitated, broad, open discussions among participants in each workshop, and will allow people to bring their experiences and ideas to the Institute, in addition to hearing from resource people from throughout the U.S. and Canada. The Institute will be a

working conference and time will be scheduled to allow individuals and groups to meet and make plans for working together during the next year within their regions. Among the workshops to be offered to Institute participants are the following:

Housing

- Housing financing and government assistance to low income groups
- Mixed income housing/mutual housing associations
- Equity in low and moderate income housing

Arts

- Funding community arts programs
- Networking and organizing among artists
- Arts co-ops and collectives and self management

Energy

- Community approaches to energy strategies
- Energy co-ops
- Solar technology

Communications and Education

- Co-ops and racial diversification
- Men, women, and sexism in co-ops
- Consensus decision-making
- Group facilitation
- Institute '80 communication groups

Economics and Finance

- Co-ops and community economic development
- Credit unions, communities and co-ops
- National Consumer Cooperative Bank sessions: general orientation and loan application workshops
- Expanding from existing consumer co-op base into new consumer areas
- Linkages between producer and consumer co-ops
- Use of computers in co-op businesses

- Member equity, accounting, financial planning
- Employment, financial security in co-ops

Health Care

- Community health care plans and co-ops
- Holistic health care
- Group health insurance plans

Management

- Worker collectives
- Introductory democratic management
- Management structures
- Management by objectives for co-ops

Local Community Alliances

- Co-op education in communities
- Community action in organizations and co-ops

Social action networking

Food

- Alliance of Warehouses and Federations meetings
- Nutrition education in co-ops and communities
- Federal food programs and funding
- Community food buying systems
- Inner city food co-ops

Regional Networking

- Intra-regional communications
- Co-op regional organization structures
- Diversification: networking among co-ops, low income, and minority communities
- Regional coop training capabilities

Regional Coordinators Listed below are regional coordinators who can be contacted to answer questions about Institute '80.

Cup of Sun Foods, Neil Blumquist
Kalis Pell, Mt. (406) 755-1134

Equinox Food Exchange, Sally McQuain
Springdale, Wa. (509) 258-4439

All Cooperating Assembly
Minneapolis, Mn. (612) 376-8357

Open Harvest, Chad Hazing
Lincoln, Ne. (402) 475-9069

Co-op Services, Virginia Thorntwaite
Detroit, Mi. (313) 874-4000

NASDCO, Sheila Ritter
Ann Arbor, Mi. (313) 663-0889

Michigan Alliance of Co-ops, John Lawton
Rochester, Mi. (313) 851-8070

Blooming Prairie Warehouse, Sue Futrell
Iowa City, Iowa (319) 337-6448

Ca. Dept. of Consumer Affairs, Ann Evans
Sacramento, Ca. (916) 322-7674

Southern Calif. Co-op Warehouse, Linda Aguirre
Los Angeles, Ca. (213) 622-3303

New Mexico Fed. of Co-op Living, Doug Coates
Santa FE, N.M. (505) 988-5977

Olaf Kula
Flagstaff, Az. (602) 774-6238

Patsi Martinez
Las Cruces, N.M. (505) 522-1598

Texas Fed. of Co-ops, Mike Owens
Austin, Tx. (512) 472-3329

Limit Ave. Co-op, Lynn Brown
St. Louis, Mo. (314) 454-2977

Ozark Co-op, Tracy King
Fayetteville, Ar. (501) 521-4920

Sevananda, Cheryl Fraracci
Atlanta, Ga. (404) 377-6154

Leon County Co-op
Tallahassee, Fl. (904) 222-9916

FORC, Aida Merhemic/Jackie McKee
Columbus, OH (614) 861-2446

Consumer Co-op of Pittsburg, Mark Hermar
Pittsburg, PA (412) 361-1521

Mountain People's Co-op, Mike Redmond
Morgantown, WV (304) 296-6022

Port Washington Cal Co-op, Edna Turner
Port Washington, NY (516) 883-1706 or 883-9777

Delaware Valley Coalition, Ben Feldman
Philadelphia, PA (215) 473-0482

Mideastern Co-op, Nancy Collins
Cardstadt, NJ (201) 933-9090

NEFCO, Jeanie Hammond
Watertown, MA (617) 924-3656

FEDCO, Lucinda Talbot
N. Baffalboro, ME (207) 873-0716

Hanover Consumer Co-op, Harrison Drinkwater
Hanover, NH (603) 643-2667

Greenbelt Cooperative, John Gauci
Savage, MD (301) 953-2770

Washington Community Futures, Norman Davis
Washington, D.C. (202) 265-9399

- I wish to register for the following days only, at \$20/day: () Tuesday () Wednesday () Thursday () Friday () Saturday.

Room and Board: Please indicate what sleeping and meal arrangements you would like:

- Sleeping bag space in a private home at \$2/night for _____ nights.

Meals in private home include:

- Three meals per day for \$20/week.
- Breakfast and lunch only for \$13/week.
- Breakfast only for \$7/week.
- Hotel accommodations range from about \$20 to \$30 per night. Meals not included.

Facilitators: I would like to help facilitate at the Institute. My experience as a facilitator includes: _____

Scholarships: People interested in partial scholarships please state individual monthly income, \$ _____, and briefly explain the activities of your organization and the community it serves: _____

Fill in both sides of this form and return with check payable to: **CCA Institute '80**
1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036



The International Cooperative Alliance

by David Thompson

The International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) is a non-governmental international organization which was established by cooperators in London in 1895. From a small gathering of firm believers, the ICA has grown into a worldwide movement of 175 member cooperatives in 65 countries serving 355 million individual members. The Cooperative League of the USA, with headquarters in Washington, D.C., is the only official U.S. member of the ICA. The annual volume of business done by the member cooperatives in 1977 was a little over \$440 thousand million dollars. Through numerous forms of unity, most of them organized through the ICA, cooperatives act as a third sector within the world economy.

When cooperation emerged as an international economic force at the end of the 19th century, leaders of the national movements formed the ICA. They sought one universal representative of cooperative organizations which practice the observed cooperative principles. Among the objectives laid down in the ICA constitution are the following:

- to provide cooperation in all countries;
- to safeguard the interests of cooperatives;
- to maintain good relations between its affiliated organizations;
- to work for the establishment of peace and security;
- and to assist the promotion of the economic and social progress of the members of all countries.

To achieve these objectives, the ICA embarked upon an ambitious plan to: convene periodic International Congresses; send delegations to study the different research studies and collect statistics on cooperative activity; create international cooperative auxiliary organizations for trading, production, banking and credit, assurances, housing, as well as for other areas of economic activity; and cooperate fully with all United Nations organizations

and with other governmental international organizations which pursue aims of importance to cooperation.

The Congress which is the highest authority of the Alliance and regarded as the International Cooperative Parliament is now convened every four years. The Central Committee, which meets once a year, is also a fully representative body and during the inter-Congress years, has the responsibility of formulating and implementing the ICA's policies as defined by Congress. Importantly, (or) significantly, the Central Committee met for the first time outside of Europe in Montreal, Canada, May 2-4, this year, an event honoring the important cooperative work of our neighbors to the North.

The 1980 ICA Congress is being held in Moscow this September, and one of the main themes it will address is "Cooperatives in the Year 2000." This critical study, developed from the work of cooperative thinkers, activists and futurologists, concerns itself with the trends, problems, and performance of cooperatives. It presents options within the framework of posing the major issues and crucial questions. The coordinator of the study is Dr. A.F. Laidlaw, an internationally known cooperator from Canada whose vision and understanding is highly respected. The discussion generated by this work is expected to chart the course of cooperation for many years.

Some of the most important work of the ICA is that done by its auxiliary committees to further links between national cooperative organizations. For example, the International Organization for Consumer Cooperative Distributive Trades (INTERCOOP) is concerned with arranging joint purchasing on behalf of its consumer wholesale member organizations in the world market thus obtaining economies for its members. EUROCOOP, based in Brussels, the headquarters of the Common Market (EEC) attends to the political aspects of cooperatives within that trading area. The International Cooperative Insurance Federation (ICIF) was established over fifty

David Thompson is on the staff of the Consumer Cooperative Bank.

years ago to encourage and develop cooperative insurance throughout the world. As a result of its work, the ICIF has convinced a key United Nations committee to adopt a resolution calling for the organization of insurance on a cooperative basis in the Third World.

The concept of ICA support for cooperatives in developing countries was formally adopted in 1960. That same year, the ICA opened a regional office in New Delhi, India to serve South East Asia, and in 1968 opened a second one in Moshe, Tanzania which serves East and Central Africa. By establishing regional offices, the ICA tailors its programs to the needs of the specific regions. Among the services offered by the regional offices are education, member relations, research, technical advice, cooperative trade, the involvement of women in the cooperative movement and intensification of relations with the United Nations. The work of the regional offices is often supplemented by special grants from the host region and the developed countries.

The ICA has a long history of inter-relationships with a number of United Nations organizations especially, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), ILO (International Labor Office) and the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization). For the past three years, Barbara Rog-Swiostek, a long time activist in the Polish cooperative movement, has been at the U.N. studying the nature of cooperative development. Because of the ICA's principles of internationalism and peace, and its large membership, it is accorded special status at the United Nations. The ICA representative to the United Nations is Wallace Campbell. He is a board member of CLUSA and serves as its official representative to CARE (Cooperatives for American Relief Everywhere). Mr. Campbell is also President of CARE.

CLUSA, as the only official U.S. representative to the ICA, provides several U.S. cooperators to official bodies of the ICA. Glenn M. Anderson, President of CLUSA, serves on the ICA Executive Committee. CLUSA Board members serve on the ICA Central Committee. U.S. involvement with the ICA began with the first ICA Congress in 1895 when three American cooperatives joined. In its first year of existence, in 1916, the

Cooperative League of the United States voted to join the ICA and since then CLUSA's representatives have attended each congress as the official U.S. delegation. Dr. Warbasse, one of the founders of the League, served on the Central Committee from 1924-1946.

The League usually sends a large delegation to each congress, however, this year, given the relations between Russia and the USA, there is a call from some cooperators for a boycott of the Moscow Congress. This poses a serious threat to the ICA as it has normally been successful in avoiding political conflicts among its member organizations.

As part of its contribution to the "Cooperatives in the Year 2000" study, CLUSA appointed Executive Vice-President, Dr. Allie Felder and Dr. Frank Groves of the University Center for Cooperatives to a committee which is soliciting opinions from U.S. co-op leaders on a vision of the year 2000. The League will publish the contributions in magazine form for distribution this mid-summer.

With the recent growth of interest in cooperatives in this country, one can expect a similar interest in international cooperative activity. Already the central financial cooperatives in Western Europe and Canada are allowing capital to flow between the various national co-op movements. Co-op to co-op trade is growing rapidly, and in 1978 CLUSA sponsored a well attended international trade conference in the World Trade Towers in New York City.

The forging of economic links through capital flows and co-op to co-op trade are the beginning of large non-governmental, non-profit private contracts among countries. As such, they hold hope as contributors to peaceful relations in an interdependent world. Given the inter-dependency of international markets and the presence of cooperatives in so many countries, it is incumbent on us to consider the opportunities for international cooperative trade as outlined by Jack Craig in **Multi-National Cooperatives**. If there is to be any success in this effort, it is critical that the ICA be strengthened and directed by its member cooperatives. The role of the emerging and existing cooperatives in the U.S.A. through CLUSA is a most important and enriching task in the building of an international cooperative economy. □



Almost one person out of every ten in the world is involved in a co-operative of one sort or another,

1980 COMMUNAL LIVING CONFERENCES

Explore communal living as an approach to social change. The Federation of Egalitarian Communities will be co-sponsoring a series of conferences and workshops during the spring and summer of 1980. These events are designed to broaden awareness and understanding of intentional communities, to help more people find a communal alternative, and to celebrate our own communal lives.

Conferences last for 3 days, offering participants a look at communal life, its rewards and problems, through workshops and presenta-

tions facilitated by people living and working communally.

Communal Living and Walden II Weeks are intensive communal living experiences for small groups of ten to twenty people — each one an opportunity to experience community-building first hand.

And this year Dandelion will also be hosting a 10-day General Training Program in non-violent social change, with trainers from the Movement for a New Society.

May 22 — 28	Walden II Week	at Aloe
May 30 — June 1	Conference on Communal Living	at Aloe
June 27 — July 4	Communal Living Week	at Twin Oaks
July 1 — 10	Non-Violence Training Program	at Dandelion
July 18 — 25	Communal Living Week	at Twin Oaks
July 26 — August 1	Walden II Week	at Dandelion
August 1 — 4	4th Annual Conference on Communal living	at Dandelion
August 29 — September 1	Conference on Women in Community	at Dandelion

Registration Fees:

Conferences — \$30 (includes meals and a place to camp)

Communal Living & Walden II Weeks — \$25 — \$35 (depending on host community) plus a \$25 — \$35 contribution to the communal treasury

Non-Violence Training Program — \$75 (includes meals and a place to camp)

Write for more information:

aloe

Route 1, Box 100-C
Cedar Grove, N.C. 27231
(919) 732-4323

dandelion

R.R. 1 — CW
Enterprise, Ontario
K0K 1Z0 Canada
(613) 358-2304

twin oaks

Route 4-CL
Louisa, VA 23093
(703) 894-5126



REACH

Reach is a free reader service of Communities magazine. Ads should be 50-150 words in length, typewriting preferred. We reserve the right to edit. Dated material requires a minimum of six weeks lead time. Feedback on ad response, as well as donations, are welcome.

As of the previous issue, Margaret is no longer editing "Reach". The new "Reach" editor is Kurt Twin Oaks.

Conferences

★ The Abode of the Message, a community of one hundred adults and thirty children, is the heart of the Sufi Order in the West. It is located on 450 acres of fields and woodlands on the New York/Massachusetts border in the Berkshire Mountains.

The Summer Guest Program is comprised of three areas, all of which bring one into close contact with the life of the community and the spiritual message which permeates it. Registration may be in one or more of these areas.

The Retreat Program is for those who seek the dramatic spiritual transformation that occurs when one turns away from daily life for a brief time, and, through a highly developed meditative process, delves deeply into one's essential nature.

The Orientation Program is a five day intensive introduction to the essence of the Abode of the Message.

The Apprentice Program is a one-to-four month course of study. It is for

those who wish to take part in the life of a spiritual community for an extended period of time while learning a useful and meaningful skill.

For more information, including full program descriptions, please contact:

Summer Guest Program

The Abode of the Message

P.O. Box 396
New Lebanon, N.Y. 12125
(518) 794-8090

★ Information on co-ops will abound in Ann Arbor on November 7-9, 1980. That's when the North American Students of Cooperation (NASCO) will hold its fourth annual Cooperative Education and Training Institute. Over 350 people from throughout the U.S. and Canada are expected to attend.

Institute '80 will include over 50 workshops, as well as discussion groups, tours of local co-ops, films and slide shows, speakers and a banquet. In addition, there will be a bookstore full of hard-to-find co-op materials. Conference attendees will also be able to participate in a NASCO Board of Directors meeting and in NASCO's annual membership meeting.

For further information about Institute '80, write to:

NASCO

Box 7293
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

★ The Spring Hill Summer Program is an opportunity to join with our community in a healthy and growthful life in the country this summer.

We offer a balanced program of work, recreation and personal and spiritual growth. Living close to the land,

working, living and playing together as a community will provide a rich environment for personal discovery.

The program is designed in a week-long cycle. Participants are welcome to attend anywhere from a day or two to the whole 8 weeks.

For over 4 years, Spring Hill has been growing as a service oriented community. Our work is to find the living spirit of love and truth that can guide and inspire us in our every moment. We work in many forms: Opening the Heart workshops, a counselling clinic, work with the dying, performing music, teaching dance and meditation, and trying to live in harmony with the earth.

Spring Hill is located on a scenic hilltop in Ashby Massachusetts, 55 miles northwest of Boston. We have 70 acres of open field and forest, and a large barn with workshop and counselling space, showers, dining room and kitchen.

For further information:

Spring Hill Community

Box 124
Ashby, MA 01431
or Barbara, (617) 386-5622

★ Shaping Things To Come — July 18-20, 1980

The Community Service Conference this year will be a look at the vision of Community Service and of its founder, Arthur Morgan, through the years. We will think ahead and visualize the role of the small community in the shaping of things to come. All participants will be encouraged to contribute the specialty of their particular field in the context of a holistic view of community life for the future.

The conference will be held at the Outdoor Education Center of Glen Helen in Yellow Springs, Ohio, beginning at 7:00 pm, Friday, July 18, through 1:00 pm on Sunday, the 20th. Conference registration for the weekend is \$30 per person, \$55 per couple, half price for children under 13, including meals.

Community Service

P.O. Box 243
Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387
(513) 767-2161 or 767-1461

★ Heathcote center is a small, intentional community in northern Maryland located on an old mill homestead on 35 acres of wooded land. In 1977 we placed the land in the School of Living Land Trust. As an educational and demonstration center of the School of Living, we focus on self-reliant living and appropriate technology in the conferences we coordinate and in our lives here. We strive towards an environmentally sound lifestyle.

We have focused on natural health and healing, exploring the potentials of living in community, and creating an egalitarian environment. Decisions are made by consensus. Some of us work at outside jobs. We harvest most of our produce from our organic gardens and heat our buildings with wood and solar. Heathcote is a comfortable atmosphere for meetings and retreats.

Conference Schedule

June 21	Stalking the Wild Edibles
July 11-13	A Massage Weekend
July 19	Stalking the Wild Edibles
Aug. 16	Stalking the Wild Edibles
Sept. 20	Stalking the Wild Edibles
Sept. 26-28	Healing Ourselves: Women and Health
Oct. 17-19	Woodlot Management: An Ecological Approach

For more information write:

Heathcote Service

21300 Heathcote Road
Freeland, Maryland 21053
(301) 329-6041

★ "Agricultural Self-Reliance for the Northeast": A Conference and Celebration presented by The Natural Organic Farmers Association (NOFA)
Offering an opportunity for all people

to exchange ideas about our changing needs, the 1980 conference will focus on the alternative technologies and agricultural skills necessary for the development of a permanent agriculture and a regional food self-reliance for the Northeast. Come and join in creating new options for a new future.

August 1, 2, 3, 1980, University of New Hampshire, Durham.

For further information, write:

NOFA Conference

Province Road
Stafford, NH 03844
Susan Bradbury (603) 659-2747

★ July 20-24, Toronto: The First Global Conference on the Future will convene some 4,000 scholars, decision-makers and other futurists from around the world for a week of deliberations on the theme "Through the 80's: Thinking Globally, Acting Locally."

Expected to be the largest meeting of futurists ever held, the conference is being organized by the 50,000-member World Future Society and the Canadian Futures Society. The meeting will include participants from hundreds of research institutes, government agencies, businesses, and universities from around the world.

For information, write:

World Future Society

4916 St. Elmo Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20014, U.S.A.
(301) 656-8274

★ Explore Communal Living — Twin Oaks Community is offering two Communal Living Weeks this summer on our land in rural Virginia. Participants will be able to explore most aspects of community; working within an established community, attending workshops relating to communal living, and establishing a 'fledgeling community' of their own. For those interested in communal living, this is a chance to "test the water before jumping in".

With the help of Twin Oaks members, 10 to 20 people will live in their own tents in the woods. They will spend approximately half the week interacting with Twin Oaks and the remaining time maintaining their own facilities at the CLW site, with is located at the far end of our property, about a half mile from community resi-

dences. A large tent will be provided in an open site as a central facility. There will be kitchen, toilet and solar shower facilities already set up.

The total cost will depend on how your group manages its money. Registration is \$35, with another \$25 deposited in the group's treasury for living expenses — from which there may be some refund. \$5 may be discounted from registration fees received three weeks or more in advance.

The first Communal Living Week will be June 27 to July 4; the second July 18 to 25. To register, or obtain further information, contact:

Communal Living Week

c/o Buddy
Twin Oaks Community
Rt. 4C
Louisa, VA 23093

★ Dandelion Communities Conference — August 1-4

Explore communal living as an approach to social change at our fourth annual communities conference Aug. 1-4. Co-sponsored by the Federation of Egalitarian Communities, the conference will offer participants a look at communal life, through workshops and presentations facilitated by people living and working communally. Groups open to new members will be represented.

Come learn and celebrate with us. \$30 per person (children \$20). Write for information or reserve a space by sending a \$10 deposit to:

Dandelion Community

RR 1
Enterprise, Ontario K0K 1Z0
(613) 358-2304

★ Walden II Week July 26 — August 1

Dandelion also invites you to try communal living first hand at our week long workshop in creating a community, July 26- August 1. For the week preceeding the conference a small group of ten to twenty people will live together, form their own government, communal treasury and social organization. \$25 registration fee, plus \$35 for the communal treasury. Write:

Dandelion Community

RR 1
Enterprise, Ontario K0K 1Z0
(613) 358-2304

COMMUNITIES (August 16 - 23)

Eight, week-long gatherings designed to promote significant learning about: Group Process (TORI), Wholistic Health, Intimacy, Intentional Community, Personal Lifestyle, Movement, Neighborhood Community, Lifelong Education. Community members will share and explore theme-related views, feelings, materials, and purposes. The context: The Rocky Mountains, a humanistic perspective, a central pool of specially invited resource persons. The result: Creation of Community by participants for themselves and for the Annual Meeting which follows.

The Eight Communities, with Resource Persons:

A TORI COMMUNITY: Trust, Openness, Realization, Interdepending - Group process to create a high trust/low fear environment. **Jack Gibb** and **Lorraine Gibb**.

CREATING WELLNESS: Living the Good Life - Wholistic model of personal health in a community setting. **Jacqueline Doyle**, psychologist; **Rick Ingrassci**, MD.; **Torkin Hibbard**, Peoples Clinic, Boulder.

EROS IN COMMUNITY: Exploring Intimacy with Family and Friends - New models and images of intimacy. **Natalie Rogers**, therapist; **June Singer**, analyst; **George Lakay**, sociologist.

INTENTIONAL COMMUNITIES: Evolution into the '80's - The practicalities, for those already involved or those interested in getting involved. **Earl Barnhart** and **Hilde Maingay**, New Alchemy Institute; **Terry Killam**, Findhorn/Windstar; **M'lissa Wenig** and **Chip Coffman**, Twin Oaks Community.

LIVING LIGHTLY ON THE PLANET: Personal Lifestyle Alternatives - Relating needs and rights of persons to needs and rights of the planet. **Walt Anderson**, environmentalist; **Amory Lovins**, environmentalist; **Hunter Sheldon**, conservationist; **Red Ute**, Medicine Man; **Sally Ranney**, American Wilderness Alliance.

MOVEMENT ARTS: A Path Community - Dance, martial arts and yoga as means of blending individual and group energies. **Staffmembers**, Aspen Academy at Snowmass.

COMING HOME: Returning to the Neighborhood - Transforming neighborhoods into viable working communities and political forces. **Greta Smith Kotler**, Community Organizing teacher; **Mark Rosenman**, community activist.

RE-VISIONING EDUCATION: Lifelong Learning - Awakening the inner learner/teacher in each of us. **Jean Feinberg**, psychologist; **Jonathan Kozol**, educator; **Anastas Harris**, education consultant.

"How shall we live together during a time of unprecedented change? What will be the shape of communities in the future? How can transformed communities transform our culture?"

—George Leonard
President, AHP

The 18th Annual Meeting of the Association for Humanistic Psychology will offer participants an opportunity not only to examine these questions but also to live them.

CREATING COMMUNITY

18th Annual Meeting
Association for Humanistic Psychology
8 week-long Communities, August 16-23, 1980
1980 Annual Meeting, August 23-27, 1980
27 one- and two-day Institutes, August 28-30, 1980
Snowmass Village, Colorado

FEATURED PRESENTERS:

John Denver	Dolores La Chapelle
Jack Gibb	George Leonard
Anna Halprin	Amory Lovins
Jean Houston	Stephanie Matthews-Simonton
Al Chung-liang Huang	Will Schutz
Jonathan Kozol	June Singer
Stanley Krippner	David Spangler

For a free detailed brochure, contact:
Association for Humanistic Psychology
325 Ninth Street
San Francisco, California 94103
(415) 626-2375

Groups Looking

★ Heliopolis (meaning "City of the Sun") is a newly formed intentional community built on the ideas of equality, right livelihood, strong verbal communication, economic sharing and group families (as opposed to nuclear

families). Group families profoundly fulfill the need for variety in intimacy and model the probable socio-political environment that would result from such a life. You'd really have to talk to us in order to understand the simple philosophical undertaking. Come explore the idea!

Artistically inclined individuals seeking sensitive, creative, idealistic people interested in living with their

good friends, invite yourself! We'd like to develop honest, open, equal friendships, design non-monogamous group families, and have multiple parenting with best friends for a lifetime of total sharing.

Would you like to find people you can trust? We're seeking more friends. Write or call:

Heliopolis, Ora Joy and Fen Land
Box 5531
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 285-3526

★ **Antahkarana Family** — The Antahkarana vision has long been one of establishing a family farm and healing center. It seems we have found the land where we can live together and manifest our visions: a 530 acre upland valley that is ready to spring to life with the healing touch of the love we share.

We hope to grow much of our own food this year. We wish to live simply, cutting down our energy consumption, and to develop our own energy systems on the land. There will be much construction in the next several years as we create housing for ourselves, plus community spaces such as a library, bathhouse, play area, school, cottage industries, etc.

We realise that the land and ourselves have limits of what we can maintain. But we can help other people get started in the area.

We are very happy to invite you to the 6th Spring Gathering of Healers, and are especially pleased that it will be held on the land we are purchasing. The Spring Gathering of Healing means many things to the thousands of people whose lives it has touched. It is a celebration of life — an affirmation of our oneness with the Creator and all of Creation. May Contact:

Antahkarana Circle
* Route, Box 82-D
Oroville, Washington 98844

Other Gatherings

June 27-29 — Northern Oregon
Healing Gathering, contact:
Breitenbush Community
Box 578
Detroit, OR 97342

July 1, long weekend — Holistic
Healing Gathering, contact:
Lucky Camp CK Community
P.O. Box 4094
Quesnel, B.C. 32V 3V2

Mid Summer — Star Butte Gathering
of Healing, near Spokane, WA,
contact:
Wholistic Life Circle
Rt. 3, Box 460-B
Couer D'alene, ID 83814

August 9-16 — Sufi Camp at
Breitenbush, OR, address above.

August 13-17 — Ashtanga Yoga
Retreat at Oyama, B.C., contact:
Dharma Sara Center
1/58 West 4th Ave.
Vancouver, B.C.

August 27-Sept. 3 — 2nd annual Come
Unity Gathering at Breitenbush, OR,
contact:
Come Unity
Alpha Farm
Deadwood, OR 91430

★ We are one of two core communities (the other is near Loveland, Colorado) providing points of orientation for 200 closely associated centers around the globe. We adhere to no particular rules or regulations, and find that in a humble and openhearted way, as we allow our concepts and habits to fall away, we are free to consciously align ourselves with the unfolding processes of life.

We number about 110 here on our large ranch. We operate 15 businesses in the village of 100 Mile House.

We publish a monthly newsletter, "Integrity", and hold numerous classes in the Art of Living.

As our accommodations are taxed with scheduled classes and visitors, visiting arrangements must be made in advance. It is often most convenient to visit a center near you to see if our experience meshes with yours.

Anyone interested may write to me personally, Dave Thatcher.

Integrity
P.O. Box 9
100 Mile House, BC
V0K 2E0

★ **Tupelo Ridge** is a four year old community of five people living in rural Kentucky near Mammoth Cave National Park. We're situated on 115 acres of beautiful ridge top land. We are presently looking to expand our

numbers. We all do some kind of outside work as we have yet to find an on-farm enterprise that can support us all. We are all free independent thinking people and have no leader or set of doctrines that we follow. We do however have many common goals which include open and honest communication among members, cooperative organic gardening and animal care, efficient use of resources with special interest in alternative technologies, a respect for the land we live on, non-sexist roles, and the forming of a community land trust. We're open to and desire new ideas and energy from people who are interested in similar goals. If you're interested in visiting or finding out more about us, write or call. Please enclose an SASE.

Tupelo Ridge
Huff, KY 42250
(502) 286-4458

★ **Sunflower Farm**, a cooperative community of 6 families with 5 acre private homesites plus commons, located in scenic southeast Ohio near Ohio University, has openings for several new members.

People with backgrounds in Aquaculture who can teach and do research in fish farming, especially with closed system attached greenhouses, are sought. An Appropriate Technology School where basic skills are taught is planned.

We ask interested people to please write us something about yourself. We'll be happy to send more information. Contact:

Sunflower Farm
c/o Bruce Sabel
Rt. 1, Box 90
Amesville, OH 45711

Groups Forming

★ **Land collective** — central New Hampshire, 20 miles from Concord. Several lots on 50 plus acres: balanced ecosystem, pure water, ideal for solar, gardening and heating industry. Based on harmony, synergy, creativity. Write:

Namaste'
Ctr. Barnstead, N.H. 03225

★ Forming egalitarian community dedicated to unstructured polyfidelity, non-elitist Tao-mindedness, noble humility, childlike playfulness, passive Tantric sexuality, experiencing life through the bodily senses, and the gradual return to simple, primitive self-sufficiency. The ideal for this is smallness of size and a family-consciousness inspired by the stone-age Tasaday group. Am open to relocation, especially California or tropics. Write:

Ray Frye c/o Dwight Lyman
558 Pulaski St.
Athens, GA 30601
(404) 543-3890

★ The Alternatives Resource Center — a free information sharing service for personal and social transformation.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that alternatives are needed to the outmoded roles, systems, and attitudes which are destroying our planet and species. Presently we see the emergence of these alternatives in forms such as renewable energy systems, spiritual growth and holistic health centers, food co-operatives, intentional communities, etc. The purpose of the Alternatives Resource Center is to make information on how to find individuals and organizations involved in such activities easily accessible to the people of the New York metropolitan area.

Presently, we, the Alternatives Resource Center organizing committee, are an informal association of volunteers. We intend to register with the state of New York as a non-profit organization. Our funding initially will be through donations (not necessarily monetary); eventually we will fund ourselves through enterprises such as publishing a Calendar of New Age Events and creating a sprouting collective.

For more information, please contact us.

John Wolins
339 Lafayette St.
N.Y., N.Y. 10003

People Looking

★ We have 45 acres of land in southwestern Virginia which needs people who are interested in experimenting

with self-sufficiency while trying to develop a community. There are 2 of us (single males) who share ownership of the land and have lived there and started to develop the place while working as teachers in nearby high schools. Recently we both moved away from the land to become involved with other people and ventures, so we only get up there occasionally.

We are both interested in the idea of land trusts and have talked about eventually putting "HighMeadows" into a land trust to preserve it for future generations. We would like to see the place become the focus for a living and growing community of people. If this sounds like a place you might like to share, write us about your ideas, dreams, suggestions, etc.

Steve Sippel and Dave Roberts
High Meadows
Route 1, Box 618
Clifton Forge, VA 24422

★ Wanting to join a community with common project (alternative technology, small agriculture, building, teaching, ecology). 6-10 adults in thirties plus kids, communal activities with separate living as a possibility, rural but with access to city, partially self sufficient (vegetable garden, small animals).

We are a couple, 34, 32, non-smokers, partially vegetarian, have radical and feminist backgrounds, held teaching jobs, and have some money. We can meet or visit starting July 1980.

Ellen and Hans Cussler-Drake
Frielingerstrasse 31
2800 Bremen, West Germany

★ I am a 42 year-old woman with strong convictions. I want to live in a community which exemplifies the values we need in the world: respect for the right livelihood of all people, cooperation, understanding, the discipline of a simple, energy-efficient lifestyle.

With my own hands (and a little help from friends with the rafters) I hope to build a rammed earth solar home.

I'm interested in a blend of wilderness and mountains with an active, out-reaching, socially and politically aware community of people. I would like to share organic gardening, backpacking trips, community service projects, cooking, eating, contradancing, and passive solar design fantasies. If you

know where I can find this kind of land and people, please write:

Marla Higgins
58 Cedar Street
Wellesley, MA 02181

★ We are a family-oriented couple with one child, age 2, interested in joining community seeking to balance individual freedom (eg. individual land ownership) with a strong sense of community responsibility and cooperation (eg. starting a neighborhood school). We are at present focusing our attention on rural New York. We would like to hear from other folks interested in settling into an area together, perhaps doing a group land purchase, or who live in an existing community or "neighborhood" of homesteaders, etc. We welcome any ideas, suggestions, or contacts.

Bryan, Veigh and Hanna Lee
Rt.1, Box 339
Redwood, NY 13679

★ We'd like to hear from community-minded people interested in forest work, forest products, woodworking, and wood utilization. Our idea is to form a network of people in touch with each other about organizing worker-owned businesses, intentional communities, or cooperatives in this field.

One of us is from a lumbering family in Colorado and would like to do something about its overcrowding, stagnating forests. A cooperative is proposed to market appropriate wood products, eg. pine furniture, aspen paneling.

One of us is interested in joining or forming an intentional community that would support itself with forest products. He would bring to the group a small logging and sawmilling operation, and seven years of woods experience.

Are there others with related ideas, interests or experience? Write either of us:

Will McPhee
Box 158
Allenspark, Colo 80510
Ron Garrison
Rt. 2
Dardanelle, Ark. 72834

★ I'm looking for a community where my talents will be of solid use.
I'm a 29-year-old single male. I've

had articles in T.V. Guide, The Mother Earth News, Organic Gardening, and others; I'm soon to be published in The Herb Quarterly and Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine. I consider writing my vocation.

I have several skills to offer a community. My "non-homesteading" skills include clerical, editing, and writing. Of more direct use in a rural setting would be my experience with organic gardening, herb culture and use, cookery, and sewing.

I'm not looking for a rural hole to crawl into, but I'm greatly in need of close, supportive contact and the input of creative and capable souls. I want to learn as many "self-sufficiency" skills as I can — and exchange more than a few hugs while I'm at it. If all this strikes a chord in anybody out there, please contact me.

Rand B. Lee

722 Eastgate Ave., #1W
St. Louis, Missouri 63130
(314) 727-9764

★ We are a family looking to join or form a self-sufficient cooperative "community." We (2 adults and 3 children) now live in a rural area in a solar and wood heated house that we designed and built with our own hands.

We have, however, reached a plateau in our growth. What is lacking is a sense of "community."

The "community" or "cluster" we seek must be non-racist and actively multi-racial as well, because our family is multi-racial.

Members would not be fanatical or simplistic, but rather be whole, open, seeking "Renaissance" people.

We have skills in plumbing, electrical, all aspects of construction, gardening, milking goats, repairing cars and trucks, etc.

We plan to take some time this summer to travel and visit potential locations. If you are such a "community" or "cluster" or know of one, please help us get together.

Biyon Olsen

Rural Route 1, Box 153-b
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Help Wanted

★ Chrysalis Theatre Eclectic is a 5-member collective, with a diversity of race, gender, and sexual preference, committed to using the arts as an educational tool. Our goal is to integrate social/political awareness and change with artistic integrity. We create and perform original works, both scripted and improvisational; and team-teach classes and workshops in traditional and alternative settings.

We are looking for an arts administrator who will work (as we do at present) mostly gratis with commissions for scheduling performances and workshops. You must have fundraising and grant-writing skills; be committed to radical social and political change, and to a process of sharing, confrontation and criticism/self-criticism. A personal commitment to an integrated political-artistic-spiritual vision is a must. You would be a full member of this feminist collective and work very hard with us as we make this work a full-time, financially supportive endeavor.

Chrysalis Theatre Eclectic

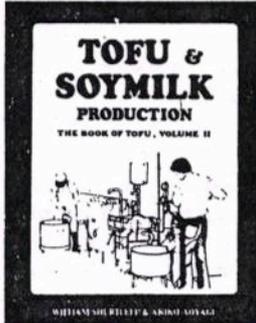
P.O. Box 754
Northampton, MA 01061
Emma Missouri (413) 584-4504

★ Outreach Director — University for Man, a free university, in Manhattan, Kansas, seeks a coordinator to develop and disseminate its free university model in rural areas. Responsibilities include supervising a four state program, staff development, conference presentations, grant writing, and being a liaison with groups and organizations nationwide. Applicants should have a willingness to travel, a flexible time schedule and a commitment to rural education.

Salary: \$15,000 — \$16,000
Contact:

Sue Maes, Director

University for Man
1221 Thurston
Manhattan, Kansas 66502
(913) 532-5866



**Start Your Own
Tofu Shop
OR
Soy Dairy**

HERE'S THE BOOK THAT SHOWS YOU HOW!

William Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi, authors of the best-selling *Book of Tofu* (with over a quarter million copies in print), present **TOFU & SOYMILK PRODUCTION: THE BOOK OF TOFU, VOLUME II**, a beautiful new craft and technical manual, with all the information you'll need to start and run your own tofu plant or soy dairy on any of seven scales and budgets from a community shop up to a modern factory. Based on over seven years of research with master craftsmen and modern producers in the U.S. and around the world, it is a guidebook to a new vocation and a new way of life, that has been used to start over 100 tofu shops in America in the past two years.

- *Contains: 336 pages in large 8½-by-11-inch format; 430 informative illustrations. Special chapters on making tofu burgers, dairylike soymilk ice cream and yogurt, creamy tofu dressings and cheesecakes.*
- **Free with Each Book:** Illustrated catalog of tofu & soymilk equipment, list of tofu shops in the West, and applications for Soycrafters Apprenticeship Program, Soycrafters Association of North America, and *Soycraft Magazine*.
- **ORDER NOW! Paperback \$17.95. Hardback \$22.95. Postage free. Available only from the publisher. Send prepaid orders to:**
NEW-AGE FOODS, P.O. BOX 234-C, LAFAYETTE, CA 94549



RESOURCES

Communes

★ **Communes Network** is a ten page mimeographed monthly newsletter of British communities. The Network is closely in contact with Cartwheel Community, High Bentham, Zenzile Association, Laurieston Hall, 47 Community, Leicester People, and Lifespan. Dozens of other groups are mentioned by name and address. Beside serving as a directory, the newsletter includes editorial opinions and practical information on country living. Subs are \$4.00, from:

Communes Network
Lifespan
Townheah, Dunford Bridge
Sheffield S30 6TG
England

Work

★ The Industrial Cooperative Association is a staffed nonprofit organization that develops worker owned and operated businesses. This association provides cooperative businesses with project consultants, will soon purchase a computer for financial monitoring and business planning, and hopes to create a short term revolving loan fund.

Projects include Workers' Owned Sewing Company, Colonial Cooperative Press, International Poultry, and Our Market. It focuses its attentions primarily, but not exclusively, on New England.

Annual associate membership costs \$25.00 for individuals, \$12.50 for low income people, and \$50.00 for institu-

tions. It includes the quarterly ICA Report and other ICA literature.

Industrial Cooperative Association
2161 Mass. Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02140
(617) 547-4245

★ **Self-Management** is a 48 page quarterly publication providing useful factual information on worker controlled collectives. The Winter 1979 issue devoted three articles to the question, "What do we mean by 'Self-Management?'" Reports were printed about worker control in China, Yugoslavia and Sweden. Conference reports, book reviews, and media notes are included. Subscriptions are \$10 for institutions and individuals earning over \$10,000 per year, \$5 for people earning less than that, and \$3 per year for students.

Association for Self-Management
1414 Spring Road NW
Washington, D.C. 20010

Political

★ **Raise the Stakes** is the 8 page quarterly newspaper of the Planet Drum Foundation. Its cause is soft borders, a vision of loyalty to the whole planet and to one's bioregion, rather than to one's political region. "Nations should not be confused with States," says Michael Zwerin, in his book **Devolutionary Notes**, in an excerpt printed in the premier issue of **Raise the Stakes**. This issue contains an interview with Doug Aberly, billed as a regional planner of the "Northwest Nation," which is the Stikine, Nass and Skeena watersheds

and the Queen Charlotte Islands in Northern British Columbia. It describes the exploitation of this region by the industry of Vancouver, and Seattle. Other articles describe regional movements in the Sonora basin and separatist movements in Cornwall.

Gary Snyder and Murray Bookchin are among the leaders of the Planet Drum Foundation.

This publication can raise your awareness of the scale, boundaries and nature of your community. Membership in Planet Drum, and subscription to **Raise the Stakes**, are \$10, from

Planet Drum Foundation
P.O. Box 31251
San Francisco, CA 94131

★ **People & Energy** gives news of citizen action on energy and appropriate technology. It's a useful periodical because it's thoroughly explanatory articles demystify the energy industry's smokescreen jargon. It prints magnificently comprehensible reviews of terrifyingly technical books. News articles cover governmental action. **People & Energy** is 24 pages, published bi-monthly. One year subscriptions are \$25 for institutions, \$12 for individuals and public interest groups, and \$8 for low income subscribers.

People & Energy
2408 18th St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20009

★ **Southern Agitator** is a fringe radical newsletter created in a basement in New Orleans. It flaunts its homemade origins by typing its articles on a dozen different typewriters. Much of **Southern Agitator** is cut and pasted from other publications. The contents of the

newsletter take a definite antitechnological stance, with material about subjects like the use of bicycles as a principle form of transportation and selecting a homestead site. Feminist and antimilitarist issues are covered.

Southern Agitator's political orientation lies between anarchacommunism and nihilism. It's 10 pages. Subs are \$5 or free, for one year, from:

Southern Agitator
2115 Esplanade
New Orleans, LA 70119

★ **Multinational Monitor** is a 24 page monthly magazine which covers the role of multinational corporations in the development and distribution of world resources, from a nonsectarian radical perspective. Regular features include "Global Sightings," a column of concise, current reports from around the world, "The Elements," a column by James Ridgeway (the incisive political analyst of the recently defunct newsletter *The Elements*), "Shifting Balances," a focus on relations between a host country and multinational corporations, and an interview. The writing is

of high quality, intellectual but not obscure, and readable but never banal. Subscriptions for one year are \$15 personal, \$20 for nonprofit institutions, and \$30 for businesses. From:

Multinational Monitor
Subscription Department
P.O. Box 19312
Washington, D.C. 20036

★ **The Little Free Press** is an offbeat periodical which offers one person's nonmaterialist, peace loving, anarchist perspective to the cooperative movement. Ernest Mann writes every one page issue, and distributes them for the cost of postage. His big theme is the Free System, a utopian fantasy in which people refuse to accept pay, work out of joy, and freely give the product of their labor to others, in faith that they will receive the same in return from friends and neighbors. His method for the global changeover to the Free System is to begin living it himself, and drawing others into the system by direct contact. You may find his ideas outrageously impractical, but *Little Free Press* is fun to read, and the price is unbeatable. Free, from:

Little Free Press
715 East 14th St.
Mpls., MN 55404

Men

★ **Options** is published by **Free Men**, an organization founded on the premise that men are assigned limiting roles by society, in which they are expected to perform regardless of their individual abilities or interests. Its objectives are to promote awareness of how these gender-based roles limit men legally, socially, psychologically, and emotionally, and to provide support and assistance to men who choose to break free from such limitations.

It's an 8 page mimeographed newsletter sent to members of **Free Men**. Membership is \$10 per year from:

Free Men
P.O. Box 920
Columbia, MD 21044

Country

★ **The Power Guide: A Catalogue of Small Scale Power Equipment**, compiled by Peter Fraenkel, in addition to being an overwhelming international directory of manufacturers and suppliers, is also a source of basic information on the pros and cons of choosing the various energy conversion systems. It includes a listing of organizations connected with the research and development of small scale power equipment and systems.

This directory should prove useful to people looking for ways of producing their own power, by providing information in a handy catalogue form, from which readers can make their own judgements on the alternative equipment that is available and on the best source of supply.

136 pages, \$12.50 in paperback, from:

International Scholarly Book Services
2130 Pacific Ave.
Forest Grove, OR 97116

★ **Natural Life** is a magazine to read cover-to-cover. It is a journal of country skills, with material on garden planning, raw foods recipes, solar house construction, music making, foraging, noncompetitive games, beekeeping, and book reviews. Unlike many country living magazines, this one is neatly laid out and professionally printed. The graphics and photos are nicely done. *Natural Life* circulates mostly in Canada and the northern U.S. Subs are \$8 for 6 issues, from:

Natural Life Magazine
P.O. Box 4564
Buffalo, NY 14240

★ **American Agricultural News** is a weekly paper which serves as "the communication link of rural America." It's 8 pages report pertinent federal rulings and present articles of the business end of farming. *American Agricultural News* is biased toward the small/family farm.

A strong and substantial interest of AAN is alcohol fuel. AAN offers a 96-page illustrated booklet on existing alcohol energy plants which produce 20-30 gal./hr. of 190 proof alcohol fuel. Included are blueprints from the



Explore Communal Life

Fourth Annual
Communities Conference

Aug. 1-4 \$30

at Dandelion Community
Enterprise, Ontario

model Schroder plant in Colorado, step-by-step instructions, an explanation of the principals involved, and references and resources. "Making It on the Farm; Alcohol Fuel is the Road to Independence", is the title. Single copies are available from AAN for \$3.50 postpaid.

Subscriptions to the weekly, are \$12/year/51 issues.

American Agricultural News

Nox 100
Iredell, TX 76649

★**The Complete Practical Book of Country Crafts**, by Jack Hill, a book review. 254 pages; published by David & Charles, London, U.K. and North Pomfret, VT.

Unlike Foxfire series, here is a book on country crafts that is more than nostalgia. It is a treasure trove of information covering crafts from clogmaking to wheelwrighting. Seventy photographs and nearly a hundred precise line drawings by the author greatly aid the reader's comprehensive of the text. Twenty-six very unique and varied skills and the tools that intrinsic to each are presented in a chapter by chapter format that makes this a reference book that should be on the shelf of every serious craftsman.

I should point out these are old world crafts, some of which may still be practiced in parts of New England as well, but a few, such as roof thatching, are unheard-of in the U.S. The reader who will be anxious to start making a wooden barrel or twisting cos own rope, will be glad the author included a list of American as well as English suppliers of tools and equipment. The sheer volume of information that the author drew (from over fifty works) is well displayed in the bibliography, and makes the reader fully appreciate what a labor of love this book is.

review by Jake Kawatski

★**The Graham Center Seed Directory** is a gardener's and farmer's guide to sources of traditional, old-timey vegetable, fruit and nut varieties. A 3000 word article gives a history of the erosion of genetic diversity, with an analysis of the political implications of seed uniformity. Multinational corporations accrue power by patenting their fertilizer and pesticide dependent

hybrids, while hardy, though less glamorous, crop varieties become extinct.

The pamphlet lists fifty small nurseries and seed exchanges, some of them nonprofit, which market heirloom seeds for vegetables, fruits, nuts, herbs, beans, corn, gourds and even wildflowers. There is a bibliography on conservation of genetic resources. This can be an important resource for protecting the future of your homestead, commune, or family farm. \$1.00 from:

Seed Directory

Frank Porter Graham Center
Route 3, Box 95
Wadesboro, NC 28170

★**New Roots** is a magazine about self reliance for the Northeast. It appears bimonthly. It is 48 pages in length. Sample articles include "Agriculture As If People Mattered; Will We Save the Family Farm?" "Homeowners Blow Windpower Into Utility Line," "Keeping Alternatives Alternative; the

Art of Working Together Without Falling Apart," "Visions of Economic Democracy; A Tale of Two Businesses."

Book and record reviews are printed, focusing on the themes of appropriate technology and collective enterprise. "Do It" is a column very much like this one, a collection of resources about conservation, energy, solar, travel, farm and garden, and community. There is a brief classified section and a calendar. Subs \$8 per year, \$6 per year for low income subscribers, \$12 per year for institutions, from:

New Roots

P.O. Box 548
Greenfield, MA 01301

Women

★**Earning a Breadwinner's Wage — Non-Traditional Jobs for Women on AFDC** is an excellent resource for

EQUALITARIAN GESTALT COMMUNE SEEKS ADDITIONAL MEMBERS. URBAN-BASED, SPECIALIZING IN GESTALT PSYCHOLOGY AND "POLYFIDELITY" (EMOTIONALLY COMMITTED NON-MONOGAMOUS FAMILY GROUPS WITHIN A DEMOCRATIC INTENTIONAL COMMUNITY). INTO INCOME SHARING, COLLECTIVE BUSINESSES, AND MULTIPLE PARENTING. FREE HANDBOOK. KERISTA VILLAGE, 543 FREDERICK STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94117. (415) 566-6502 OR (415) 665-2988.



women who are thinking of working in and occupation usually held by men. It covers many areas, including demystification — explaining the earnings gap between women and men; specific information — job conditions, training requirements and futures of many non-traditional jobs; and advice, such as counter-arguments to employers objecting to hiring women. It is comprehensive, easy to read, and sensitive to the informational needs of single women with dependents.

Included is a section on counseling women for non-traditional jobs and an annotated bibliography. Although written for Boston area women, there is very little that is not applicable elsewhere.

Published by:

Women's Enterprises of Boston
739 Boylston St.
Boston, MA 02116
(617) 266-2243

(c/o Journal of Alternative Human Services, Spring '79)

★ Womenspace is a women's counseling and information center run by women. We offer walk-in or telephone counseling by appointment during the day and three nights a week. We also provide medical, legal, and psychological referrals and community information. Womenspace coordinates groups of women who want to share and learn with each other. In the past, we have had support groups for single mothers, women in transition, bisexual women, lesbians, and self-help clinics. Every Friday night we sponsor a coffeehouse, providing a safe place for women to go alone. The program varies from workshops to music. We also provide space for other local women's groups. Currently, the Austin Feminist Radio Collective, the women's Cultural Arts Organization, and Women and Their Work are housed with us.

Womenspace
2330 Guadalupe
Austin, Texas 78705
(512) 472-3053

★ The DC Rape Crisis Center offers a variety of services to women of the Washington area: victim advocacy services, crisis counseling, referrals, speakers bureau, publications, consulting and volunteer training. The

center maintains a 24 hour hotline. The phone number is (202) 333-RAPE.

The Center publishes a 16 page bi-monthly newspaper, **Caring For Our Own**. Adjacent columns give Spanish and English language coverage of atrocities and innovative programs designed to prevent them. No subscriptions rate was noted, but donations would surely be appreciated.

One of the publications offered by the Rape Crisis Center is "How to Start a Rape Crisis Center." Revised and expanded, it includes articles on structuring a rape crisis center, medical and hospital information, counseling, media, third world women organizing against rape, fundraising, self defense, and more. Copies are \$4.75 including postage. To obtain a copy of this book, or to subscribe to **Caring For Our Own**, or to find out more about the Center, write to:

DC Rape Crisis Center
P.O. Box 21005
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 333-RAPE

Miscellaneous

★ The Open Network is a tool for explorers and a life-support system for builders, thinkers, and dreamers. It was established in 1975 and in three years has grown to nearly 500 intellectually curious and enterprising users exploring new ideas, new technologies, and new ventures. Among these are scientists, writers, mathematicians, craftsmen, writers, entrepreneurs, politicians, investors, bankers, theologians, educators, engineers, architects, consultants, city planners, philosophers, and inventors.

Everyone has his/her own personal networks — business, family, social, etc. Personal networks, however, have their limitations. Suppose you are an attorney with an interest in Russian icons or in designing a City of the Future. Where do you go? The odds are against your finding someone in your personal networks with such interests. The best way to extend your personal networks is to use an open network to put you in touch with others conducting similar explorations, thereby enabling you to collaborate to mutual advantage if you so wish.

In effect, the Open Network comple-

Body CONNECTIONS

EAST AND WEST

AUGUST 30 - SEPTEMBER 1

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This weekend is also about community; experimenting with ourselves as a group, working, playing, discovering the glue that sticks people together.

Cost: \$110 — Three days including meals and campsites with tents (bring sleeping bags). Special price for local participants — \$85 (includes two meals).

To Register: Please fill out this application and return with a \$35 deposit by July 10th, to the Institute for Personal Growth, 188 Canner Street, New Haven, CT 06511. We cannot reserve a space for you until we have received your deposit. For more information call, in Connecticut, (203) 787-5226 or in Vermont (802) 456-7492. Make checks payable to the Institute for Personal Growth. Upon registration you will receive further information including directions and carpooling information.

Name _____
Address _____
_____ zip _____
Phone _____
_____ will be attending the Labor Day
Weekend at _____ \$110 per person, or _____
\$85 per person (local participants). Here is my
deposit of \$ _____.



ments your personal networks. However, unlike traditional organizations, it has no social, political, religious, or educational entry requirements nor does it endorse any ideology.

An open network depends upon a deliberate policy of non-exclusion; there is no censorship. All entries by users are welcome. Because of this, the Network Memory contains an enormously rich and diverse array of resources and possibilities. However, it is as private for each user as that user wishes it to be.

Soon after you open an account with Network Research, Network staff will contact you to orient you to use of Network facilities and identify your explorations, talents, and abilities. This information is coded and entered into the Network Memory maintained in the Network computer system.

Network Research

P.O. Box 18666
Denver, CO 80218

★ Experimental Cities, Inc., (est. '72) is a non-profit organization whose purpose is to research the problems of urban deterioration and find innovative approaches to the solution of such problems as poverty, crime, unemployment, racism, etc. Our "innovative" approach is the Earthlab. And Earthlab is an experimental setting in which new options in social and environmental organization are tested by a voluntary population of learner researchers.

Experimental City I, the first Earthlab, has a permanent staff of two coordinator/directors, and a projected population of 30-50 thousand. As yet we are not able to invite members.

We are preparing a detailed proposal based on a California desert site. Much work has been done: soil analysis, potential crops, proposed housing, availability and purity of water.

Our philosophy is Ecological Humanism: each individual is accorded equal opportunity and encouragement to achieve her or his fullest potential in harmony with each other and the environment. This means diversity of lifestyles and such ecological goals as self-sufficiency, appropriate technology (but definitely technology), conservation, and alternative energy. We are currently studying the "balance of power" in relationships because of its importance in achieving equality.

Earthlab, Experimental City I, will be self-built, self-funded and self-managed. If 50,000 people invest \$5,000 (hypothetical) that provides a building fund of \$250,000,000.00

More information is available (please send \$1.00 if you can to cover costs) by writing:

Experimental Cities, Inc.

P.O. Box 731
Pacific Palisades, CA 90272

★ A free publication listing over 80 resources from 25 states is now available from the National Network of Youth Advisory Boards. The resources, of use to governmental officials and youth program directors, cover such topics as employment, juvenile justice, education, drug and alcohol abuse, and child abuse. For a free copy, send a stamped, self addressed envelope to:

The National Network

P.O. Box 402036
Ocean View Branch
Miami Beach, FL 33140

★ Future Times is the monthly supplement to *The Futurist: A Journal of Forecasts, Trends and Ideas About the Future*. The philosophy of this newspaper is illustrated by these words of Glenn Seaborg, the discoverer of plutonium:

"We will face a number of critical materials shortages and some failures in our technological systems that will force us into fairly radical changes in the way we our conducting our lives and managing our society. The emphasis will shift from stoicism to ingenuity as we come up with new ideas and technologies to overcome our problems."

Sample articles include "Future Sources of Energy," "Dream Vehicles of Yesterday and Today," "Players Explore Lifestyles in New Simulation Game," and "Buckminster Fuller Speaks."

Membership dues in the World Future Society, including subscription to *The Futurist* and *Future Times*, are \$18 per year, from:

World Future Society

4916 St. Elmo Ave.
Washington, DC 20014

★ *Alternative Futures; The Journal of Utopian Studies* is an intellectual ap-

proach to community. It includes material on utopian literature and thought, communitarianism and social experiment, utopian and dystopian science fiction, and some non-technical futures inquiry. Sample essays include "The Commune As Symbol," "A Radical Nominalist Looks at Community," and "the Utopian Impulse in Early Afro American Fiction." This magazine is the voice of the commune watchers of academia.

Alternative Futures is published and printed quite professionally in a 128 page paperback format. It appears quarterly. Subscriptions cost \$8.50 for individuals, or \$14.00 for institutions, from:

Alternative Futures

Human Dimensions Center
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Troy, NY 12181

★ *Cascade; Journal of the Northwest* is a 12 page quarterly newsprint publication about the alternative from Oregon to Southeastern Alaska. Articles cover communities, shelter and land use, education, economics, energy, health, spirit, food . . . every aspect of life for Northwestern longhairs and their friends. The scope and brevity of the journal limits the length of articles. If you want a collection of interesting quickies and blurbs on just about any subject, try an issue of *Cascade*. Subs are \$12 for 12 issues.

Cascade

Lane Building
Box 1492
Eugene, OR 97740

★ *Spectrum* is the monthly newsletter of the Unity-In-Diversity Council, a worldwide coordinating body of individuals and groups fostering the emergence of a new universal person and civilization based on unity-in-diversity among all people. Articles cover such topics as the 15th Annual World Synergy Festival, a New Age Social Action Agenda for the Eighties, and a review of Leland Stewart's *Central Scriptures* of all religions. Subs are \$3.00 from:

Unity-In-Diversity Council

7433 Madora Ave.
Canoga Park, CA 91306
(213) 998-7812



GRAPEVINE

"HIRED LABOR ON KIBBUTZ"

From FOCUS'SON

The principles of equality and self-labor are basic to the morality of the kibbutz system. From the very earliest days of the kibbutz, as we recently described, members believed in supporting themselves through productive labor and in granting dignity to every member of the community no matter what his job might be. In Marxist terms, kibbutz tried to avoid the "surplus value" that gave capitalists their profits — the difference between the wages paid a worker and the amount the capitalist received for the productivity of that worker. As kibbutz developed, distinctions were made between income-producing labor and non-income producing labor, that is between work that supported the community financially and work that provided services to the community. After its earliest stages of development, the kibbutz recognized that hiring a violin teacher or a dentist or anyone else who could provide a service that the community couldn't provide for itself was an almost inevitable and necessary violation of the principle of complete self-support and self-sufficiency in a modern society. The hiring of someone in an income-producing field was seen as exploitation of the worker (because a profit was being made on his labor), although sometimes in emergency situations, outsiders were hired because of breakdowns of kibbutz machinery that might mean the loss of a harvest or because of a lack of a basic piece of equipment that the kibbutz could not yet afford to buy.

But over the years, kibbutzim began, for various reasons, hiring laborers in income-producing fields even though this was in conflict with the basic ideology of the kibbutz and even though all the kibbutz movements strongly opposed such practices. This discrepancy between ideology and practice can be understood at least partially when one looks at the history of the development of the kibbutz in the early days of Israeli statehood after the War of Liberation in 1948.

Between 1948 and 1954, the population of Israel trebled from 60,000 Jews to a little under two million. Vast numbers of refugees from Arab countries and survivors from the European death camps poured into the country. There were no houses for them (they lived in tent cities and tin-can or cardboard shanties), no places of work, nor even an agricultural economy capable of feeding them. Not only that, but for the first year of its existence, the new State was fighting off six Arab armies intent on its destruction. Huge amounts of money were contributed by World Jury to help solve these problems. But if the newcomers, the majority of whom came with neither material nor spiritual possessions, were to become part of the State of Israel, indeed, if the State were to survive, they had to become productive as soon as possible.

The obvious solution would have been for the new immigrants to join the kibbutzim, which were desperately short of working hands. But nothing in the background or experience of the Jewish refugee from the Arab countries would conceivably incline him to join a kibbutz; his family structure with its traditionally dominant father and large number of children tied very strongly to the family couldn't accept the kibbutz

ideal of communal education.

The kibbutzim, on the other hand, were suffering a severe crisis of poverty and self-sacrifice in order to build their communities under very trying conditions; most of them could not accept families with large numbers of children because they could neither house nor clothe nor feed additional large numbers of non-workers on the limited resources they had available.

These demographic realities were at the root of the crisis through which the kibbutz movement passed in those years. The dilemma was made more cruel by the fact that throughout its existence, the kibbutz had always prided itself on its ability to undertake whatever the nation, the Jewish people, the State required of it, whether the defense of the country, the creation of outlying settlements, the absorption of illegal immigrants during World War II and after.

Ben-Gurion at this time came to the kibbutzim and asked them to hire the new immigrants as workers and to build factories to make work for them. The choice then for the kibbutzim was between preserving the purity of the kibbutz idea of equality and self-labor, or of placing its productive capacities into the fight to produce food, and perhaps more important, places of work for the new immigrants. The kibbutzim were divided on the issue: some resolutely refused to employ outside workers, while others became major sources of employment for a local immigrant town (the government policy was to disperse the population and to create new towns throughout the country.)

Kibbutz factories that were formed in those days are the factories that today still employ large numbers of out-

side laborers. Many of these kibbutzim have become dependant for their continued existence on these factories that they started for national reasons. Other kibbutzim found that in both agriculture and industry they had to decide, for instance, what to do when one of their products became extremely successful and in demand: to increase production to meet the need by hiring laborers or to turn away the business and, in doing so, perhaps to render the whole operation unprofitable.

In the last ten years, the kibbutz movements have succeeded in regulating the establishment of new factories so that kibbutzim would not over-reach themselves and organize factories that the members could not work for themselves. Kibbutzim have looked for highly technological factories that would both minimize the boredom of the simple production line and that

would require a minimum number of workers. For this reason, kibbutzim have followed the advice given to Dustin Hoffman in the *The Graduate* and have gone heavily into the plastics industry: the optimal work force in a good plastics factory is between 40 and 80 workers. Only few of the kibbutz factories established in the decade employ hired laborers and in those that do the vast majority of the work is done by kibbutzniks.

The Kibbutz movements now cooperate in a united industrial board that, of course, helps in purchasing and marketing, but perhaps more importantly maintains a thorough research institute that even invents new products that would be suitable for kibbutz industries to produce.

Our kibbutz movement has even assigned members the full-time job of working closely with individual kib-

butzim that employ outside laborers to work out development and manpower plans that would at first minimize the number of such outside workers and eventually find ways of eliminating them and restoring the kibbutz to the ideal of self-support in productive branches.

It is ironical that we, the most purely socialistic communities in the world, have to some extent become the object of worker hatred because we have employed some hired laborers. It is one of our prime challenges and tasks today to find ways for all of our kibbutzim to return the complete self-support in productive fields.

Seminar Center of the Kibbutz
Hameuchad School in English
for the Study of Kibbutz

POB 16040 Tel-Aviv Israel
Bulletin no. 34

GORDON PARK FOOD COOP

During the past year, we have been involved in an effort to clarify for the IRS the intent of our volunteer credit program. Although we have been assessed back taxes and Social Security payments totaling approximately \$3,500, we believe that we have devised a new volunteer credit program that establishes that our volunteers are not employees in the traditional sense and that their modest credit is not a form of wage. Our feeling throughout this entire affair — a feeling that has been confirmed by conversations with other co-ops across the country — is that our case has important implications needed to revitalize declining urban and rural communities. And so we are seeking the support of people here in Milwaukee and in other parts of the country who envisage a deeply progressive role for co-ops in the coming decades.

Gordon Park was formed in 1974 when our neighborhood supermarket announced that it was closing because the changing neighborhood could no longer generate sufficient profits. Since

then, we have slowly added to the modest inventory we took over from the supermarket (e.g., three years ago we added a fresh meat and fish department) and at present we have annual sales in excess of \$400,000 and a membership of more than 900 people, many of whom are senior citizens who are unable to drive to outlying supermarkets. Our policy has been to use any funds left over after we have paid our bills to improve the store or to lower prices. But — and this is why the IRS action was so significant — none of this would have been possible without the willingness of committed members to work at the store for a modest special discount on their groceries. Thus, by applying their narrow definition of "wage earner" to these people, the IRS challenged the very heart of our operation. We fully expect, therefore, that our efforts to clarify how our volunteers differ from traditional employees will contribute in a concrete way to the solution of a problem that could threaten similar co-ops across the land.

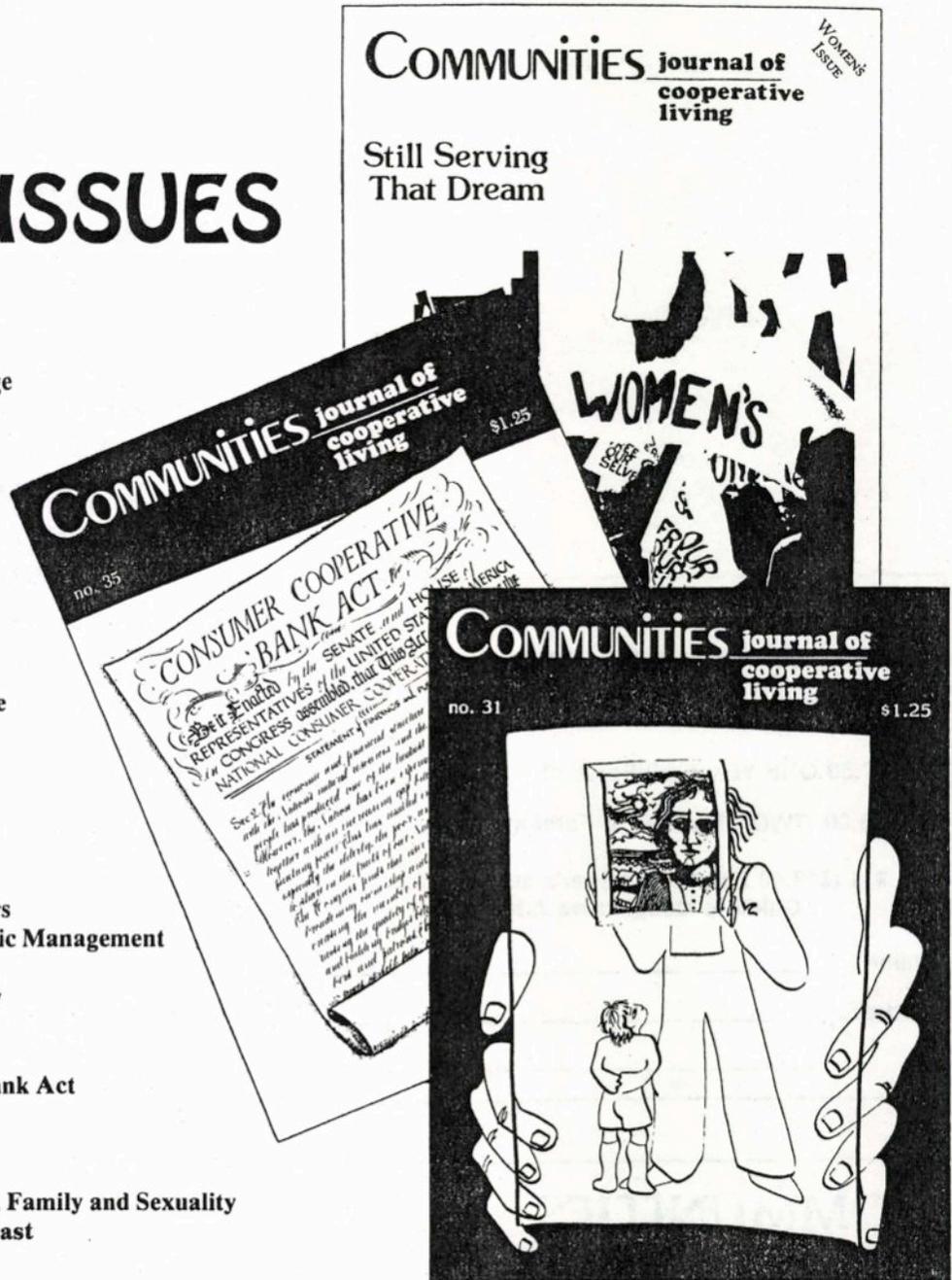
The IRS judgement came at the worst possible time for Gordon Park. As we helped stabilize our neighborhood and as our building became more attractive to traditional real estate interests, we got a new landlord who doubled our rent. At the same time, increased support from our neighborhood

necessitated an expansion of the store. (Plus, our old cash registers were ready to give out at any time and new ones were terribly expensive.) Prior to the IRS assessment, we had expected that our increased sales would allow us to meet these new expenses. This projection is now in jeopardy. And so we are appealing to our friends in Milwaukee and to like-minded people elsewhere for donations to our IRS Fund. All money collected for this purpose will be placed in a special savings account and reserved to meet the payment schedule still to be worked out with the IRS. (As all of us know, it is absolutely essential to meet IRS schedules!)

Gordon Park Food Co-op
821 East Locust St.
Milwaukee, WI 53212
265-4040

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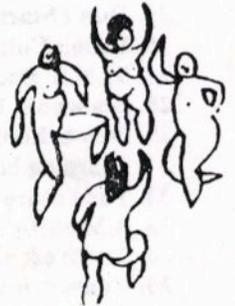
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