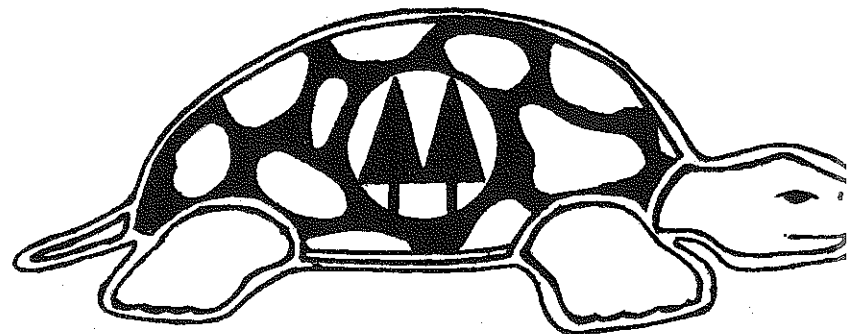


The **JOURNAL** of the

ISSUE 2, NOVEMBER 1971

NEW HARBINGER

THE
TORONTO CONFERENCE
OCT. 20 · 23
ON
COMMUNITY & CONSCIENCE



AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFERENCE: A REMINDER TO CO-OPS

For much of the history of cooperatives the idea of a group of people working closely together has been associated with something radical and even dangerous. That a co-op managed to help its members has not prevented, however, the criticism that cooperatives, once established, sit back on their heels and forget others who may be in need. The revolutionary potential of the organized cooperative has tended to be stifled by membership concentration on personal economic saving.

The chain reaction of the growth of cooperation -- one group, once successful, helping another group to get its project underway --- has, in effect, not happened. Why? Cooperatives, once founded, have tended to look inward, concentrating on themselves, and have rarely looked beyond cost/profit margins to take part in the community at large.

In the past few years there has been a shift in emphasis toward the idea that a cooperative is not in existence for itself alone, but to spread cooperation and help the surrounding community as well. Recognizing this continuing need for a 'redirection', NASCO's Toronto conference concentrated not on co-ops per se, but on *community control through cooperation*.

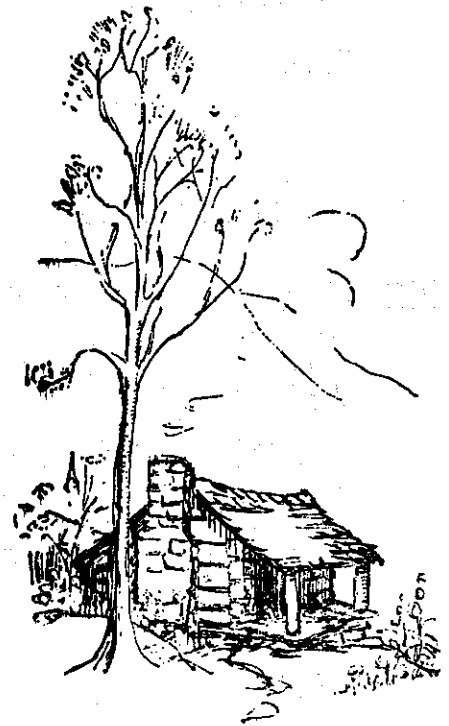
The convincing aspect of cooperation for us today is that it *can* enable us to take direct action, in a communitarian and ecological manner, toward controlling our own lives. The basic objective of our activism is getting back that control -- and making operational improvements once we've got it. Realistically, it is an undertaking that anybody getting into, ends up working full-time for. And, logically, efforts by those already 'working full-time' must continually be made to reach out and expand involvement.

The Toronto Conference was one of the ways NASCO relates to its responsibility to 'reach out'; and hopefully, it can assist others living in, or working for, co-ops in coming to a clearer understanding of their own role. In the process of this examination, an understanding may emerge that to control one's environment -- cooperatively -- is a revolutionary idea. And, if so, we are one step closer to a society where there is a true equalization in the sharing of resources and benefits among all people.

A.E. Dreyfuss
D. Friedrichs

The Journal of the New Harbinger is a monthly publication of the North American Student Cooperative Organization located in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Its purpose is to aid people's search for solutions to organizing problems by presenting a cross section of informative articles on preannounced topics.

An annual subscription is \$8, and entitles you to the Journal, the monthly NASCO News Bulletin, and a copy of the annual Community Market Catalog. Write NASCO, 2546 S.A.B., Ann Arbor, Mi. 48104.



Urban Environments

WORKSHOP SUMMARY

THE CITY: WHO SHOULD OWN IT?

Participants debated merits of cooperative enterprises versus community development corporations as legal devices to advance local control. (Article)

Resource Persons:

Jim Morey Fellow of Cambridge Institute 1878 Massachusetts Ave. Cambridge, Mass. 02140	Consultant on community planning and organizing; extensive work in black areas; interested in 'new city' concept based on series of cooperatives;
Roger Willcox Techni-coop, Inc. 10 River Road Stamford, CT 06901	Urban planner; FCH - financing low-cost co-op housing; TCI - special kinds; member, American Institute of Planners; member, National Housing Conference;
Milton Kotler Institute for Policy Studies 1520 New Hampshire Ave., NW Washington, D.C. 20036	author of Neighborhood Government ; interested in local political control;

References and Workshop Materials Available: **Neighborhood Government**, Milton Kotler, Thomas Allan & Son Ltd; workshop notes;

COMBINED WORKSHOPS: 1. URBAN COMMUNITIES --- A WAY OF SURVIVAL

2. COMMUNIQUÉ FROM COMMUNITY CENTERS

In this workshop, attention was given to the community switchboard as an urban survival aid. Such switchboards have sprung up as part of the alternative culture, offering a sense of family and community within the confines of the socially deprived and alienating urban atmosphere. It was noted too, that the switchboard allows you to control your own information sources.

Resource Group:

The Hall Huron Street Toronto, Ontario	social service agency for youth, controlled and operated by youth;
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References and Workshop Materials Available: none

THE HISTORY OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN CANADA:

The study, and teaching, of women's studies is becoming more prevalent as groups persist in their demands for such courses at local and university levels. The Inter-disciplinary Department at the University of Toronto, and courses on the historical role of women -- and other topics -- at York University were reported on. Dissatisfaction with the 'Inter-disciplinary' approach was voiced; and, it was noted that a Women's Studies Department is being worked on at U. of Toronto.

National (Canadian) projects that women are involved in include: abortion reform, day care centers, Women's Liberation Day; and Karate. The work being done on each of these was discussed in the workshop. Several U.S. groups were represented, and reported on activities in their areas. Many ideas for projects aimed at organizing women were listed, including: women touring factories where husband's work; women writing articles on the nature of housing, etc.; collectively relating words to actions; consciousness raising groups; women's caucuses; creating self-reliance in women; legislative inequality; and co-op day care centers.

Resource Person:

Ruth McEwan Praxis 96 Gerrard St. East Toronto 2, Ontario	Recently completed a book on the women's movement in North America; Teaching a course on the Women's Movement at the University of Toronto.
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Reference and Workshop Materials Available: workshop report

CITY STRUCTURES

Archibald Rogers argued for a greater role for the architect in city planning: a planning and financial as well as a designer's role. Milton Kotler discussed urban structural problems, and reiterated his belief in the need for decentralizing the governmental structure. John Jordan reported on Canadian urbanization, and made mention of how citizens' groups have involved themselves in many aspects of that process.

Resource Persons:

Archibald Rogers A. I. A. Washington, D.C.	Involved in urban planning and architectural design; President-Elect of the American Institute of Architects;
John Jordan Robert Owen Cooperative 59 Prince Arthur Toronto, Ontario	Presently directing the operations of Robert Owen Co-op Assoc'ts which develops housing for low-income families; he was a developer with the Campus Co-op Residences, Inc., has done a report on low income housing, and is presently associated with the Environmental Studies Institute at York University.
Milton Kotler (see above)	

References and Workshop Materials Available:

Kinetic Architecture, Zirk, William & Clark, Roger H., Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd.
Inflato-Cookbook, Ant Farm, Sausalito, California workshop notes;

CITIZENS POLITICAL GROUPS

To combat traditional structures of government and 'fighting city hall' people have, and are banding together to demand to be heard and their complaints remedied. The effectiveness of such groups, and some suggested tactics were discussed. The workshop also examined citizens' and rate payer's groups.

Resource Person:

Collin Vaughan President of the Ratepayers' Assoc. Toronto, Ontario	Architect; organizer of 'Stop Spadina', an organization instrumental in stopping the building of expressway;
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References and Workshop Materials Available: none

GOVERNMENT RECOGNITION --- THE FIRST STEP OR THE END?

Along with public foundations, governments are the most accessible sources of project financing. Government funding (including the Youth Opportunities Program of Canada), the control that initiators and directors of the project have, and the requirements of supervision of such project money were discussed in this workshop.

Resource Persons:

Peter Turner Suite 1726 341 Bloor St. West Toronto, Ontario	Former president of Rochdale College; active in youth organizations in U.S. and Canada;
Bob Barrett Strategic Planning Secretary of State Department Canadian Government Ottawa, Ontario	Canadian Federal Government; youth planning council;
Brian Gilholie Department of Sect. of State Ottawa, Ontario	youth advisor;

References and Workshop Materials Available: none

NEW RECIPES — CONCRETE SPACE AND PEOPLE

Panelists suggested remedies to various urban problems. Support was given to the abolition of private land ownership, and the elimination of small scale development. Discussion also centered on the idea of community planning councils, decentralization, and Finnish architectural models.

Resource Persons:

Archibald Rogers (see above)

John Ringel
Box 398
RD 1
Milford, NJ

Student housing/living; architectural innovation through use of inflatables, eg. 'Bubble Dorm';

Jim Morey (see above)

Byron Johnson
Urban Planning Department
University of Colorado
Denver, Colorado 80222

urban planner; interested in 'new City' as a cooperative entity; formerly with Foundation for Cooperative Housing; community organizer; lecturer at York University; (article)

Reference and Workshop Materials Available

none

THE DEVELOPER

Discussing 'the largest co-op in the world', Co-op City in New York, the issue of project development, and its relation to the sense of community which the 'developing process' is likely to either facilitate or hinder, was raised. Other panelists directed their comments to the Canadian scene, and suggested that the decision making process in city planning is structured to facilitate its own operation, and not necessarily to optimize the outcome of 'developing'. (Article)

Resource Persons:

George Schechter
United Housing Foundation
465 Grand Street.
N.Y.C. 10002

lawyer; UHF - largest developer of cooperative housing in the New York City area -- including Co-op City.

Howard Adelman
Department of Philosophy
York University
Toronto, Ontario

Professor of Philosophy, York University; considered to be a leading student housing expert in North America; involved in the cooperative movement for over 10 years; as well as other publication, he edited **The University Game and Beds of Academe.**

David Crombie
Toronto City Council
Toronto, Ontario

Former head of Students Services at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute; City Alderman;

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

workshop notes

HOW TO DESIGN STUDENT HOUSING

The diversity of experience represented by the participants in this workshop, led to a series of reports and opinions on a wide variety of housing projects. Disapproval of student co-op residences, as economically unfeasible, was voiced. Others affirmed the need for more flexible housing, and sighted the bubble dome at Princeton as an example. Several other projects were discussed, including senior citizen housing in Detroit.

Resource Persons

Henno Sillaste
Tampold, Wells - architects
39 Prince Arthur Ave.
Toronto, Ontario

architect; designer of number of student cooperative residences;

John Ringel (see above)

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

none

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING TACTICS

this workshop discussed tactics brought up the day before during Saul Alinsky's address, and dealt with opposing approaches to community organizing as represented in the panel discussion following Alinsky's address (see Power in the Community, and Post Script in last section).

Resource Persons:

Milton Kotler (see above)

Don Keating
Social Planning Council
55 York St.
Toronto, Ontario

Community organizer; lecturer at York University;

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

WHY GROW OLD? ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT IN THE MOVEMENT

This workshop did not spend much time discussing the specific topic of its title. Instead, a more general discussion among all participants on the various aspects of the system, and how it controls the individual's life, was put forth. Identifying the fulcrums of the system, made clearer the path one might take in re-establishing community control.

Jimmy Collier directed this workshop, and also gave two folkloric performances during the conference (one at Jorgenson Hall on Thursday, and the second following the conferences' closing dinner on Saturday).

Resource Person:

Jimmy Collier
Chelsea, New York

Folklorist and Civil Rights organizer; associate of Martin Luther King at Resurrection City; presently writing a book on how to teach music to children; working with an ecology group attempting to clean up the Hudson River;

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

REPORTS**THE CITY: WHO SHOULD OWN IT?**

Given the premise that local residents should have the power to control their neighborhoods, there is no end to the debate on how this might be accomplished. Roger Willcox, Jim Morey, and Milton Kotler each presented his own work, during this Thursday morning workshop, as the correct approach.

Willcox, former president of FCH Services and now president of Technicoop Inc, explained how his organizations had developed cooperative housing for many thousands of families. A geographically compact cooperative for 200 to 400 families was the most viable unit, he had found. It was small enough so that face to face recognition and communication was possible, but large enough to take advantage of construction economies and group political power. He told a story of one co-op where housewives had organized a protest and successfully blocked construction of a trucking terminal in their neighborhood.

Kotler agreed that units of Willcox's description were useful, but argued that they were far too small to exercise any real power. They could not, for instance, provide jobs in community-owned businesses or effectively control the local educational system. He suggested that larger neighborhoods, geographically defined and acting through state-sanctioned neighborhood governments, are the correct units to work toward. Current lack of confidence in local government he ascribed to the 19th century takeover of peripher-

al towns by central cities. This took away the political power of small communities and subjected residents to a type of imperialism under "downtown" mayors, councils, courts, and bureaucrats.

When asked if neighborhoods, particularly in low-income areas could be financially self-sufficient, Kotler cited his research in Southwest Washington, DC. In that study he found poor residents paid about \$45 million in taxes but received only \$35 million in services from governmental units. That extra \$10 million would have a tremendously stimulating effect on the local economy if it were retained and controlled locally.

Kotler made an eloquent plea for the ancient Greek city-state as the highest form of civilized government. He called for a disbanding of national, state, and large city governments; the return of full political control to towns; and a federative system of local governments to provide airports, roadways, and regional facilities.

john achatz

"Governments want responsible developers," said Howard Adelman, Toronto's former student co-op developer, "because they find it easier to deal with fewer people." From here, he and George Schechter, counsel for New York's United Housing Foundation, presented insights into the work of those few people who plan and build housing for many. It was a lively workshop.

"We are a developer with a conscience," Schechter said. UHF houses people with \$8000 per year average income. It sets rigid priorities for its architects: "we don't support attractive exterior architecture; money goes inside — in apartments."

"How does UHF build community?" Schechter was asked. For Co-op City, with 55,000 families, UHF built three community centers. Putting shopping, religious, and schools in proximity brings people out and creates a feeling of movement and life. UHF also held 600 pre-occupancy meetings to help people come to understand the co-op. We wouldn't do anything this big again, Schechter said. It's too big — people just can't relate to everybody.

Adelman pointed out the need for greater efforts in low-income housing. Schechter replied that it is not feasible to build housing for middle-income people without government assistance. Tax abatement and financial subsidies are essential. UHF seeks cost reduction per unit by building large developments.

United Housing Foundation does not feel capable of attacking economic segregation. 300 families withdrew applications when word went out that welfare families were moving in.

The greatest unanswered question in the workshop was how to make the process of development responsive to the needs of people who will be living in the housing. Neither Adelman nor Schechter had any simple answers. Schechter recognized the problem saying "Now there is some realization that people should be involved somehow." Adelman seconded that adding, "There is a need to build housing that serves people, not the technologists."

steve silver

LET THE SCALE OF YOUR ACTION BE EQUAL TO THE SCALE OF YOUR DREAMS

Imagine this were 1844, and that we were a gathering of the Rochdale weavers. What would one say about marshalling resources to improve our common lot? Or, picture yourself as middle European farmers at the mercy of money lenders in 1848, listening to Schultze Delitsch proposing credit unions. Or, picture yourself with one of the international cooperative development staffs in South America, or Asia, or Africa where they are trying to provide answers in helping build credit unions in the villages, savings and loan associations in the cities, and housing cooperatives in village and city, fertilizer and marketing cooperatives in the countryside

Now, put yourself back in the U'S' ministering in the Mississippi Delta to the dispossessed, once tenant farmers but no longer needed in the production of cotton. Or, sit with a group of former cotton farmers in Atlanta, Indianapolis, or my old

home area of Chicago, Kenwood, Harlem, or even Los Angeles. What does the cooperative movement say to them? If we are to marshal resources for new cooperative development, we will need to make quantum leaps in our organizing efforts. Take farming for example.

The American farmer is the descendant of European refugees from feudalism. By our failure to act properly, we risk the creation of a new corporate feudalism, as land is taken over by corporate conglomerates. But the new is worse than the old. Whereas the feudal lord was mortal and open to salvation, the corporation is immortal and has no soul.

The farmer, and his producer-processor organizations, should link with the consumer to create a relatively incorruptible form of competition. Part of this linkage has occurred, with some success, in credit unions, housing cooperatives, group health associations and insurance programs.

Quantum leaps are necessary in innumerable other areas if we are not to be the victims, but rather victors, over the economic process. We are going to have to organize new ways of uniting producers and consumers, new ways with new approaches to old relationships. Such new ways that come to my mind, and which you might consider, include:

- 1) a mutual investment fund, consumer controlled and directed.
- 2) a national cooperative organization, serving all, giving maximum value, maximum safety, best health, best education . . . ;
- 3) an effective marketing structure that would permit and encourage conscious control not only of output and price, but of quality, with a route for consumer education as to producer problems, and vice versa;
- 4) advertising that told you what an item really could and could not do -- that was truthful and informative, not pandering to your lust, nor insulting to your intelligence and taste;
- 5) pharmacies that sold generic name drugs, rather than high cost brand names for the same thing -- and which gave you tips on preventive medicine for free . . . ;
- 6) a cooperatively owned radio station to advertise the cooperative outlet, serving both rural and urban owners . . . running only informative ads . . .

What form might this take? My vision is an integrated, user-oriented co-op marketing system (owned jointly by producers, processors, and consumers) farm-to-market, including producing and processing, wholesaling and distribution, national in scope, decentralized regionally in operation It will not be easy. We will have to insist on competence, on open, membership and equal opportunity, on democratic principles of one member/one vote and on competent management.

We can enter into the joy of creative engagement with history. Make no mistake about our times: The society is undergoing a reformation. Will we be equal to the task of creative reconstruction? Or, will we, trying to protect our own little portion, see tidal waves of resentment and rebellion smash us, or, more ignominiously, see our irrelevance merely leave us in a backwash of decay and final dissolution? You already know the answers.

byron johnson

Rural Experiences

WORKSHOP SUMMARY

A HOME IN THE COUNTRY : TOAD HALL As discussion at this workshop reiterated, there are contrasting lifestyles even among those who have chosen (and are choosing) the rural over the urban. Toad Hall is a 'communal mansion' built by the ten people living in it -- who continue to work professionally in the city.

Another group talked of the rural communes as a total lifestyle, while still others seemed to question the basis of the back-to-the-earth movement -- calling it a luxury that the truly poor cannot afford.

Resource Persons:

Ian Dawson
48 Summerhill Gardens
Toronto, Ontario

Architect; Developer of student housing -- Toad Hall;

Rick Waern
Robert Owen Cooperative
59 Prince Arthur
Toronto, Ontario

Lecturer at York University; former CUS field worker; former project director for Co-op College Residences, Inc.

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

POSITIVE REINFORCEMENT IN THE COUNTRY -- WALDEN III Walden III is an intentional community in

Providence, R.I., based on B. F. Skinner's behavioral motivation theories. This workshop examined the structure and lifestyles of this community of ten people.

Resource Persons:

David Miller
Walden III
Annex Station Box 1152
Providence, R.I. 02901

Member of Walden III, works with publishing the community's bi-monthly magazine, **Communitarian**.

References and Workshop Materials Available:

Walden II, B. F. Skinner, Collier - MacMillan Dr. (Galt); workshop notes;

RURAL COMMUNES: REALITY OR PASSING FANCY About a dozen people, representing at least three groups,

gathered for this workshop. One was a politically oriented (Marxist) commune living and working in New Brunswick. A second was a Canadian group that had built a dome and used wood-cutting as its economic base. As distribution patterns among communes and intentional communities came up in discussion, some time was given to explaining and talking over prospects of the NASCO Catalogue by people working with 'Community Market'.

Resource Persons:

open session

References and Workshop Materials Available:

The Land to Those Who Work It, Thomas L. Blair, Doubleday;

REPORTS

(none submitted)

Control Through Community Service

WORKSHOP SUMMARY

HIPPOCRATIC OATH -- PEOPLE OR POCKET?

After studying for six years or more, doctors in the West seem generally to feel that society should repay them for their learning and skill. As a result, people who cannot afford large bills can rarely receive adequate medical attention. In China, part of the solution is to treat medicine as a political problem, and to reorient thinking in order to treat the 'masses' as the most worthy of medical attention. This workshop discussed these contrasting approaches to the practice of medicine, and the public health programs now becoming more widely accepted in the west.

Resource Persons:

Joshua S. Horn, M.D.
University of London
London, England

FRCS, surgeon, University of London; spent 15 years in China from 1954 - 1969 during the Cultural Revolution; author of *Away with all Pests*;

Alan Adelman
Heart Research Department
Toronto General Hospital
Toronto, Ontario

Siona Valbes
400 East 169th St.
New York, N.Y.

An organizer of the Martin Luther King Foundation in N.Y.C.;

Health Probe
Praxis Research Institute
96 Gerrard St. East
Toronto, Ontario

watchdog group examining medical practices;

References and Workshop Materials Available:

Away With All Pests, Joshua Horn, Monthly Review;

COMMUNITY MONIES -- CREDIT UNIONS

This session traced the history of credit unions from their inception, as peasant financial collectives in Southern Germany in 1849, to the present. The movement spread to Canada in 1900, and to the U.S. (Boston) shortly thereafter.

Attention was given to the problems of management and operation of credit unions in certain situations. Discussion of the policies credit unions have adopted to compete in the modern financial world emphasized some participants' belief that many credit unions today are not so much serving the people, as they are helping themselves.

Resource Person:

John Burton
Ontario Credit Union League

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

COMMUNITY RADIO

The media as an educational and informative source within the community, opening channels of communication, was the principle topic of discussion. Specific reference was made to several free-media efforts, principle among which was the 'Open Radio' program at Ryerson.

Resource Person:

Margaret Norquay
Ryerson Radio Study
Ryerson Polytechnic Institute
Toronto, Ontario

Director of Ryerson's 'Open Radio'; Department of Social Services at Ryerson;

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

SOCIALIZED MEDICAL SYSTEMS

The organization, operation and effectiveness of the socialized medical systems of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and of other countries, were discussed in this workshop. Comparisons were made between these systems and that of private practice and the general hospital.

Resource Persons:

T. H. Tulchinsky, MD, MPH
Associate Deputy Minister
Room 313, Legislative Building
Winnipeg 1, Manitoba

Doctor with the government of Manitoba socialized medical system;

Alan Adelman (see above)

Health Probe (see above)

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

none

LAW AND MINORITY GROUPS: THE BLACK PANTHERS

Attention at this workshop was primarily given to the inequities of the law process as it deals with minorities and the powerless. The specific case used as reference was the trial of the Panther 21 in New York, on which the speaker has written a pamphlet.

Resource Person:

Annette Rubinstein (see above)

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

none

FOOD CONSPIRACIES

Co-ops from Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Canada and elsewhere spent three and a half hours discussing everything from ways to incorporate to the price of crunchy granola. It became clear that many co-ops have different goals, values, and structures -- some caring more than others about emphasizing vegetarian and natural foods. There was hectic, even chaotic 'co-op baiting' among various groups. The idea of the vegetarian feast as the conference's closing dinner arose from this workshop.

Resource Person:

Matthew Reich
Student Union Food Co-op
775 Commonwealth Ave.
Boston, Mass. 02215

Director of Student Union Food Co-op (Food Bird Newsletter); made a survey entitled 'An Analysis of Food Co-ops On the East Coast'; now working on a manual on food co-op organization and operation for NASCO.

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

half-hour video-tape; workshop notes;

COMMUNITY T V -- ANYONE WATCHING?

The recent attempts by small community-oriented television stations in Canada have not been able to compete with the programming of major networks. This workshop reported on these efforts in 'community T V', and shared opinions on how such stations could become more widespread and competitive.

Resource Person:

Bruce Lawson
31 Hillcrest Park
Toronto, Ontario

Development of TV as a community service;

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

none

COMMUNITY MEDICINE

Three community clinic health programs were reported on; and there was an extended discussion of the role of professionals in the 'local community'. (Article)

Resource Persons:

Alan Adelman (see above)

David Collins
Toronto Youth Free Clinic
252 Dupont Street
Toronto, Ontario

Doctor involved with alienated youth;

References and Workshop Materials Available:

workshop report;

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH: FUNDING INITIATIVE

During the past summer the Canadian government allocated 50 million dollars to help youth initiated and controlled projects. The strengths and shortcomings of the Opportunities for Youth projects of 1971 were discussed, as well as the feasibility and practicality of developing some of these projects into full-fledged programs.

Resource Persons:

John Fisher
Consulting Secretary
Project '71
Toronto, Ontario

Project '71 - Youth Service; Co-ordinating Agency in Toronto;

Russ Barton, President
Pestalozzi College
160 Rue Chapel
Ottawa, Ontario

Opportunities for Youth Program, Dept. of Secretary of State;

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

THE MYSTIQUE AND REALITY OF LAW

This workshop sought to clarify the complex institutional procedure of Canadian and U.S. judicial systems by covering some of the unforeseen factors influencing a person's trial. Several judicial processes of intimidation of the defendant were also related, as various participants told of their court experiences. Discussion continued with a period of questions and answers on legal processes and community law.

Resource Persons:

Hy Rosenberg
5 Admiral Road
Toronto, Ontario

Lawyer, civil rights legislation;

Annette Rubinstein (see Above)

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

Panelists offered their opinions on various methods of preventive medicine. Some age-old techniques, including 'an apple a day' and the Chinese acupuncture were discussed. Also reported on were many culturally-based superstitions, adages and modes of behavior that have a medicinal basis.

Resource Persons:

Afan Adelman (see above)

Siona Valbes (see above)

Dr. Joshua Horn (see above)

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

COMMUNAL APPROACH TO LAW

A growing awareness within the legal profession favors the right of the client to decide the tactics to be used in the courtroom, since it is the client's liberty that is at stake. This workshop discussed this, and other, new approaches to the lawyer-client relationship. Specific reference was made to the commune as an organizational model for professionals. Another topic discussed was the structure and relevance of political trials.

Resource Person:

Paul Copeland
4 Prince Arthur
Copeland and Rubby
Toronto, Ontario

Lawyer; involved with Law Union, a group attempting to establish communal law group-based on needs of client;

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

INFORMING OUR PEOPLE

This workshop paid specific attention to the surge in popularity and need for the expanding services of underground newspapers. General topics discussed included the promotional as well as the operational aspects of running an underground press.

Resource Group:

Doug Austin
c/o Guerilla
201 Queen St. East
Toronto, Ontario

Toronto underground newspaper

References and Workshop Materials Available:

none

ECONOMIC CONTROL OF COMMUNITY MONIES

Specific attention was given to what the participants wanted to cover in this open session on economic control. A variety of efforts in several U.S. cities were reported on, including the Fighton, Inc. Organization in Rochester, the Sustaining Fund in Madison, and Youth Political Control in East Lansing. (Article)

Resource Persons:

Stanley Aronowitz
15 W. 84th Street
New York, N.Y. 10024

Involved in trade union organizing; community control groups; currently the co-ordinator of co-operative community school in Harlem;

Gar Alperovitz
Cambridge Institute
Cambridge, Mass.

Economist and Director of the Cambridge Institute;

References and Workshop Materials Available:

workshop notes and report;

AN ALTERNATIVE DISTRIBUTION NETWORK

This workshop was organized spontaneously as people felt the need to take advantage of being in one location. A few local and regional efforts to coordinate some type of distribution network were reported on. Discussion, however, centered on the requirements for establishing such a network on a larger scale. (Article)

REPORTS

COMMUNITY MEDICINE

There is often a tension between "experts" (or organizers) and the people being served in community organizations. At the conference, there were frequent reports of organizations in which members felt control had been wrested from them, while the managers or organizers felt helpless in the face of what they perceive to be slowness or apathy or ignorance among the members.

In a workshop on community medicine, David Collins of the Dupont Street Free Clinic, David Pollack from Health Probe, and E J Monkman with Western Hospital Community Clinic described in a question and answer session the problem as they encountered

David Collins: "Few patients are concerned with the clinic. Instead of involving themselves and helping at the clinic, they just pick up their pills. These patients are no assistance in doing anything about other basic problems. They somehow have the idea, though, that as patients they are supporting the clinic and, therefore, usually demand unreasonable service with a patronizing (because they are "patrons") attitude. Only about 10% of the patients get actively involved in the clinic."

David Pollack: "At the Toronto Free Clinic it's hard to define the community we serve. People just wander in for various reasons-- none of which indicate support for the clinic:

"(1) to avoid established doctors (especially for birth control);

"(2) cheap;

"(3) they are referred to it -- even by the Toronto School Board -- as a place to get cheap physicals, etc. In fact, most of the patients come just to avoid cost.

"At the same time they're absorbing the services, they scorn the clinic, the building, the staff. The patients are hostile toward the staff, but want services, like abortion referral."

"Another problem we have is that the clinic is viewed as a government project because it's free, when it's really privately incorporated. Other people in the community rip off the services of the clinic, involve the hospital in their personal lives, then slap you in the face when they don't receive services momentarily. These people are apathetic to the purpose of the clinic, as further indicated by their demand to see 'the doctor' and refusal to see professionally trained volunteers."

"BUT no one would walk in that door unless he needed something — even if it's to put someone down, and we can't exploit that need. They're vulnerable — in pain of some kind — and you can't hurt them so you help."

E J Monkman: "The Toronto Hospital was not a good sponsoring agency for a community clinic. Therefore, the Sparkdale Project was incorporated by the community with a board of directors of people in the community and on the staff."

"Consumer participation and control probably don't improve health care except economically. But it's used to involve the community."

"Unfortunately, the patient often hasn't the same relationship with the clinic doctor as with the 'family doctor'. Sometimes this is both the cause and effect of high staff turnover. Doctors at West Sparkdale work on salary from OSIC, which makes up the clinic's debts and has placed a Public Health nurse on the staff."

Kim Merriam

ECONOMIC CONTROL OF COMMUNITY MONIES -- WHO CONTROLS & HOW TO ATTACK

This was a real workshop, rather than a panel where the resource people only reacted with each other. Gar Alperovitz and Stanley Aronowitz began by having each participant introduce himself and describe what he was involved with. When several people responded that they were involved with the same thing, such as credit unions, Gar would have them compare operations. What is the money used for? Is it better to start your own credit union or to win control of an established one?

Discussion was most concrete when Stanley described his experience working with a free high school in New York. His group learned that the Board of Education was planning an experimental high school program in their neighborhood (East Harlem). The Board planned to spend a fortune converting existing buildings into scattered classrooms. Stanley and others organized a neighborhood pressure group to wrest design and financial planning control from the School Board.

With control, they found that simpler renovations could be made which would both make a better school environment and save a lot of money. Leftover money could be used to construct, equip, and staff an early education center. In addition, the work provided income for a neighborhood architect and local tradesmen. There is talk of forming a community-owned construction company.

The lesson taught was that there were resources within the community for many desperately needed activities (jobs, community control of schools, a day care center, in this instance), but that the community had to seize the initiative in controlling these resources for its own ends.

As Stanley described his project, participants questioned him on other approaches that might have been taken and about the role played by leaders. Simple answers were given in this workshop. New approaches to similar problems were discussed and people became aware of other aspects of gaining control of one's community.

Joan Seedorff

ALTERNATIVE DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS

This workshop grew largely out of my own work with the Community Market Catalog, and the work of Menno Van Wyk of Seattle (who intends to start a Third World Co-op to distribute the products of co-op groups in other countries, and of minority producer groups within the U.S.). About 12 to 15 people attended the workshop, out of which grew a number of specific proposals for future action.

First, it was felt that research must be initiated to discover what things are needed by new consumer co-ops (including housing co-ops, store co-ops, and rural communes) that are 1) not already available at or near, cost; and 2) within the means of community groups to produce.

Concurrently, there must be both a raising of consciousness (encouraging consumers to understand the repercussions of their economic actions, and to buy from community groups), and also an identification of contiguous areas within which such a flow of goods and services would be feasible. In this regard, it was felt that distribution patterns for services such as health care, car insurance, and repair work should also be taken into consideration.

As a second step, a catalog of the needs of consumer groups on the one hand, and of producer groups on the other should be compiled — with an eye toward matching up these needs. Consumer information, as well as technical advice for producers, should be made available to co-op groups as a part of the total distribution pattern.

A third, and final step, is establishing both regional distribution points and transportation links to facilitate interchange among groups that would be required. It was suggested that the warehouses now used by the 'established consumer co-ops' (such as the supermarket warehouses in Superior, Wisconsin, and Akron, Ohio) might be able to be used, at least initially, in this way. Groups such as Greenbelt and Mideastern Co-ops should also be explored as possible markets for producer groups.

The efforts suggested above were discussed in the workshop, but it seems to me that they can only be effective if considerable time and effort are expended on them. It remains to be seen whether NASCO, or any other group, will be able to mobilize the necessary resources to work toward the goals of such an alternative economic network. Hopefully our Community Market Catalog is a step in the right direction; but, it is still really too early to tell. People with ideas on how to make it work better, and really develop in a positive way, should contact me through NASCO.

jim jones

Control Through Education

WORKSHOP SUMMARY

SCHOOLS AGAINST US

More and more traditional education is derided as a breaker of children's individual creativity and will, and thus allowing an easier socialization process into the value system of North America. The truth of this allegation, and what can be done to relieve and change it was the topic of this workshop. (Article)

Resource Persons:

Annette Rubinstein
New York, N.Y.

Formerly an instructor of Philosophy at New York University and past principal of the Robert Louis Stevenson High School in New York City, Dr. Rubinstein has published criticisms, book reviews and authored her own book. Recently she's been involved in the Panthers' trials.

Malcolm Levin
M.A.G.U.
31 Otter Crescent
Toronto, Ontario

Member of the Ontario Institute for the Study of Education and the originator of Multi-Aged Grouping Unit (MAGU) a model for free community education within the public school framework.

Walter (Rapp) Bailey
28 A Bellvue Square
Hartford, Conn. 06220

Noted for his community organization abilities; has special expertise in education and the area of minority groups.

Stan Pearl
History Department
Wolburn Collegiate
Scarborough, Ontario

Local High School Teacher and head of the History Department for Wolburn College, Mr. Pearl authored a series of history pamphlets based on a concept of student analysis of the material.

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

Schools Against Children: The Case for Community Control, Annette Rubinstein, Monthly Review; Parents and Children Learn Together, Katherine Whiteside-Taylor, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, New York 1967; workshop report and notes.

THE CLAREMONT EXPERIMENT

Participants gathered inside a plastic geodesic dome and did a variety of body and mind exercises, aimed at heightening sensory awareness. With a country as well as a city location, The Claremont Experiment offers sessions to help people discover new ways of living and learning through non-institutional means. Workshops range from crafts and drama to Gestalt learning and group marathons.

Resource Person:

Sue Butcher
85 Spadina Rd.
Toronto, 179, Ontario

Representing the Claremont Experiment.

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

workshop notes

INNER-CITY COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

City centers tend to be peopled by minority groups and poor people. Can an ordinary school assist these groups in overcoming their problems, or does it by its affiliation with the public educational system at large fail to meet the needs of these groups? Several alternative solutions to traditional education were also discussed in answering these questions.

Resource Persons:

Naomi Wall
Community Schools
c/o Scolnick
Lonsdale, Ontario

Joan Doiron
Community School Workshop
Toronto, Ontario

Walter (Rapp) Bailey (see above)

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

workshop notes

THE DAY -- CARE COOPERATIVE

The workshop devoted its attention to the issue of parent control and participation in directing and running their children's schools.

Resource Persons:

Jean Stevenson (Mrs. W.H.)
850 Whitney Drive
Mississauga, Ontario

Past president of Parent Cooperative Preschool International
(PCPI -- 20551 Lakeshore Rd., Baie D'Urfe, Quebec, Canada)

Praxis
Research Institute for Social Change
96 Gerrard St. East
Toronto, Ontario

Reference and Workshop Material Available:

none

FREE SCHOOLS: AT WHAT EXPENSE?

Many people are interested in creating non-competitive, creative environments in which normal people and 'authorities' can learn from each other. The people on the panel are involved in various modes and aspects of learning and will explore how it can take place and where, and who benefits and how.

Resource Persons:

Stan Pearl (see above)

Murray Schukyn
575 Euclid Ave.
Community Schools
Toronto, Ontario

Head of Toronto's informal high school program 'SEED'

Walter (Rapp) Bailey (see above)

Steven Sherriff
567 Sheppard Ave. East
Toronto, Ontario

Reference and Workshop Materials Available:

none

REPORTS**SCHOOLS AGAINST US**

Three themes were highlighted in this workshop. The first was social change versus revolution in education. Annette Rubinstein stated that there is a conflict of interest between long-range and short-range goals in dealing with social change, that is difficult to reconcile. She said that through her experiences in New York City, she concluded that the only way real change could occur in education is through armed revolution. It had become obvious to her that society will not grant control of the schools (or of any kind) to the minority communities. Revolution, however, is a long-range goal and who is willing to sacrifice a generation of young people while we prepare for revolution?

Malcolm Levin claims that the circumstances of people's lives influence their 'revolutionary' outlook. Those people without children are willing to shoot for the revolution, but those with school-age children want to work for immediate change.

What kind of short term actions are possible? People can knock their heads against a wall trying to improve the whole system. This was done in New York City in the three community controlled demonstration districts. Presently most of the action occurs in the junior and senior high schools. The children are engaged in violent acts against their schools. Another type of short term move is to work on a small scale. Establish a private school, where only a handful of children are getting a good education -- but what about the masses that can't afford this luxury?

A second theme contrasts community controlled schools with free schools, which Annette Rubinstein pointed out, are not necessarily the same. In a community controlled school, the decisions are made by the parents (and in high schools, by the parents and students) and not always for the most 'liberal' kind of education. A lot of educators disagree with what the parents want, and they often consider the parents demands to be reactionary. For example, in a Puerto Rican community in New York, the parents demanded that the children sit in rows and receive homework. But these same parents also demanded bilingual classes. On the whole, parents from poor communities are very concerned that their children receive the basic tools of reading and writing -- its the books they want to change.

(cont. on pg. 20)

the international CO-OP experience

WORKSHOP SUMMARY

THE ROCHDALE PRINCIPLES

The co-op principles were formulated subsequent to the successful efforts of 28-English weavers in organizing a cooperative called The Rochdale Equitable Pioneers in 1844. Through a discussion of these principles, this workshop sought to examine their past and present role in influencing the cooperative movement. (Article)

Resource Person:

Jerry Voorhis
114-A N. Indian Hill Blvd.
Claremont, Ca. 91711

Author; politician; and life - long co-op worker; Former President of the Cooperative League;

References and Workshop Materials Available:

American Cooperatives. Jerry Voorhis; workshop notes;

COMBINED WORKSHOPS:

1. THE COADY INSTITUTE & THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT
2. ROCHDALE PRINCIPLES --- ARE THEY STILL VALID?

The Coady Institute was named after Moses Coady, first director of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. It became known as 'the international branch' of the Extension Department whose program of adult education through study groups and the organization of cooperatives on many levels was known as the Antigonish Movement. (Article)

This discussion led into a more general panel -- audience discussion which reviewed some aspects of the morning session and examined the present validity and future applicability of the Rochdale Principles of Cooperation. (Article)

Resource Persons:

Alex Laidlaw
Senior Advisor, Co-op Housing
Central Mortgage and Housing Corp.

Former Assistant Director of the Extension Dep't of St. F.X. Univ.; Former National Secretary of the Cooperative Union of Canada; and, overseas co-op advisor in India, Ceylon, and Africa.

Jerry Voorhis (see above)

Luther Buchele
I.C.C.
3 N. Michigan Union
Ann Arbor, Mi 48104

Early Executive of the North American Student Co-op League (1949), and life-time student co-op worker; since 1951 Executive Secretary of the Inter Cooperative Council of the University of Michigan;

Paul Merrill
1295 Gibbs
St. Paul, Minn. 55108

Manager of the Commonwealth Terrace Cooperative, a married student housing co-op in St. Paul; Member of the Board of Trustees of the Cooperative Foundation and of NASCO;

Rick Margolies
1830 California St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Formerly associated with the Institute for Policy Studies, and author of 'On Community Building';

References and Workshop Materials Available:

The Man From Margaree: M.M. Coady, Alex Laidlaw, McClelland-Stewart 'Knowledge For The People', Rev. Dr. J.J. Thompkins (1920)
The Campus and The Community., Alex Laidlaw, Harvest House; workshop notes and pictures.

COMBINED SESSIONS: 1. BIG BUSINESS CO-OPS 2. STUDENT CO-OPS

The controversy between management versus membership control is well known among co-ops. Whether or not, and how, a balance of power is established is of crucial importance to the cooperative nature of a cooperative. The two workshops separated, and continued discussion in their respective fields.

Besides discussing the difficulty in balancing management and membership in the on-going operation of the co-op, there was heated discussion as to whether or not much of the fault didn't lie with the actual builders and planners of the cooperative. Criticism was levelled at large co-op planners (FCH) for caring little about the social aspects of cooperation. (articles)

Resource Persons :

Luther Buchele (see above)

Glenn Greer
P.O. Box 1150
17 College Ave. W.
Guelph, Ontario

Former project director for Campus Co-op College Residences, Inc.,
General Manager of the Guelph Campus Cooperative; member of
NASCO Board of Trustees.

John Piercy
1012 Fourteenth St. N.W.
Washington D.C. 20005

Staff member of the Foundation for Cooperative Housing working
with student housing.

Virginia Thornthwaite
7404 Woodward Ave.
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Office Manager for Cooperative Services, Inc.

Reference and Workshop Materials Available: none, (unrelated readings) : **Co-ownership, Cooperation and Control**
(Derrick and Phipps)

and

The Participatory Economy: An Evolutionary Hypothesis and a Strategy for Development (Vanek, Taroslav)

A JOB AT THE CO-OP

Differentiating between 'job opportunities' and 'alternatives to jobs', this workshop concentrated on the former in discussing the prospects facing young people searching for meaningful employ. One thing made obvious by the session is that there is no large vacancy list of relevant paying jobs. If people are intent on finding ideological consistency in their work, they are likely to have to be just as creative in providing for such work through their own organizing efforts.

Jobs are, it was emphasized, generated in largest number by the producer sector. And, the hope was expressed that a 1972 conference could be held to share knowledge of the various stages of development of producer co-ops. Pooling information on producer co-op organizing might well help in identifying the direction in which we should move. (article)

Resource Person :

Stan Dreyer, President
The Cooperative League
59 East Van Buren St.
Chicago, Illinois 60605

John Piercy (see above)

Reference and Workshop Materials Available: none

OTHER MODELS: WHAT CAN WE LEARN

This workshop concentrated its attention on the Israel 'Kibbutz', settlements where people share a common life on the basis of equality. Dovi Handar (below), traveling in Canada to tell the story of the kibbutzim, showed slides and discussed this form of social living, now, in some instances, in its third and fourth generation.

Attention at this workshop was also given to the 'work communes' of Yugoslavia, and their urban -- as well as rural basis of operation.

Resource Persons:

Dovi Handar
c/o Borochoo Center
272 Codsell Ave.
Downsview, Ontario

Gerry Hunninus
Praxis
96 Gerrard Street East
Toronto 2, Ontario

Reference and Workshop Material Available: none

REPORTS

THE ROCHDALE PRINCIPLES

Jerry Voorhis spoke to a crowded gathering of co-op workers in this opening workshop, and a comfortably long and amiable discussion grew from it. In the afternoon, the discussion of principles was continued, following some remarks on the Antigonish Movement by Alex Laidlaw.

Voorhis first offered his definition of a cooperative as a People's Mutual Aid Association, owned and operated for the benefit of its members -- and through that membership, the community.

The original Rochdale Principles of 1844 were officially rewritten by the International Cooperative Alliance in 1967 and reduced to six in number:

- (1) Open membership.
- (2) Limited (or no) return on capital.
- (3) Democratic control, i.e., one member, one vote.
- (4) Patronage refunds.
- (5) Continuous education.
- (6) Cooperation among cooperatives.

Comments on open membership made the not so uniform application of this principle evident: (1) housing co-ops are open only to residents; (2) some white co-ops in the South act as private clubs to the exclusion of blacks; (3) where there are finite space and service restrictions on co-ops, membership is on a first come and first served basis.

Referring to the limited or no return on capital, it was noted that large investment co-ops could not possibly be consistent with this principle. Reference was made to the direct charge co-op model developed in Canada (called 'co-op depots' in the U.S.), in which members pay wholesale cost off the shelves, but cover operating expenses of the store by paying a small monthly or weekly charge.

In discussing membership participation, Voorhis said that a high member involvement in a good-sized co-op was 25%. To keep participation at a high level, it was felt that either (a) creative, innovative, and even aggressive leadership or (b) threatening circumstances (e.g., bankruptcy) was required.

The need for new comer co-op orientation as well as for a continuous education program was seen as a related issue. It was remarked that co-ops should ideally put as much time and money into education as they do into actual economic operation.

In discussing the need for cooperation among co-operatives, the speaker listed seven things people

In dic

In discussing the need for cooperation among co-operatives, the speaker listed seven things people should immediately try to do:

- (1) Never pay interest to anyone but yourself (i.e., borrow through credit unions or other cooperative-owned financial institutions).
- (2) Join all existing co-ops that might benefit you.
- (3) Go to work for an existing co-op (Federation of Southern Co-ops, Michigan Credit Union League, even established co-ops).

(4) If in school, take courses to develop managerial abilities.

(5) Organize your buying power -- and use it -- either to organize co-ops or just to bargain with.

(6) Learn to develop co-op mobile home parks (85% of houses within the average person's cost range are mobile homes).

(7) If you can't organize or work in co-ops, go to work in Head Start, co-op pre-school, or child care centers and teach the concept of cooperative living to little children.

drmf

THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

The Antigonish movement grew its roots in the poverty of the Maritimes during the early decades of this century; and its power came from the need and desire for a change in these conditions.

Two churchmen were primarily responsible for structuring and formalizing the program that was the base of the Antigonish Movement. Fathers James J. Thompkins, and Moses M. Coady.

Thompkin's belief that external forces could be changed by themselves caused him to devote his work to getting close to the people, and working with them. The extension Department of the University at Antigonish did, in fact, grow from Thompkins organization of People's Schools and study groups. His philosophy of education -- that a program be evaluated for its worth to society and to all people -- paved the way for the adult education co-op organizing activities promulgated by St. Francis Xavier's extension work. Although officially with the university during these years of early development, 'Father Jimmy', as he came to be called, carried on his life's work at the grass roots level, by helping first fishermen and later coal miners to organize.

The first work of the Extension Department was based on the needs of the depressed farming communities of Eastern Nova Scotia. While continuing in this area, both fisheries and Urban programs were organized over the years. It is, however, not the areas worked in, but the techniques and methods used that contain the message of Antigonish. Briefly outlined these methods of adult education included: 1) the mass meeting, at which the community was often organized into 2) small groups for study; 3) a leadership school was set up to teach similarly to the Scandinavian Folk School -- group, not individualistic leadership; 4) training courses of specialized instruction on community organization and co-op administration; 5) short courses (one to four days); 6) week end institutes; 7) Kitchen Meetings (often called Kitchen Clubs) to reach every member of a community organization in the shortest space of time (7 or 8 meetings would be held simultaneously or 4 or 5 consecutive evenings); 8) Industrial study classes; 9) Conferences; 10) Radio listening groups for two weekly educational programs organized by the Extension Department; and 11) an annual Vocations School for seminarians (to teach community work).

After operating for fifteen years -- and nearing the height of its influence -- the Antigonish Movement (in the person of Dr. H. G. Johnson) set down the basic principles of its operation. One might note that this procedure of 'action after-the-fact' is similar to what occurred in formalizing the Rochdale Principles. As outlined at the workshop by Alex Laidlaw, the principles of Antigonish are:

- 1) the primacy of the individual;
- 2) that social reform must come through education;
- 3) that education must begin with the economic;
- 4) that education must be through group action;
- 5) that effective social reform involves fundamental changes in social and economic institutions; and
- 6) that the ultimate objective is a full and abundant life for everyone.

Economic cooperation was determined to be the first step in this process.

Dr. Coady retired from the Extension Department in the mid-fifties. Upon his death in 1959, the Coady International Institute was founded to become the international arm of the work of Antigonish. The Institute operates under essentially the same principles but with a concentration on the 'leadership school' and 'training course' methods of St. Francis Xavier's Extension Department. It has an eight month (May - December) program, and a 'summer' program -- each enrolling approximately 80 students (all but a few of which come from overseas). Since its inception, the Coady Institute has trained about 1500 persons in social leadership, community development, and economic cooperation.

drmf

A JOB AT THE CO-OP

Mostly, co-ops need able and skilled managers. And clerks and accountants and business planners and (even) merchandisers. The kinds of job skills business needs to succeed -- but with a different human, social orientation. Co-ops can't support all the community organizers and co-op education people they'd have, if they hired everybody who wants this kind of job. So what's your choice, you want to help build stronger and more meaningful co-ops? You get a job elsewhere and work with a co-op as a volunteer. Or you gain the skills the co-op is looking for; you build into your use of them -- your motivation, your ideals. That's the youth side of the coin.

But there's that other side, too: many co-ops -- maybe even most co-ops -- could open up one or two jobs (full or part time) in community development and new member services and consumer information and cooperative education. And all together, develop a whole new, vital new thrust. That's the other side of the coin: the 'co-op establishment' side. And it takes two sides to make a coin!

art danforth

WORKSHOP TALK: Short Takes on

Co-ops And the Rochdale Principles

1. *Good management and strong leadership have been the principle ingredients in a co-op's success. How is this reconciled with membership control?*

P. Merrill

2. *For a co-op to exist there must be a genuinely felt need on the part of the people served. And, some level of membership participation is a must.*

J. Voorhis

3. *The most effective weapon we possess is the dollar we have not yet spent.*

R. Staples

4. *Neutrality in race, politics, and religion was an original Rochdale Principle, but it was not adopted by the ICA when the principles were revised in '67.*

A. Laidlaw

5. *Upon organizing a co-op must decide on its general philosophy and direction. These are the policy questions, separate from the business decisions of management, and should be made by the co-op board which represents the membership.*

J. Voorhis

6. *Cooperatives are a socialist vision of a communally owned and worked society. Why have cooperatives not moved further in 120 years?*

R. Margolis

7. *Some co-ops are shunning patronage refunds in favor of lower retail costs. In the federation of Southern co-ops, savings generated by co-op businesses are spent on community services.*

P. Merrill

8. *Co-operatives haven't had the courage to control business. We need to take a corner of the market, to make a down payment on the cooperative movement.*

V. Thornthwaite

9. *Buying power has to be organized. There should be large groups of co-ops working together. This would put some muscle behind an individual co-op's assets and strengthen the movement.*

J. Voorhis

10. *Big business and big institutions will never become moral. Don't bother picketing and petitioning them to become so. Get out and organize consumer owned and controlled business.*

L. Buchele

SCHOOLS AGAINST US

(cont. from pg. 15)

Middle class parents who establish free or alternative schools are not so concerned about teaching the basic tools in organized lessons -- they are confident that their children will learn to read if they are exposed to stimulating materials. They are more concerned that children learn to relate with one another. Free schools are a luxury only the leisure class can afford. Only middle and upper class mothers have the time to start free schools or can afford to volunteer or work for half salary, and only they, usually, have the educational qualifications to become its teachers.

Rap Bailey feels, from his experience with SAND in Connecticut, that community control does not necessarily mean the school will use traditional education techniques. His school feels that children must learn the basic tools but that this is best accomplished through the experience methods. Parents have been involved in selecting books and in subjects like social studies. The school library has been expanded into a community library. Annette Rubinstein also pointed out that as parents learn to work with teachers, together they will be able to work out advantageous programs for the schools. Community controlled schools are in good hands -- the hands of the people who care about the children -- the parents.

The final theme was how does the present education system harm children? The whole purpose of education is to integrate people into the system, and to maintain the status quo. A status quo which at this point is racist and serves to oppress the minorities by keeping them in the 'less-educated' bracket. How does it do this? Tracking is one of the tools used, it serves to segregate the middle classes from the lower classes. This system is widely used even though it was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the Wright Decision in Baltimore in 1965. Tracking keeps the students from 'advancing' even up until senior high school when they should be able to choose courses out of interest and not so called 'ability'. Tracking keeps academic and vocational subjects separated, and even general classes such as history are grouped according to ability.

Another method is to put new admittances, who are members of a minority group, back a year in school. This is done despite their competence, in order to 'catch up', i.e. as with Toronto Blacks from the West Indies. And then there is always the self-fulfilling prophecy: less is expected of minority members in school, lowering performance. Experiments have proven that as expectations rise, so does performance.

Malcolm Levin summed up the pathetic status of our present education system with these words: 'Has New York City combined their Department of Education with their Department of Correction yet, because they are in the same business'.

joan seedorf

AND

STUDENT CO-OP MANAGEMENT

In the panel concerning membership control in student cooperatives, it became very evident that from one co-op to another, the members themselves varied all over the place as to how much membership control they wished to consume. Some were content to select a Board of Directors who then appointed a manager to do the work. Others seem to want to be able to vote on the most minute policy decision or structural changes.

Large co-ops were urged to look to the Swedish cooperatives, or the Berkeley Cooperative Society to study their advisory councils, which meet regularly to advise the Boards of Directors concerning management of the co-op. Some experts are very apprehensive about introducing wide-ranging issues to the co-op membership for discussion and decision. In fact furors over issues have tended to divide the membership, and the group that didn't win getting 'X'ed out of the co-op.

No small part of the problem of the cooperatives is that we seem to attract 'thinkers and intellectuals', each of whom has his own pet scheme for saving the world -- each of which they want to sell to co-ops. I remember vividly, for example, attending a co-op conferences several years ago where the burning issue among delegates was for the U. S. to adopt the Free Silver policy.

It was emphasized over and over again in each of the co-op sessions, that we need to attract well-trained and highly motivated young people to take co-op positions. About a dozen of the young managers of student co-ops got together for three hours to talk about the status of their profession. For me, this was the dreariest of moments at the conference. Over ¾ of the managers present admitted that they were really very unhappy in their positions. They felt frustrated, over-worked, and tired of being tied down to doing repetitious work. Many of them are considering resigning. My suggestion, for the moment, is that an edition of this Journal be devoted to the status of the profession in student co-ops -- for, such a high turnover could prove to be very damaging.

luther buchele

MEMBERSHIP CONTROL and VESTED INTEREST

In most cases, the overwhelming characteristics of the membership, supposedly in control of the co-op, are their ignorance about the business and their apathy. If management did try to give them enough information to make intelligent decisions, in most cases they would not want to be bothered. Letting these criticisms pass for the time being, however, a more serious repercussion of membership control -- the conservative influence of vested interest -- deserves specific attention.

(continued on page 23)

Conference Addresses

Complete audio tapes of each of the seven conference addresses are available from NASCO. A one hour composit video-tape, including excerpts from the conference sessions with Saul Alinsky, Howard Adelman, Gar Alperovitz, Jimmy Collier, Annette Rubinstein, Joshua Horn, and several workshops (e.g., A Home in the Country, Community Television, and Inner City Community Schools), is also available.

On the following pages reports on five of the seven addresses are presented --- one of which is an article by the speaker himself. Coverage of two addresses was not submitted for this addition. They were:

The Canadian Reality by Pierre Berton: well-known Canadian author and T.V. personality who spoke of the Americanization of Canada and of Canada's own unique customs and attitudes.

Education In The Community by Annette Rubinstein (see page 15)

The Chinese Communal Experience

JOSHUA HORN

Having recently completed 15 years of professional service in the People's Republic of China, Dr. Joshua Horn, an English surgeon, told of his experiences in the conference's opening address on Wednesday evening. The purpose of his talk was to show how the Chinese have made the needs and the will of the masses the primary motivation for virtually all activities.

In 1936, when the speaker first visited China, the nation was 'the sick man of Asia': Endemic diseases, great visible poverty, and human suffering of every kind prevailed. Returning in 1954, and staying through the first two decades of the Cultural Revolution, Horn witnessed tremendous achievements in numerous fields. Specifically, he said that the country can now feed its entire populous, has no beggars and suffers no unemployment. There is schooling for all children, and a stable economy. The keys to success, Horn remarked, were good leadership and a technique call the Mass Line.

The Mass Line accounts for China's economic successes, especially in the field of medicine. It is first the confidence in the ordinary people to exhibit ability, great capacity and potential, given the right motivation and leadership. And, second, it is listening and learning from the masses, and raising what they say to a level of theory which can be applied practically. The example used in demonstrating the efficacy of the Mass Line was China's successful fight to eliminate venereal disease. The Mass Line served to educate the populous and change attitudes toward detection and treatment, once the sources of the diseases were eliminated. The speaker called the virtual elimination of the disease 'an achievement which no other country in the world has approached'.

Peasant doctors were trained by Dr. Horn, and posed an entire vertical slice of his staff. They were chosen often on political grounds: that is, day-to-day behavior, and extent of selflessness -- caring about one's collective before oneself. One million such doctors have now been trained, making it possible to bring medical care to all Chinese.

There was, however, a debate within the professional medical ranks as to whether it was better to be a competent doctor, or a good Chinese communist. It was resolved by clarifying the definition of a good Chinese communist as one who naturally seeks greater expertise so as to better serve the people.

Dr. Horn told of how the medical profession in China works collectively to solve professional problems saying that he witnessed amazing dedication to pure service, for no reward on the part of countless surgeons. In exemplifying this, Horn recounted two major projects he had been a part of: 1) to treat burn victims; and 2) to reattach severed limbs. In both cases, he expressed his opinion that the Chinese are now more skillful in this work than any other country.

The importance of Mao Tse Tung was not discounted by Dr. Horn. In fact, he emphasized the importance of his leadership to the Cultural Revolution. Political committees, take an active role, not just in the running, but in the working, of all institutions.

steve silver

Co-operatives: Conscience versus Community

The recent NASCO Community and Conscience Conference in Toronto was originally entitled *Co-operatives and Conscience*. The latter title was a reasonable depiction of the past role of co-operatives in North America; they were the conscience of a capitalist society. . . . On the one hand, the substitute of 'communities' for 'co-operatives' points in a direction of a real alternative; on the other hand, the retention of the focus on 'conscience' indicates an unwillingness to give up playing the role of a conscience of a capitalist system and embark on a program of creating communities to initiate basic change. It is my interest to indicate to co-operatives a more radical role than that of conscience.

Those who are concerned with fundamental change have focused on two aspects of the human personality, the intrapersonal and the social. . . . There are those who argue, that in order to change social institutions, individuals must change first. Others argue personality problems are largely a product of social institutions and our energies must be used to change the social superstructure. . . . Both methodologies presuppose the primacy of the individual and a pragmatic approach to utilization of opportunities (for community organization).

If North American attitudes to social change are highly individualistic, whether they have an intrapersonal or a social focus, some Asiatic attitudes to social change are highly collectivistic (e.g. Japan). . . . In all four cases, individualistically oriented psychoanalysis, Alinsky-style social activation, Japanese psychoanalysis, or Chinese social remolding, a professional cadre of thought reformers are seen as necessary.

In terms of these four perspectives, where do co-operatives fit in? Co-operatives have traditionally been hailed as the middle way between individualism and collectivism. However, co-operatives emerge out of the same tradition as community organizing and trade union organizing. They are based on social organizing of individual self-interest. Collective economic organizations are needed to protect the economic self-interest of the 'small man' in rural or urban areas who needed an economic corporation in order to secure markets, credit, or economical goods and services. The co-operatives thrive in those spheres where, because of initial capitalist neglect, democratic economic organizations managed to obtain a head start. Co-operatives now play the role of a conscience for the existing system displaying, in general, a greater concern for the individual consumer or the small investor than the capitalist counterpart. Nevertheless they are still based on the same premise of building collective institutions on the individual self-interest. Co-operatives, then, have an individualistic social approach to change.

However, the traditional role of co-operatives is being challenged from two different directions. The

first is the newly emerging *feely* (hippie) approach to co-operatives intent upon shifting the stress from the social to the intrapersonal. The co-operative is then not a means to serve self-interest in the social sphere but a means to permit individuals to get in touch with themselves. They are a means to develop the individual personality first, and are only socio-economic institutions secondarily.

The second challenge comes from the *wheelies* (radical), the political activists who see co-operatives as a foundation stone for larger and more radical social change. Co-operatives are a corporate economic and power base necessary to affect radical and fundamental social change.

Both the *feelies* and the *wheelies* want co-operatives to develop into communities but they use 'community' in two radically different senses. The *feelies* see their communities as autonomous enclaves to preserve human sensibility from the onslaught of the impersonal technological society. The *wheelies* visualize their communities as a base to conduct an onslaught on the capitalist system. The *feelies* and the *wheelies* can be represented as pulling co-operatives into two antithetical directions. The result will be the destruction of the co-operative movement, not to create stronger communities, but to create co-operatives with an even weaker critical voice. The reasons can be sketched briefly.

The *feelies* overcome the alienation which results when individualism is used as a tool to create social organizations which do nothing to bring an individual in touch with his own self, but the *feelies* only overcome the alienation at the cost of neglecting the social side of the self. The result is an increased involution of the institution, an involution suitable to a monastic retreat where all hope is given up for the salvation of the larger social organism. By contrast, the *wheelies* overcome the dichotomy between an organization which claims to be an alternative to capitalism but is in fact only a client corporation of capitalism. Dependent as the co-op is on the good will of the capitalist marketplace, it cannot both preserve a strong financial base and pose a revolutionary challenge to capitalism; the co-op would either be wiped out financially or quickly capitulate. Not only would success not be achieved in the sphere of radical social change, nothing would have been done to overcome the alienation between individuals and the institutions which claim to represent their interests; in fact, the alienation would be exacerbated.

Let me briefly sketch an alternative approach to moving from co-operatives towards community. First, the ideology must not be built on the primacy of either the individual or the collectivity. Rather, the primary basis for community co-operatives (as opposed to conscience co-operatives) must be personal relationships. The primary reality is neither the autonomous individual nor the col-

lectivity of which the individual is a member, but the relationship between individuals. The focus is not intrapersonal in order to create autonomous individuals, rather, the feelings between individuals must be the basis for intrapersonal change and from which the individual's feeling for himself is derived.

Similarly, the focus is not social in order to foster individual self-interest or reinforce the individual as merely a part of a larger organism. Rather, the feeling *between* individuals is the basis of creating a growing social organism based on trust rather than conflict -- eager to expand and make contact and common cause with other social organizations of the same type. What is needed then, is neither *feely* co-operative communities concerned primarily with the intrapersonal or *wheely* co-operative communities concerned primarily with the social collectivity, but *feely-wheely* co-operative communities in which interpersonal relationships are the basis for both resolving intrapersonal problems and creating a dynamic and radically different social organization.

To succeed, three things will be necessary: (1) an ideology based on a conception that the fundamental reality is interpersonal relationships; (2) an analysis of existing social systems to clarify their destructive effect directly on interpersonal relationships and indirectly on the sense of both self and community; (3) a program of action which will entail a professional cadre of leaders, a formal organization, techniques of intrapersonal and social change based on both love and labour, the two fundamental bases of social change, and the development of an autonomous material basis to foster the program of change.

Howard Adelman

Membership & Vested Interest (cont. from pg. 20)

An important argument in Madison student co-ops over the past few years has been over expansion. Some of us argued that the existing co-ops should unite into a federation and pay for its staff, chiefly for purposes of expansion. This argument comes down in practice to expansion versus rent reduction for members in housing co-ops. Notice the position of members: they have a vested interest against co-op expansion, since they will have to pay for it.

The injustice of this is that while the housing problem of present members (who control the co-ops) is solved, there are still several thousand people who would live in co-op housing if it were available. Moreover, without expansion, the number of co-ops remains so small that by cutting rents below market, there is no measurable impact in rents across the board. If co-ops controlled a significant share of the market and cut rates, then everyone in the community would benefit because all landlords would have to follow suit.

Membership control even if it proves itself undemocratic when you consider potential membership is ignored because of the present membership's interest in economic savings. Notice that in a stock corporation, this would not happen: the company would try to take advantage of the opportunity presented by a tight housing market by providing more housing. The need would have been met because of the company's orientation to making money.

Max Kummerow

The Economics of Community Control

GAR ALPEROVITZ

The very old concept of a "Cooperative Commonwealth" is alive and being translated into modern English by Gar Alperovitz. In his Saturday afternoon talk, he described the need for cooperatives and community-owned businesses to link themselves with each other and expand into complete democratic economic and political systems on a regional scale. This concept was widely held among early cooperators, although it was largely given up when they decided to pay more attention to their feed and grain businesses.

Alperovitz predicted that most programs for social change now envisioned will fail. Liberal reforms do not look like they will be able to patch up problems which now exist. Likewise, political and economic repression will be scattered, never affecting so many at once that people will pick up arms in violent revolution.

He sees a long struggle, probably thirty years or more, before a new social system will be formed. The best preparation for change will come from experience and experiment in community enterprise. Alperovitz spoke about experience in socialized housing and more extensively about worker-controlled manufacturing plants. FIGHTON is an example of the latter.

FIGHTON is an outgrowth of Saul Alinsky's 1963 work with Rochester, NY; black workers through FIGHT, (Freedom, Independence, God, Honor, Today!) to secure greater job opportunities at Kodak. People in FIGHT saw larger opportunity in establishing their own businesses rather than fighting Kodak. They organized FIGHTON as a subsidiary to manufacture electrical equipment. About half of the black community in Rochester holds stock in the corporation. It now employs about 100 workers. Alperovitz suggests that we will need more people experienced in setting up and managing this kind of community-controlled corporation.

Although the precise mechanisms were never described, Alperovitz implied that a new economic system would come from linking many small enterprises like FIGHTON in a region until gradually all institutions (productive, residential, educational, mercantile, etc), were run democratically for the benefit of the commonwealth.

Unlike earlier "Cooperative Commonwealth" writers, Alperovitz did not claim his would be a stable utopia. He sees technological change unsettling various economic and social balances. He would depend on strong labor unions and political organizations to point out inequalities and protect the interests of minorities.

He is now completing a book on the subject which should be published next summer.

john achatz

power in The Community

SAUL ALINSKY

Introducing his remarks to the largest gathering of the conference, Alinsky emphasized the importance of good communication. 'If you can't communicate, forget it', he commented. Of special importance in developing good communication is that you communicate your ideas to people within the context of their experience. And, Alinsky told of opposing reactions to an identical story he had told of two different cultural groups.

Turning his attention to the activism that is the basis of social change, the speaker urged disaffected youth not to forget their middle-class values. His reasoning stems from his belief that in North America today, you *must* have the support of the middle class (76 to 81 percent of the population) to succeed. And, to get that support takes resources, organization, and familiarity with the frame of reference of those you need the support of.

'By definition, every successful revolution came through the middle class', said Alinsky. The poor are too involved in the sheer economics of survival to concern themselves with social change. But, along with middle class status comes the leisure time with which to devote oneself to issues other than mere survival.

Discounting youth's frustration with the slow pace of change regarding the war in Indochina, and related issues, Alinsky said that accomplishments have been tremendous; and public opinion has been literally reversed in a period of five years.

Affecting change requires organization and hard work; and, you must begin with the world as it is', he said. Emphasizing the futility of trying to change things from outside the system, Alinsky made it clear that a first step in change is organizing a base of power. Several related suggestions on tactics of community organizing then followed, which included:

- 1) that decisions be made on what is preferable, rather than what is best. 'Everything should be done in terms of alternatives';
- 2) understand, when deciding strategy, that the right things often get done for the wrong reasons;
- 3) that people (masses) will only act, and organize themselves, for immediate and realizable goals;
- 4) that every move made should be made in the light of building your power base and gaining more recruits;
- 5) that, the need to present an alternative when calling for change cannot be overlooked;
- 6) that you should never stick to one issue, but maintain flexibility by being multi-issue oriented.

The speaker argued for trained organizers and a 'professional organization' to sustain momentum and keep things moving. Alinsky was also quite critical of the nearly-unanimous tendency for revolutionaries once in power to become law-and-order types; and, he sighted Samuel Adams, Nehru, and Mahatma Gandhi as cases in point (and in varying degrees). Tom Paine, a rare exception, never took power, but chose instead to become a sort of international revolutionary in later years.

Referring in his closing comments to consistency in goals and objectives, Alinsky emphasized his belief that such is not necessary. 'Organizations', he said, 'lift their goals as they gather strength'. And, dura-

bility comes from malleability -- shifting goals relative to issues, rather than drawing absolute lines from the start.

A POST -- SCRIPT

The afternoon panel was short-lived because of Saul Alinsky's scheduled departure. Unfortunately, this cut short a situation that appeared to be producing several good exchanges. In one exchange, Stanley Aronowitz drew lines of distinction between the community organizing procedures of Alinsky and those of China, as related in Joshua Horn's address.

The Chinese approach organizes around real issues, sets goals on a societal basis from the outset, and decides on their approach to problems through the people (the Mass Line). In contrast, said Aronowitz, Alinsky organizes through tactics and make-shift issues, appeals to the individual's self-interest in setting goals, and depends upon the expert for determining and sustaining organizing approaches.

Alinsky, in his response, denied that he goes into a situation and doesn't find the issues. He noted, however, that in really bad situations people don't feel *issues*, they feel *hopeless*. And, organization helps them to see their problems as issues. The organizer *is* an outside agitator, Alinsky agreed, but he can be effective in helping the people to understand their ability to change their condition by seeking power. In his final comment, he maintained that 'only then, after hope, do issues appear'.

drmf

Communities & Conscience

JOHN JORDON

An after dinner talk on Saturday was the final order of business for the Toronto Conference. Brief notes that are reaching us as we finish this edition refer to Jordan's observations on change and the individual's search for freedom.

The speaker commented that he saw no value changes manifested in the people: change itself being a complex phenomenon difficult to perceive. An individual's values take two forms, expressed and real. And, the desire for freedom was used to differentiate this. As an expressed value, freedom is interpreted in a personal, rather than a social, way. In reference to the book *Radical Man*, Jordan expressed the opinion that a prime source of a radical's energy is personal desire for one's own freedom.

Developing consciousness -- as part of the change process -- was viewed as resulting from an increasing individual awareness of contradictions within his own existence (e.g., realizing one's personal instead of societal reaction to 'freedom'). Small group living, such as that provided by housing co-ops, as well as the 'consciousizing (Freire)' influence of personally developing one's awareness, were alluded to as methods of increasing consciousness and commitment to community.

CORRESPONDENCE

CO-OP PRINCIPLES A STRAIT JACKET??

A discussion at the October N.A.S.C.O. Conference in Toronto on the Rochdale Principles provided a starting place for some thinking about structure. The discussion was led by Jerry Voorhis, former manager of the Co-op League, and still one of the most creative thinkers in the co-op movement.

These principles, which form the basis of laws defining cooperatives are, in my opinion, a poor way to define a co-op. They are in all cases principles defining methods of operation, rather than the reasons for operations. They leave the reasons behind this means of operations unstated. As such, they become outmoded with changing conditions, and a strait jacket rather than a help. Brief reflections on one of these principles might help explain.

The patronage refund idea (i.e., selling goods at market prices and then refunding surpluses at the end of the year on the basis of how much each member bought) has been, in practice, a financing device for co-ops. In order to get capital for expansion, co-ops would retain the surpluses that belonged to the members. Members could get their equity in the co-op out only if they died. Under some circumstances this may be a necessary expansion tactic. However, other non-co-op businesses have not had to use this method, and yet have expanded. The U.S. in particular is so capital rich that forcing members to save in this fashion seems absurd. Any well-managed business should be able to get all the capital it needs from other sources.

The bicycle retailing co-op in Madison, never having heard that they should sell at market prices, sold at cost plus a small mark-up for overhead. They achieved enormous volume of sales almost instantly. If they needed capital they could either borrow on their business, or raise their mark-up slightly. Another disadvantage is that the book-keeping involved in patronage rebates, particularly in a consumer co-op with large numbers of small purchases, may eat up the surplus.

In brief, I would throw out the patronage refund principle altogether -- and, if one is needed, introduce one making more sense such as 'Service At Cost'.

max kummerow



A CANADIAN SMORGASBORD

This was the 60th conference on co-operatives that I have attended in the last 30 years, starting from the first one I attended as a student co-op member in Kansas City in 1941. As at every co-op conference, the Rochdale Principles were examined.

They were laid out on the table and displayed in buffet style to be admired and picked over: some appeared very warmed over; some appeared very 'cut-and-dried' from having been sliced so long ago; some were mushy from too much mixing; and one bowlful looked like Jello, very rosy but wobbly. The problem with these quick presentations is that a true understanding of why the principles were formulated is entirely lost, because of the impossibility of creating a proper historical setting to discuss them.

The audience's interest can best be described as impatient, each one wanting to talk about his own thing. Several gave sermonettes, and most were proceeding by long testimonials.

I had the distinct impression that many of us from established cooperatives were desperate to make converts to cooperativism early in the sessions. This might be explained by the conference starting out billed as **Cooperation and Conscience**, then changed to **Community and Conscience**. In fact, the last communication I saw billed it as simply **The October Conference**. The result was a smorgasbord of confusing proportions -- at least one dish, however, to the liking of each.

If providing new (and a wide variety) of food-for-thought was the objective, the conference overdid itself. But, from a personal standpoint, more issue-oriented workshops within one, or two, topics rather than five might have accomplished more.

luther buchele

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CONFERENCE REACTIONS: A Report From Co-op Services

The variety of resource people and topics at the conference allowed all of us to swim along seeking out our own way. It is not easy -- or necessary -- to reconcile every activity as worthwhile in relation to the too-many problems of our society. Do the communes, the food co-ops, and the vegetarian diet constitute the revolution? Or preparation for it? Are we ready to think with Gar Alperovitz about a model for the new society? Do the young people want to restructure our economic and social system?

To begin the task, we will have to do as Howard Adelman suggested -- get some skills, accounting, banking, law, adult education, engineering, what else? But we should be very clear about the nature of the enterprise we are concerned with developing. Not for one minute would I agree that we are working for a mixed economy. Our goal should be cooperative ownership and control, pure and simple.

And in the meantime, capitalist ownership is becoming more concentrated every year, land is being bought up by the big corporations, and the drive for increased productivity and profits will throw out marginal workers and the small farmer. The REA co-op representative mentioned their new bank and their five million members. Could these be a starting point?

ABOUT HOUSING COOPERATIVES: We have allowed co-op housing to be invented by the developers and the real estate industry, instead of by cooperators who, with cooperative housing as a base, could make community possible and also combine member's buying power to support co-op businesses.

Kindly print the recipe for the soybean lasagna. That was such a fine party at the church. Would it stop progress if you had such a romp every evening for an hour or so, instead of all that talk?

virginia thornthwaite

GENERAL BACKGROUND READINGS

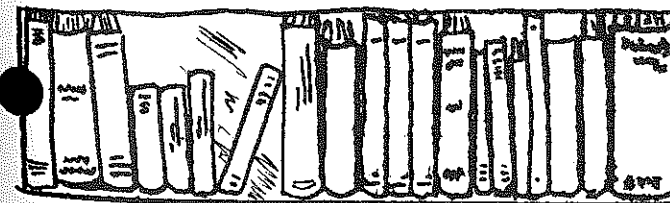
(suggested by conference resource persons, but not included in workshop summary)

URBAN

- Life in a Downtown City Neighborhood**
James Lorimer & M. Phillips (James Lewis & Samuel)
- The Real World of City Politics**
James Lorimer (James Lewis & Samuel)
- Urban Canada: Problems & Prospects**
N. H. Lithwick (University of Toronto Press)
- The Death and Life of Great American Cities**
Jane Jacobs (Random House)
- Industrial Democracy: the Sociology of Participation**
Paul Blumberg (Longman Canada Ltd.)
- CDC's: New Hope for the Inner City**
Geoffrey Faux (The Twentieth Century Fund, N.Y.)
- Workers' Participation in Management**
J. Y. Tabb & A. Goldfaar
- Uptown**
Todd Gittin & Nancy Hollander

YOUTH and POLITICS

- The Case for Participatory Democracy**
George Benello & Demetrius Roussopoulos
- Canadian Labour Politics**
Gad Horowitz (University of Toronto Press)
- The Vanishing Adolescent**
Edgar ZodiacFriedenburg (Saunders of Canada)
- Radical Politics and Canadian Labour**
Martin Robin
- The Origin of the Family, Private Property & the State**
Friedrich Engels (Progress Books)
- Some Prospects for the Radical's Society**
George Benello & Demetrius Roussopoulos
- The Revolution Game**
Margaret Daly (New Press)
- Identity, Youth & Crisis**
Youth Champion & Challenge
Erik H. Erikson (General Musson Publishing Co.)
- To Serve The Devil, Vol. I & II**
The New Radicals
Paul Jacobs & Saul Landau (Random House)
- The Beds of Academe**
Howard Adelman (Praxis)
- The Uncommitted**
Ken Keniston (Longman Canada, Ltd.)
- The Other America**
The Accidental Century
Towards Democratic Left
Politics of Poverty
Michael Harrington (MacMillan Publishers)



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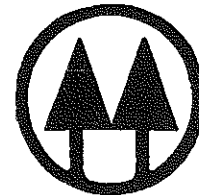
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