

# COMMUNITIES journal of cooperation

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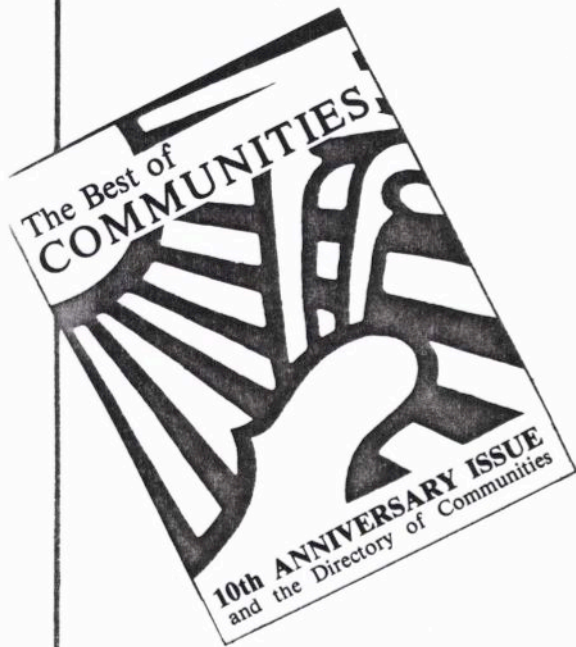
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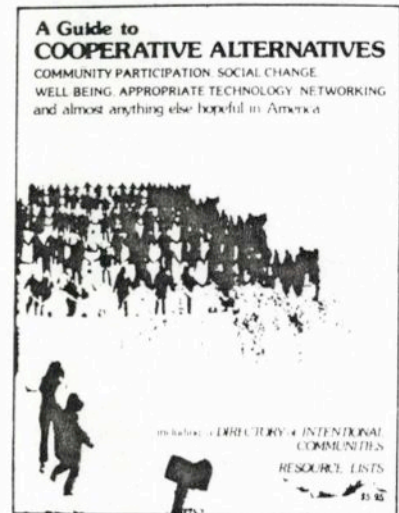
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1983

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# Introducing this issue...

## THE SECOND COMING OF THE SECAUCUS SEVEN

Late in the production of this issue, I took a few hours off and saw a likeable entertainment about reunion, "The Big Chill."

But I had my doubts. It's not that I didn't recognize the characters — 60's college activists facing pre-midlife (or death) crisis, wondering where it all has gone, and doing the best they can.

Doing the best you can, however, day-by-day, on your own; giving up friends and community, and making big bucks in the process is not the path which led to the *Gatherings*, '83 portrayed in this issue.

At the Association for Humanistic Psychology, 1,000 people, most of them involved in work they see as socially/spiritually useful, celebrated, networked and learned together — to better return to a world which had not overwhelmed them.

At the Midwest Academy retreat and the Consumer Co-op Alliance Institute, activist organizers (in one case, community and political, in the other, cooperative) exchanged the merits of program and strategy.

At Dance New England, folks worked hard and lived in intensive community for nine days doing no more or less than extending what they already have together in their own communities.

At the People's March for Jobs, Peace and Freedom, a quarter of a million Americans demonstrated their solidarity for a broad range of political and social goals rooted in the civil rights, anti-war and social justice activism of the 80's.

The 60's are a decade and a half ago, and some people have grown up.

I didn't see those grown-ups in the "Big Chill." I saw big kids, likeable mostly. *How comforting.* All the "issues" are in the past, and now it's all "personal."

Nuclear war, the degradation of the environment, colonialism in Central America, ten million unemployed must be in another world. Their big insight, the "big chill," is there's a world out there which doesn't love them and isn't very nice.

I must have missed something. Isn't that what a whole generation figured out, via Vietnam if nowhere else? Maybe these activists went back to the mainstream, many did, but shouldn't there be at least an interest in; a small degree of sophistication about the politics of this not-so-nice, unloving world?

I'm not asking for "Man of Iron" with Lech Walesa in a walk-on role. Just a moment when some character in some TV/Hollywood spectacular looks around at his/her supposed peers and says, "Hey, I was at Midwest Academy-CCA-AHP-DNE-People's March last summer, and I don't see how what we're doing or talking about here fits with that."

Well, enough of a movie that's at least interesting enough to provoke me. The point (I think) is that these players had no coherent vision or support structure to connect with each other except their nostalgia.

The *Gatherings* this summer were jammed with excited, energetic folks in their 50's and 40's as well as 30's and 20's. They were busy testing and reporting out paradigms, theories and strategies.

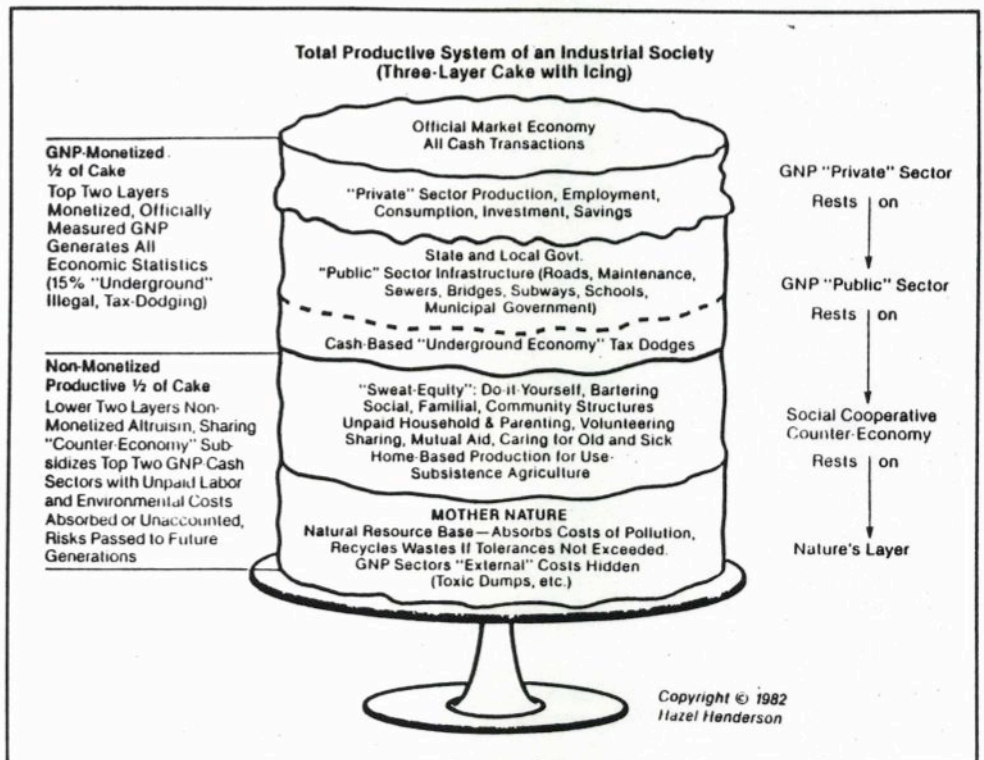
For example, take the chart below. Hazel Henderson used it at AHP: no wonder traditional economic analysis fails to explain our economic condition when 50% of the economy is ignored by traditional measures. For Hazel, this understanding calls for an economy which fully protects the resources which are presently exploited, and rewards those who contribute.

Well, between her books, travels and new TV show, Hazel's almost as available as a movie, so you can pursue this specific idea through her.

But *ideas* are available; communities of people with shared commitment and values *do* exist; the struggle for justice remains *real*, at least for those who are denied it.

*We do not have to implode through our own narcissism. If we look in the stream, besides our own reflection we will find the earth below and the sky above.*

*The water's fine. Come on in.*







### VALS

In the fascinating VALS study we've reprinted, a market analysis concludes that about a fifth of the American adult population (and growing) is operating out of a worldview that can be described as "inner-directed." The study provides a useful validation that the thousands who gather are only the tip of millions. Watch out, Hollywood.

Pueblo-to-People and the Michigan cooperative education project are reports on challenging, useful innovations. We're delighted to welcome Jerry Voorhis to these pages with an essay on the necessity and effectiveness of cooperative

development. Jerry was president of the Cooperative League of the USA for 20 years. Before that, as a liberal congressman from California, he was only the first casualty of Richard Nixon's ruthless upward mobility.

Co-op America recently celebrated its first anniversary of beginning operations. In this issue of *Communities*, it offers our readers a Holiday Catalog, and introduces many new members of Co-op America to *Communities*. For those of you who fit into both categories, you should have received two copies. We hope that seems as good an idea to you as it did to us — pass it on.

### RIP, NEW HAVEN FOOD COOP

You may have noticed that the Unschool Educational Services Corporation is the publisher of *Communities*. The UESC is a tax-exempt, educational development corporation devoted to the support of humane and cooperative alternatives. A year ago, it received a \$10,000 contribution and immediately put it up as a letter of credit in an attempt to save the New Haven Food Coop. A noble, but vain attempt, with few regrets for trying.

Nevertheless, almost \$7,000 was lost by UESC, inhibiting its capacity to support other worthwhile projects, including *Communities Magazine*. 'Tis the season to consider charitable, tax-deductible contributions. Any checks made out to UESC and mailed to *Communities*, box 753, New Haven, CT 06503 will be well used.

### COVERPERSONS

*Our coverpersons are Grace and Terre Parker. Terre has not been to as many demonstrations as her mother — a veteran of Columbia U. and Seabrook; ex-New Hampshire coordinator for AFSC, co-director of Another Place Conference Center; present Marketing Director for the Calvert Social Investment Funds. Speaking of grown-ups!*

— PEF

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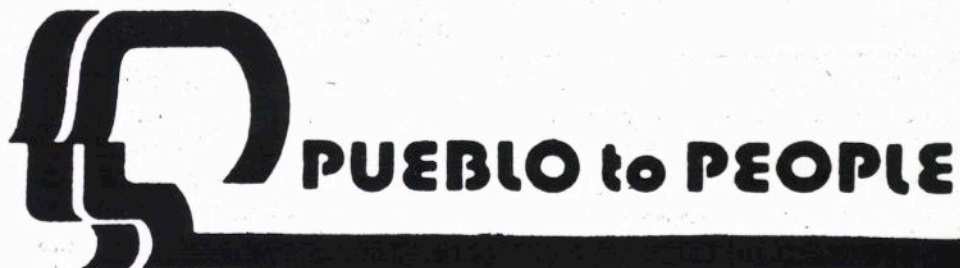
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# PUEBLO to PEOPLE

The reason that the majority of the people ("pueblo" in Spanish) in the resource rich countries of Latin America live in substandard conditions is that, since the time of the Spanish conquest they have been consistently blocked out of the mainstream economic and political life. This situation has resulted in a concentration of political power and economic resources that is far from democratic and just. For example, in Central America 73.2% of the arable land is owned by only 4.4% of the landholders. The best of this land is used to grow coffee, cotton, bananas, sugar and beef which wind up on the supermarket shelves in the industrialized countries of North America and Europe. The profits from these exports permit the elite to enjoy a lavish standard of consumption and make them still more powerful and resistive to change. Moreover, the staple grains are forced to be grown on the land that is left over, often steep and eroded. Consequently, despite the strenuous efforts of the small scale farmers, the substandard food production does not meet local consumption needs.

The more pervasive consequences of this concentration of power are the high incidences of mortality among children as poor nutritional status makes them vulnerable to the ravages of infectious diseases. According to United Nations calculations, 40-70% of all deaths in children under five in Latin America are due, directly or indirectly, to malnutrition. This means that every year there are at least 500,000 unnecessary deaths in countries with tremendous food production potential. Moreover, when the masses try to protest these appalling conditions they are brutally repressed. In many countries human rights are blatantly disregarded. Government forces or tacitly sanctioned right-wing para-military organizations regularly engage in kidnappings, assassinations, tortures and general intimidation of members of labor unions, student leaders and peasant activists among others that are deemed a threat to the interests of the dominating elite.

Naturally this dimension of human misery is and should be a source of concern for people in industrialized countries. Many ask themselves, "What can be done to help alleviate this drastic situation?" One reaction has always been to give handouts in the form of international development aid. Most of this money, however, is channeled through the very governments they are controlled by the elite of the countries and subsequently wind up supporting overpaid, undermotivated bureaucrats. Also much of it is against the prevailing status quo. Moreover this aid does not face up to the real issues of transformations in structures so necessary for each individual to attain his full potential for his own benefit

and for that of his entire country.

For any changes to be meaningful, they have to come from within the countries themselves, specifically from those being oppressed by the current system. There are many groups that are organizing at the base level to be able to present a common front to the elite that have dictated their lives for centuries. These groups are comprised of dedicated, highly motivated individuals who have earned the deep respect of the poor masses they represent and who clearly have an excellent grasp of the situation and the strategies to pursue. *Pueblo to People* is fully dedicated to supporting these ongoing organization efforts at a grass roots level. The role which for a foreign entity seems to make the most sense is that of opening lines of interchange and communication between the "pueblo" of Latin America and the people of the industrialized nations of North America and Europe.

The most concrete of *Pueblo to People's* activities is to act as an alternative marketing service, so that the producers are not exploited by a series of profit-seeking middlemen. Income producing projects are formulated for local cooperatives, often building upon skills already existing within the community. Items are produced to specifications so that they can be sold on the international as well as on the national market (so as not to create total dependence on foreign whims).

Additionally, the products marketed directly in the industrialized countries serve as a medium through which to dispel stereotyped images of the poor of underdeveloped countries. We take every opportunity for raising public awareness as to the root causes of the poverty and turmoil. *Pueblo to People* sets up booths at fairs, fleamarkets, consumer cooperatives and gatherings of potentially sympathetic organizations and then tells the story of the people who produced the articles. We have also started mail-order on some items. When an item is bought it forms a concrete bond between the purchaser and the poor producer. All this is reinforced by posters, brochures and slide shows that point to the structural bottlenecks to true economic democracy. These materials are carefully worded to be digested by a public that has long been misled to view Russian or Cuban influence as the prime cause for unrest in Latin America. The concept is introduced that huge multinational corporations are further concentrating the power in the elite and that the U.S. military aid is used to repress the masses in their demands for a just and representative government of the people. Wherever possible, direct statements made by poor people are used as opposed to interpretations of



## *Honduras*

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Honduras has a tradition of strong, grass roots peasant organizations that are a spin-off from the labor unions on the banana plantations. One of them, the Union Nacional de Campesinos (National Peasant League) is made up of hundreds of community-based cooperatives each with 20 to 100 families. In order to meet their many needs, they decide what to produce and elect local, regional and national leaders in the best of democratic traditions. Their main purpose is to collectively press

for badly needed land reform. In consultation with the UNC, Pueblo to People has provided financing and technical assistance to several cooperatives such as the one that mills tropical hardwoods and those that have begun small furniture shops. We have recently started promoting cashews produced by UNC coops in the extremely dry and poor area of Choluteca. We also work with several other producer groups including women's sewing, baking, and basketry cooperatives.

## *Nicaragua*

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Nicaragua is a country that has gone through 40 years of heavy-handed dictatorship, a devastating earthquake, and a nationalistic revolution. The new Sandinista government has embarked on ambitious social programs to better the lot of the poor. Education, health services, and staple grain production have dramatically improved. We feel that in order to assure Nicaraguan independence and democracy it is important to strengthen the growing number of grass-roots organizations. We have begun working with several of these. It is our feeling that the people of Nicaragua want to be understood and listened to by the people of the U.S. . . . not isolated.

## *Guatemala*

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In Guatemala the majority of the population is Mayan and most still adhere to Mayan Indian traditions. Backstrap looms are still used to weave fabrics that are world-famous for their distinctive colors and designs. Yet this colorful and fascinating exterior hides lives filled with suffering and fear. Ever since the Spanish conquest the Indians have faced poverty and discrimination. Thousands of them have been killed or forced to flee their homes in recent years because

## *El Salvador*

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El Salvador is the focus of world attention because of the civil war being fought there. The root of the problem lies in centuries of poverty and injustice. The dominating elite have resisted peaceful reforms and have thereby polarized the situation to its present level of senseless violence. Fear has caused 10% of the population to flee the country. Many thousands are in refugee camps in Honduras. *Pueblo to People*, in conjunction with international relief agencies, is trying to help create an income for the refugees by marketing the hammocks they produce. We are also trying to raise public awareness concerning their current plight and the reasons behind it.

of the civil strife engulfing the country. Most Indian families lack enough land to adequately feed themselves especially since the subsistence cycle had been disrupted by the turmoil. Many of them now depend heavily on their craftwork to provide them with enough income to meet basic necessities. The hats and the woven items are part of Pueblo to People's efforts to help them and to expose North Americans to the reality within which they live.

foreigners. *Pueblo to People* does not presume to speak for these organized base groups but to help in the diffusion of their message. It also seeks to put organized groups directly in touch with complementary entities such as solidarity committees and consumer cooperatives in developed nations. Also, because of the background of some of the staff, *Pueblo to People* can respond in a limited way to requests for technical assistance, for example, in maternal and child health care programs organized by peasant groups.

Funding for *Pueblo to People* comes primarily from many of its projects and therefore it is autonomous and has no commitments to any agency, governmental or private. It is a non-profit corporation (recognized as such by the I.R.S.) and even though most of the staff have advanced degrees and experience in lucrative fields, nobody makes more than \$10,000 per year. It is a way for

progressive individuals in the developed countries to become involved, earn an adequate income doing work that directly impacts on desperately needy individuals and yet allows time to pursue other related activities. Working with organized peasant groups comprised of highly motivated and consistently self-sacrificing individuals is an experience that is inspiring and, at the same time, humbling. Moreover presenting and discussing these topics with a broad spectrum of the public in the industrialized countries provides surprising insight into prevailing attitudes, values and biases. If you feel like you would like to help us by purchasing, donating, or promoting in your area please contact us. If you would like to promote the products and information please keep in mind that it can be a way to add financial support to you or your group's work. We are always open to your questions and suggestions. □





# CO-OPS

For the past year and a half, the cooperatives of Michigan have been involved in a unique effort to strengthen the foundation of cooperation through the education of students in public schools. That effort has received support from students, parents, teachers, administrators, professional associations, community groups, leaders in consumer economics education and labor-management relations, and from the cooperative sector. The effort also has received coverage in local newspapers and in state and national cooperative and related professional publications.

For the public sector, the *Curriculum Guide on Cooperatives* has been designed to foster the analysis of social and economic values, systems and institutions in terms of equality and justice in the production, distribution and consumption of the necessities of life. Moreover, the education occurs in the process of practical experience that involves students in their community and in personal and group problem-solving and decision-making situations, while they also gain basic skills and knowledge for a productive future.

For the cooperative sector, the Michigan Cooperative Education Project has been designed with an eye toward member education, promotion and cooperative development. It also provides an opportunity for co-ops to be further involved in their communities and work together toward common goals with other cooperatives and related organizations on local, state, and national levels.

Working from the premise that education of youth is an investment in the marketing of cooperatives, co-ops in Michigan have fashioned a curriculum that works. In a practical manner, the interdisciplinary materials address job skill training, career and leadership needs as well as academic education. By participating now, educators, cooperatives and related organizations can guarantee full development of this project, ensuring that it will reach its potential to stimulate and nurture a cooperative spirit in our young people.

The project is unique and timely in its methodology, local vitality and potential for national distribution. While much of the financial burden has been carried by Michigan's cooperative business sector, refinement and documentation of the materials for national use will depend on national participation.

by Ebba Hierta and Michael F. Buda

*... The project is unique and timely in its methodology, local vitality and potential for national distribution ...*



# come to michigan school systems

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*Reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic, taught to the tune of cooperatives? Many teaching methods are used to help youngsters learn the three staples of education. One of the latest methods incorporates them into a thorough study of cooperatives.*

Last spring, three middle schools in Michigan participated in a pilot curriculum on cooperatives, designed by the Michigan Alliance of Cooperatives (MAC) with the state Department of Education. The program, one of the first in the nation, got its start in 1979 when then-Governor William Milliken recommended incorporating information about co-ops into teacher education and school curricula. Several more Michigan schools will use the co-op curriculum during the 1983-84 school year and credit unions are helping to promote the program.

The MAC curriculum program has received financial support from the Michigan Credit Union League and the Michigan Credit Union Foundation, as well as MCUL staff input. It also has been endorsed by the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. (CLUSA) and has gained favorable comment and the promise of advisory assistance from the Credit Union National Association (CUNA). The program, once firmly established in Michigan, is seen as having adaptability throughout the country.

The curriculum incorporates information about co-ops in conventional classes. For instance, students keep a journal of their co-op related experiences in language arts, study their roles as producers and consumers, do market surveys on co-ops in social studies, learn personal and co-op management in math class, study price comparisons in home economics, carry out production projects and examine technology in science, and make products for their producer co-op in creative arts or industrial arts, and take a look at their future with co-ops in career education classes.

In the curriculum's first stage, students research different types of businesses and analyze cooperative and competitive values. Guest speakers, field trips and day-long mini-internships reinforce the information presented on co-ops. The second and third stages encourage students to form their own producer and consumer cooperatives enabling them to understand co-op principles and economics.

An important aspect of the co-op curriculum is

community involvement, explains Ebba Hierta, project director for the Michigan Alliance of Cooperatives. "Support and input from local cooperatives and credit unions has a direct effect on how teachers present and use the available materials. Our three pilot schools were supported by co-ops and credit unions in various ways and teachers and student alike were enthusiastic about the curriculum. Parents got involved with the student co-ops and the program received press coverage in each community."

One of the pilot schools, Ubyly Middle School, located in a rural community in northeast Michigan, was aided by the Thumb Electric Co-op. The seventh and eighth graders participating in the curriculum formed the Busy Beaver Co-op and sold breadboards and key holders they had made in the school's industrial arts shop. The school found the program to be so successful, they are considering making it part of the regular curriculum, according to the school's principal.

At Forsythe Intermediate School in suburban Ann Arbor, another pilot school, students formed a producer co-op which made lapel "slogan" buttons for clubs and businesses. The school received monetary support for the co-op curriculum project from the Huron Valley Chapter of CUs. University of Michigan Employees CU and local co-ops provided funding and resource people and mini-internships for students.

"School isn't always real," says Janet Kahan, a science teacher at Forsythe, "and consequently kids don't always pay attention to what's being presented. This project had real life experiences and the kids learned much more than they would have from text book lessons."

After deciding what type of co-op to establish and adopting bylaws, the students formed six work crews to handle sales, publicity and design of the buttons, as well as putting together a catalogue of button designs and keeping records.

"When a problem arose the work crews negotiated and worked together to make the entire operation run smoothly," Khan explains. "The kids really picked up the cooperative work values and saw first hand why they're beneficial."

At the end of the project the students expressed how much they enjoyed learning about cooperatives, Kahan says. "It was nice to hear kids come right out and comment on something they'd learned. They talked about the spirit and values of co-ops and I'm sure many of them will join credit unions and co-ops when they're older."



Students at Andrew Jackson Middle School, located in a low-income neighborhood of Detroit, formed a food co-op while participating in the pilot curriculum.

Besides studying and experiencing co-ops, the students benefited from the money management skills presented, says Wayne Steyer, a math teacher at the school. The Michigan CU League gave the school a Money Management Kit to use in the curriculum and Mike Wilson, vice president of the MCUL's Youth Involvement Board, helped Steyer and other teachers prepare lesson plans on co-ops and CUs:

"When we began to present the curriculum, very few students knew about co-ops or credit unions," explains Steyer. "And once I began teaching money management, it was obvious that many kids didn't know much about personal finance either. In fact," he adds, "most students had no idea how to write a check or what securing and repaying a loan involved."

Once the students decided to establish a food co-op, the compared food prices and quality, and researched how to get the best value for their money, Steyer says. The co-op operation got underway with students taking food orders from teachers, parents and other people in the community, purchasing the goods and packaging them according to the orders.

The project let the students see a positive aspect of their community, he adds. They began to notice the co-ops and CUs in their neighborhoods. "The kids became very enthusiastic about their co-op because the felt they were

providing a service to their community by offering fresh food at low prices," Steyer explains.

The involvement of local co-ops and CUs in getting schools to try the curriculum, and their participation once the course work is underway is the key to the success of the project, Hierta believes. The three pilot schools agreed to try the curriculum after urgings and support from local co-ops and CUs, she adds.

CUs can get involved in the co-op curriculum project, Hierta explains, by doing one of more of the following:

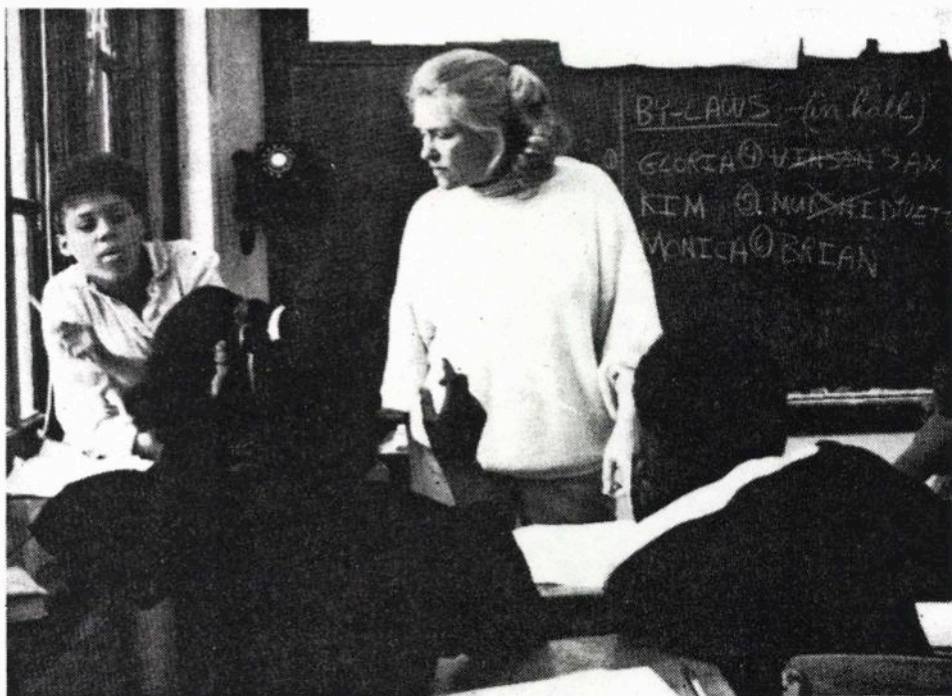
1. Sponsor an evening of slides and discussion on the curriculum for middle school teachers in your community. (The slides and program are available from the Alliance.)
2. Co-sponsor (with other CUs or co-ops) a training/planning day for teachers interested in the curriculum. (The Alliance provides the training while the CU covers the schools' expenses.)
3. Co-sponsor a school in your community that is using the curriculum by providing mini-internships and field trips at your CU.
4. Offer resource people to the school using the curriculum or provide a guest speaker for the students.

The league, the MCU Foundation and CUs in the Ann Arbor area have really been generous in their financial support, Hierta says, "and we hope that others will also add their monetary support."

For more information on the co-op curriculum, contact Hierta at the Michigan Alliance of Cooperatives, P.O. Box 8032, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, (313) 663-3624. □

*"It's like a community where people are working together and sharing responsibilities. If they make a profit, everyone will get the same amount rather than a few getting all the money and the workers not getting as much."*

*Athena Malloy  
11 years old*



*Inner City Cooperation — Ebba Hierta of Michigan Cooperative Alliance, explains the principles of cooperative business to members of a Detroit junior high school class. The students formed a food cooperative as part of a new course on cooperatives.*



# Gatherings '83

*Introduction and photographs by Paul Freundlich*

Representing Communities Magazine, Co-op America and occasionally myself, I traveled this summer to a curious collection of conferences, institutes and gatherings. They ranged from New Age to community organizing; locations across the USA, with one venture into Canada.

At times, the contradictions seemed bizarrely overwhelming:

*In Toronto, the friends I stayed with, old communards from Twin Oaks and Dandelion, had their house under surveillance by the Canadian Police — I mean tapped phones and awaiting midnight raids — visions of Sgt. Preston, King and the Royal Mounties riding through the condo's bay windows. For what? It seems their house is a hotbed (waterbed? fouton?) of lay midwifery organizing.*

*At the Midwest Academy, in Columbus, Ohio, the haze of cigarette smoke made the main banquet hall look like one of those old industrial photos of Pittsburgh.*

*The Consumer Co-op Alliance Institute '83 took place on the Berkeley campus, distinguished this summer by a pervasive commitment to construction. It's an experience to round a corner in deep conversation about cooperative development and face a barreling forklift, insanely guided by a be-bopping Walkperson.*

But mostly folks were friendly. They too were travelers, gathered from their own communities for a day or a week by the pull of common purpose (and/or the lure of adventure):

- The annual meeting of the AHP in Toronto was a class act all the way. Ram Dass, almost back to being Richard Alpert, continued his search for non-attachment; Jean Houston dramatized our mythic, encoded presence; Hazel Henderson clarified the basis of our economy. The theme was "Networking," which seemed appropriate for 1,000 mostly-professionals engaged in a life-long search for transcendence. *Communities presents excerpts from remarks in a workshop in the Business Tract by Hazel Henderson, Jim Gibbons and Marie Spengler.*

- The 10th Midwest Academy retreat honored the community organizers and canvassers who have developed a significant funding and political base for progressive causes. Workshops and speeches mixed denouncement of

Reagonomics with mutual appreciations. There on the Ohio State campus, particularly during the T-shirt contest, it was a little like being at a pep rally before the big game. *(1984 national elections?) The Midwest Academy published a retrospective on their work, and we present most of it in this section.*

- The 53rd annual Consumer Co-op Alliance Institute featured the usual nuts and bolts workshops on co-ops; hang-out time to redefine our commitment; inspiration from Frankie Lappe and Derek Shearer; and after a long wait, finally some hope from the National Consumer Co-op Bank. With articulate board members Charlie Warner, Ann Hoyt and Joe Hanskenecht present; with west coast regional director David Thompson in his usual elegant form, we met da new prez, Tom Condit, wise-cracking his way to wisdom (we hope). *Francis Moore Lappe's remarks as reported in the Berkeley Co-op News seem appropriate.*

- Dance New England is a week-long digression devoted to dance. Over a hundred folks drawn from the many cooperative dances in the region played, worked and lived together for a week. *Two short essays explore the phenomena of the community dances and of Dance New England.*

- In 1963 I covered the first Poor People's March from several hundred feet up in a pool helicopter for Paris Match. This time I was down in the crowd with family and friends. Predictably the speeches were only occasionally audible, the music of dubious fidelity, children tired, crowds pushed... At one point we recognized a Dance Haven-Community volleyball person up in a tree. He invited us to climb to his perch where the air was clear and so was the view. But I knew the view from above already, and so declined. **Pictures only.**

*I like coming back to places. I like seeing people at another point in their lives, sharing my own, trying to figure out what it all means beyond — comrades in struggle, fools in love, passing each other like ships in the light.* □





## Association for Humanistic Psychology Conference, Toronto, Canada, June 21—26, 1983

### *Excerpts from the discussion*

### **Jim Gibbons**

Last year we had a national problem in the economy, right? 10% unemployment; racism and sexism going crazy.

What was American business's response? They took 82 billion dollars of borrowing from insurance companies and banks to form mergers of the Fortune 500. These mergers created not one new job in a time when the economy needed 10 million new jobs.

Had that money been put into housing it would have created 5½ million jobs, and 1½ million units of new housing.

One more little fact. We did an analysis of the 38 lowest income zip codes in Chicago, and discovered that those people had 1.8 billion dollars in banks in downtown Chicago. And they got back 9 million dollars in loans. You can look at that as part of the major income transfer program in America, which always goes on from the poor to the rich.

The transformational movement in my opinion has refused to accept the reality of economics in America, and it is going to pay the same price that the civil rights movement did, as the anti-war movement, as the women's movement. We need to combine the concept of democratic economics with these transformational values which I support. These values are not going to change America till we change the way America does business.

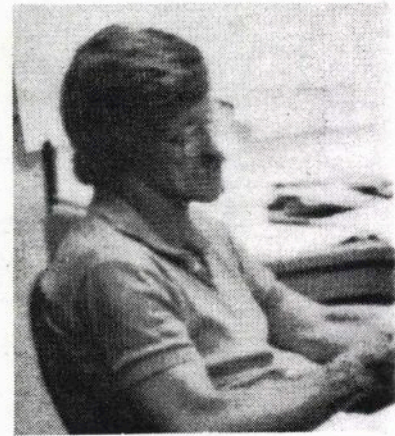
The way we bake bread; the way we build our houses; the way we do business in America is the way we live. The values we create in the process of doing those things are the real values of America.

I'm here to represent at least one organization in this society that has been struggling with these issues for the last 19 years.

I will not accept that the arena for living out these transformational values is outside the workplace. If we can't live these values inside the workplace, there will be not transformation in America.

I met a man from China the other week. He was in his late 70's. At one point in the conversation he said to me, with a look of pride, "I was the first person in China to do . . ."

I didn't hear the rest of what he said. It just hit me that there's one billion people in that country, and this guy's figured out he's the first person to do something. Then this means the need to be "somebody" is universal. And we need to organize the workplace to express that universal need for recognition. The scale of the organization is one very important criteria for doing that.



Workshop on  
Transformational Economics —

### **Marie Spengler**

When we talk to our corporate clients, we tell them that the part of the population we identify as "Emulators" (ambitious, upwardly-mobile, status-conscious) represents 8% of the population. They have a median household income of \$19,000 a year, so you know they're not spending 50% of the money in the country.

Yet if you pick up any magazine, you'll see that about half the ads have an "emulator" appeal.

We've found in our research that the group we identify as "inner-directed" now represents 21% of the American adult population. These are people whose actions are determined by their own sense of what is fulfilling, balancing, releasing. They





Panel, left to right: Jim Gibbons, Consumers United Insurance Company; Director of the VALS program, SRI. Moderator: Jim Turner, author of Hazel Henderson, author of *Politics of the Solar Age*; and Marie Spengler, *Chemical Feast*.

## Hazel Henderson

range from the more self-centered "I-am-me" to the "societally-conscious" who have a perspective of planetary interdependence. This group has been, and continues to be, the fastest growing segment of our population.

They want appropriate structures (including hierarchy and centralization where necessary), local autonomy and systems that value human creativity. As they move into positions of power and responsibility in business, government and the professions, they are exerting a profound transformative influence on the culture.

We're a culture of growing diversity. To the extent we increase our tolerance for diversity, we will unleash the creative forces in our society.

There is a network of people into local activism as well as planetary citizenship; human rights, wholistic health care, appropriate technology and all of the other parts of the new agenda. And the way it gets put together is that eventually there is a majority growing in this country for whom existing policies don't work.

Once you put that group together (and you have to introduce those people to each other) the next stage is to become visible. That means new political parties like the Green parties in Europe. I think it would be tragic if the 48% of non-voters went unrepresented once again.

I have not given up hope that we can create a home-grown, U.S. revolt from the center. It would call up the earliest hopes of our founding mothers and fathers—truly participatory, self-governing communities; economic democracy as well as political democracy; cooperation not competition.

Today we have a new agenda—a planetary declaration of interdependence; an expansion of the bill of rights to include human responsibilities to our planet, other life forms and our future.

The time for we networkers to re-commit ourselves to these alternative futures is now.

I come from Britain where we still haven't finished with the class war. When I came over here, I was told that Americans had no ideology. Well, the closest I've found to an ideology is "laissez-faire." Now that has some value so long as you have small buyers and small sellers meeting each other in widely distributed market places with no consequences to innocent bystanders . . .

What I objected to about this market ideology was that the economists, bureaucrats and politicians had the idea that the "market" was some original state of grace, a natural order. And they believe we have been on the road to hell ever since the state intervened in the process.

The idea of having a national distribution system dominated by market is a remarkable human creation. We fought a civil war about that in Britain, and the free market system is actually a package of social legislation. Labor was treated as a commodity and people were driven off the farms and small holdings into cities and factories.

There's no reason why transformational values can't develop new social legislation to create a more responsive and responsible economic system. □



## Midwest Academy Retreat, Columbus, Ohio, July 29—31, 1983

*A retrospective of 10 years of Academy work  
and development of a citizens' action  
movement.*

Since it was founded in 1973, more than 16,000 people have come for training through the Midwest Academy's doors. They have come from many places, working for hundreds of organizations and on a wide variety of issues. But each has shared a strong commitment to the Academy's original three founding principles of assisting low and moderate income people to:

1. win concrete benefits
2. develop a sense of their own power
3. alter the relations of power in order to build a more just and humane society.

The Academy is now part of a growing national network of citizen action and an expanding progressive movement.

There's been a lot of history in the last ten years. We're glad you're joining us in celebrating our past and in shaping our future.

### 1972

Chicago's Citizen Action Program (CAP), the first successful application of neighborhood organizing techniques on a metropolitan scale, defeats the \$1 billion Crosstown Expressway.

Heather Booth is fired for organizing workers on the job in 1970. After a lengthy legal battle, she wins 2½ years back pay and founds the Midwest Academy with the award. Steve Max agrees to join her, although he is "not sure the idea will catch on."

### 1973

Midwest Academy holds its first training session; the focus is on organizing working women. The Academy plans a second session on basic organizing skills in the fall. Clean Water Action Project (CWAP) begins organizing effort in West Virginia that will eventually lead to the formation of West Virginia Citizen Action Group.



*Heather Booth, founder and  
president of Midwest  
Academy.*



# 10 YEARS

by Kennedy Wheatley and Bob Nicklas

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## 1974

The Academy expands to four sessions a year; focuses on training community organizers and leaders and the growing working women's movement. West Virginia Citizen Action Group is formed.

## 1975

The Academy expands to seven sessions on organizing, fundraising, and research. Several Boston-area community organizations pool their resources and found Massachusetts Fair Share. Citizen Action Coalition of Indiana is founded.

## 1976

Illinois Public Action Council (IPAC) is founded. Marc Anderson applies canvassing techniques to citizen organizing. Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC) is formed. Midwest Academy helps to mobilize first national ERA march; over 10,000 rally in Springfield, Illinois.

## 1977

Midwest Academy is awarded a national VISTA grant. Oregon Fair Share is founded. CWAP wins major strengthening amendment to the Clean Water Act.

## 1978

Leaders of more than 70 labor, senior, community and farm organizations meet to found the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (CLEC). President of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), William Winpisinger, is President of CLEC; Director of the National Association of Senior Citizens (NCSC), Bill Hutton, is

Secretary-Treasurer; Heather Booth is Director. During the winter, CLEC launches a national campaign to prevent utility companies from terminating service in the winter months. Laws are enacted in 12 states.

Congressional investigation of VISTA; includes VISTA Director, Marge Tabankin and Midwest Academy, among others. The committee applauds VISTA's work, while Congressman Ashbrook and the right wing condemn it.

## 1979

Karen Thomas becomes Executive Director of Academy. First Academy session is held in the Northeast (Boston). CLEC campaign for fair energy prices calls for reimposition of controls on oil and natural gas, tax reform of the oil industry and the establishment of a solar and conservation development bank. In October, CLEC holds Big Oil Day; an estimated 100,000 people in 120 cities participate in protests against skyrocketing energy prices. State CLEC organizations are established in Wisconsin, Missouri and Iowa.

Minnesota COACT is formed. Rhode Island Community Labor Coalition (CLOC) begins organizing. The Florida Consumer Federation is founded. New Hampshire People's Alliance (NHPA) is founded. Grassroots Leadership Project is founded in North Carolina.

Founding conference of Citizen Action takes place in November in Chicago. Five original CA organizations are Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Oregon. Rev. Mark Moller-Gunderson (OR) and Rose Bailey (OH) are elected co-chairs; Ira Arlook is Director.

CWAP coordinates successful campaign to halt the dumping of radioactive water from Three Mile Island into the Susquehanna River and Chesapeake Bay. Citizens' Campaigns Inc. (CCI) is founded and begins to develop ability of citizen organizations to work in elections and to utilize the canvass as a major electoral



# 10 years

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tool. Barbara Helmick and others create Women's Resources canvass.

## 1980

First Academy session takes place in the Northwest (Portland). Citizen Action expands to include New Hampshire; holds its first leadership conference. New York and Maryland CLEC are formed. Idaho Fair Share begins organizing. Pennsylvania Public Interest Coalition is founded. A CLEC affiliate, Connecticut Citizen Action Group, wins passage of a precedent-setting oil tax reform bill in the legislature and CLEC launches similar campaigns in six other states. Citizens' Campaigns Inc. manages environmentalists' upset victor for Bob Edgar (D-PA). Founding of New York Citizens Alliance.

## 1981

First Academy sessions take place in Vermont and Virginia. Citizen Action expands to include Minnesota and Pennsylvania. NHPA wins lifeline utility rates in the state legislature. Oregon Fair Share caps a 3-year campaign with the passage of electric lifeline rates.

CLEC's natural gas campaign surges ahead, holding 200 meetings in Congressional districts across the country to secure commitments from Congresspeople against price decontrol of natural gas. The door-to-door canvass contacts nearly 2 million households across the country about the decontrol issue. In November, CLEC and National People's Action hold "Showdown in Chicago" bringing 5,000 union members, seniors and CLEC supporters to the annual meeting of the American Petroleum Institute to protest decontrol.

Heather Booth moves from CLEC to found the State & Local Leadership Project (SLLP), a national organization which will provide resources, training and technical assistance to citizen groups involved in electoral organizing. Bob Brandon becomes Executive Director of CLEC.

## 1982

Jackie Kendall becomes the 3rd Executive Director of the Midwest Academy. Karen Thomas moves to the Citizen Action staff as Associate Director.

SLLP trains over 120 unions, community groups and public interest organizations in the skills of electoral organizing. These organizations participate in 6 U.S. Senate, 27 House and 89 state and local races on behalf of candidates who support their issues. They are successful in 70% of the races, and play a particularly important role in the elections of Congresspeople Lane Evans (D-IL), Pete Kostmayer (D-PA), Robert Mrazek (D-NY), and Bob Wise (D-WV); and many state legislators including Doreen Del Bianco (D-CT) and Mike Marshall (D-IN).

New Jersey Citizen Action is founded. Organizing begins in Maine. OPIC passes the strongest toxic right-to-know ordinance in the country. CCAG passes a major hazardous waste bill establishing a state superfund and insuring workers and community Right-to-Know. CLEC affiliate Wisconsin Action Coalition wins legislation which closes \$5 million of oil company tax loopholes. Virginia Action is founded and registers 20,000 new voters in four weeks in 10 targeted cities. Rhode Island CLOC plays a key role in electing progressive Jerry Egan to the State House.

With CLEC organizing, 223 members of the House of Representatives—a majority—sign onto a resolution opposing natural gas decontrol. Reagan backs down, announcing he will not seek decontrol legislation in 1982. Maryland CLEC successfully lobbies to replace the chair of the Public Service Commission.

By election day, CCI has provided management and consulting services for grassroots organizations' electoral efforts in 120 campaigns in the last two years. New York Citizens Alliance wins state superfund victory. New York CLEC plays role in defeat of archconservative Congressman Le Boutillier.

## 1983

Midwest Academy conducts first session in North Carolina with the Carolina Community Project. Minnesota COACT wins first farm foreclosure law since the Great Depression. New Jersey Citizen Action passes a progressive income tax which increases the tax on incomes over \$65,000. IPAC members from Chicago, East St. Louis, and Peoria march over 200 miles to the state capitol to demand funds for jobs and human needs. Citizen Action expands to include Virginia Action. West Virginia Citizen Action Group enacts one of the nation's most far-reaching gas utility reform packages.





Midwest Academy T-shirt contest.

Over 1,550 attend PennPIC's Jobs and Justice Day at the state capitol, building support for their Economic Bill of Rights. In coalition with environmental groups, Massachusetts Fair Share wins passage of superfund legislation which authorizes \$25 million to clean up hazardous waste dumps in the state. The Maine People's Alliance pressures the Public Utility Commission to order a halt to the 30% increase in basic monthly phone rates requested by New England Bell.

Florida Consumer Federation again defeats the Southern Bell/AT&T attempt to implement local measured service. Idaho Fair Share convinces the Public Utility Commission to return an application for a 60% rate hike. Indiana Citizen Action Coalition wins major utility reform package in the General Assembly. New York Citizens Alliance becomes New York Community Action Network. CWAP opens project office in Virginia. Another is soon to follow in West Virginia, for a total of 7 project offices.

CLEC launches an offensive to roll back natural gas prices and to extend controls. The Natural Gas Consumer Relief Act is introduced in Congress. CLEC garners significant press coverage and is hailed as "an organized and coordinated national movement" by the *LA Times*; and "the main consumer anti-deregulation lobby," by *TIME*. The *Congressional Quarterly* reports that CLEC is a "potent political force." Iowa CLEC passes an omnibus utility bill which is one of the nation's most progressive to date. Colorado CLEC is formed, CLEC's 21st state affiliate. Other affiliates are in California, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin. Washington Fair Share is founded.

**T**he Academy's work continues. Help support this training for others who are committed, but don't have the means to pay for it.

Join us as a Friend of the Academy. Please give what you can—\$25, \$50, \$100, or more.

The Midwest Academy  
600 West Fullerton  
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Telephone 312.975.3670



Co-op members should see themselves as part of the international move for greater democratic control of economic life, Frances Moore Lappe told a crowd of over 400 co-op delegates attending the 54th Annual Institute of the Consumer Cooperative Alliance in Berkeley last week.

Lappe, food policy expert and author of internationally acclaimed books *Food First* and *Diet for a Small Planet*, said that co-ops should not confine their efforts to their own organizations, but attempt to build a "financial, social and legal infrastructure that will nourish cooperatives and give labor and consumers a greater voice."

Citing the growth of worker and consumer co-ops, and various plans in the U.S. and abroad to increase worker participation in decision making, Lappe predicted that economic democracy would take place at a rapid pace.

Urging cooperators to start thinking big, and stop regarding their endeavors as "marginal," she said that they must understand co-ops as part of this growing demand for greater economic democracy both in the workplace and in the marketplace.

"In one sense we have all been made marginal, not just the 10 million unemployed or the 30 million forced to live below the poverty line. We all are marginal. A central share of our lives is marginal to the concept of democracy.

"When we walk into the workplace, we take it for granted that we leave the concept of democracy at the doorway. As consumers we take it for granted as we face the market mechanism.

"We assume that, of course, only money speaks. The more money, the more voice, the more votes in the marketplace. These are things that

## Lappe Challenges Co-ops to a Broader Vision

we take for granted that are alien to the idea of democracy, one person, one vote."

Lappe referred to her own roots in the Co-op to illustrate her idea.

"As I look at my own life, I realize that I've felt marginal politically, socially. I have a marginal heritage. My grandfather, besides being a Wobbly, which of course made him marginal, was one of the founders of the Berkeley Co-op.

"How do we think about ourselves? Do we think big or do we think small. I would say that the opposite of marginal thinking is big thinking. The first part of big thinking is defining who the we is when we talk about the we. Small thinking might be something like this: we are the cooperative movement. We advance only as cooperatives grow. Or even smaller thinking, we advance only as the type of cooperative that we're in grows.

"Big thinking, on the other hand, is understanding that we're not a cooperative movement counting our success simply in terms of the number of cooperatives. We represent a worldwide awakening to the possibility of the democratization of economic life, from consumer choices, to the workplace, to economic

decision-making at the national level. It's an awakening that can be perceived around the world, in the newly-emerging cooperatives in Nicaragua, the underground but unrelenting pressure of trade unions in Poland, among Chinese peasants who are demanding a greater say in production and greater return for their efforts.

"Part of small thinking is exclusive thinking. Exclusive thinking sees cooperators as distinct from the trade union movement or distinct from those who would say they are working for socialism. So part of thinking big is thinking inclusively."

Some of the traditional ideas of top down control by management or state planners are breaking down, she said pointing out how worker buyouts of industries result in a greater degree of democratic control. Drawing on her international knowledge, she cited numerous examples of the advance of cooperative ownership and control, from the outstanding Mondragon worker and consumer co-ops in Spain to the new power of industrial co-ops in Italy and France.

She asked that co-ops put their work in historical perspective. "Besides thinking big, we must think long. Part of thinking long is historical thinking.

"Historical perspective means appreciating that even the possibility that people could be capable of economic self-management is a new concept. We have to recall that our most enlightened thinkers of the 19th century, even our illustrious founders of the co-op movement, such as Robert Owen, did not believe by any stretch of the imagination that people were capable of economic self-management. Owen wrote, and I quote: 'The rich should be *in loco parentis* for the poor, guiding and restraining them



*“When I wrote *Diet for a Small Planet* . . . I thought it would sell 500 copies.”*

like children.’

“Achieving political democracy took 400 years. It might be counted from the 1640s, with the Levelers’ Movement, up through the generation of my grandmother, which achieved universal suffrage here in the United States.

“Historical means that we realize what is taken for granted by one generation—the slave-master relationship, for example—can be regarded as unthinkable only a few generations later.

“This requires building a vision. And that’s where many of us balk. I think many of us think we don’t need a vision. We say, ‘If that works relatively well for me, that’s what really matters.’”

She cautioned cooperators to avoid rejecting either capitalist or socialist ideas simply because of their personal ideology, saying that co-ops should pick and choose from successful examples in all systems, using a pragmatic approach. She criticized co-ops for having fear of success and a desire to remain “marginal.”

She said that co-ops had to stop being self-righteous about their way, and start appealing to the broad base of people by offering alternatives that are better for everyone.

However, she leveled criticisms both at the capitalist economics and at “top down” socialism. Referring to her recent book on Nicaragua, *Now We Can Speak*, she warned cooperators not to be duped into rejecting revolutions in developing countries as “socialism.” Some of the most committed supporters of co-ops were also those who had supported the liberation of their countries from colonial and dictatorial powers, she said.

“I’m afraid that we feel somehow frightened by the term socialism. That we feel what we are doing is

separate from that. That we have come to see that perhaps socialism is simply state control, top down planning, coercion. It’s been hard for us to see how the cooperative movement and this kind of socialism are allies.

“So we cannot allow ourselves to have socialism defined that way for us. If we do we will miss a historic opportunity, because gross numbers of people who share our fundamental goals, who share our vision, identify themselves as socialists, not as people who proclaim themselves for state control. In fact the most enthusiastic cooperators I have met are those in what they themselves or others call socialist countries.

“I think of my first visit to a producer cooperative in Mozambique. At the time the newly liberated country of Mozambique was only a few years old, I’ll never forget as long as I live, standing in the fields of this newly-formed cooperative with a man who had fought most of his adult life for the



*Frances Moore Lappe, author and founder of the Institute for Food and Development Policy.*

liberation of his country. He wanted to tell me about all the problems. How the seeds arrived late, how they had theft in the first year of operation. He went on to say that none of that discouraged him. Because he understood that to walk from colonialism to the future is a very long walk, and that cooperatives were for him the only path to take.

“The most enthusiastic member of a cooperative that I have ever met was in Nicaragua last year. He had fought and worked for land reform for three decades. For many years I had read development textbooks that said most peasants are only interested in their own little parcel of land.

“Statism, which is my term for the Soviet model, is definitely in trouble. They’re not practical, because they limit human potential and they’re out of tune with human needs.

“We must communicate that our movement for the democratization of economic life does not require the restructuring of the human personality. It is practical because it is based on a realistic view of human motivation, a view that human beings have multiple needs. Needs of legitimate self interest that we should not deny or look down on. We have a need to have a say in our work, a say in our role as consumers and we have the need to feel that we are connected to something larger than our individual lives. We address all three needs. And that’s what we have to offer.

“I’m feeling less and less marginal. What seemed like marginal a decade ago is popping up everywhere.

“When I wrote *Diet for a Small Planet* in 1971, I have to confess that I thought it would sell 500 copies, and that 450 of those would



be in Berkeley. That was the kind of marginal thinking I was locked into. *Diet for a Small Planet* is in seven languages. I was wrong.

"Things are changing very fast. Both capitalism and the statist model are fallen gods or at least they're falling gods. People are searching. People are experimenting. One begins to feel that capitalism is discredited when you can even read *Business Week* scolding corporations for putting \$250 billion plus dollars into mergers rather than into investments that provide jobs for working Americans.

"When the biggest corporations of America have to put one-third of their advertising budget not just to sell a product but to sell us on the whole concept of our economic

system, you know that capitalism is a falling god.

"When a church and labor coalition in a relatively short period of time can muster \$40 million to boycott the Mellon Bank because they were so angry at this bank's support of the U.S. steel industry's abandonment of American workers,

"We see Pope John Paul II declare himself for the rights of labor over the rights of capital.

"We see a number of U.S. firms becoming worker-owned. We see the food co-op movement, which I thought would be a passing fad, having established itself."

Lappe's optimistic yet pragmatic

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*"We represent a worldwide awakening to the democratization of economic life."*

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you know that something's going on.

"People are searching. They're looking critically at these methods that we have taken for granted for so long.

vision met with an enthusiastic response from the cooperators who had come from all over the nation to Berkeley for this year's co-op convention. □

Reprinted from Co-op News, Berkeley, Ca.

**Dance New England, Another Place Farm,  
Greenville, New Hampshire, August 12—21, 1983**

## *Community Dances in New England*

by Bill McIvinney

A hundred years ago, our predecessors in New England gathered in town halls for contra dances. For thousands of years, our ancestors gathered around the fire for tribal dances. But it is only with a society as large and complex as ours that we see communities themselves developing around dance as part of a shared set of values.

Today, in New England, there are Dance Friday, Dance Spree, Dance Haven and Barefoot Boogie, all well-established dances, and half a dozen more of these cooperatively-run, community-conscious dances.

Beginning with "Dance Free" in Cambridge in the early 70's, the history of these weekly community dances includes artistic highs, deep friendships, organizational confusion, and almost anything else adults and children could be expected to create within a noisy, alcohol and smoke free environment — or in preserving the integrity of same. To carefully selected, pre-programmed tapes of eclectic music, people dance through solos, couples, large groups and small ones.

What turns a dance into a community of people? Dancing is, after all, a means of communicating, and the dances are occasions for social meeting and exchange. For many people the quality of pleasure and nurturing they get becomes great enough to overcome almost any obstacle to their participation in the community. As people begin to think of the dance as something they **belong** to rather than **go to**, the most important step has been taken.

It's great being at home, dancing through time. □



(l-r) coordinators Margaret Flinter, Paul Spielman, Jimi Two-Feathers



# *Dance New England, which will be 21 in the year 2000*

by Margaret Flinter

Looking back to my first Dance New England experience is like trying look back at your childhood; the highlights stand out in relief. They are made livelier by the fact that you have all these survivors of the same time with you — siblings in dance, as it were, to remember with you the early experiences.

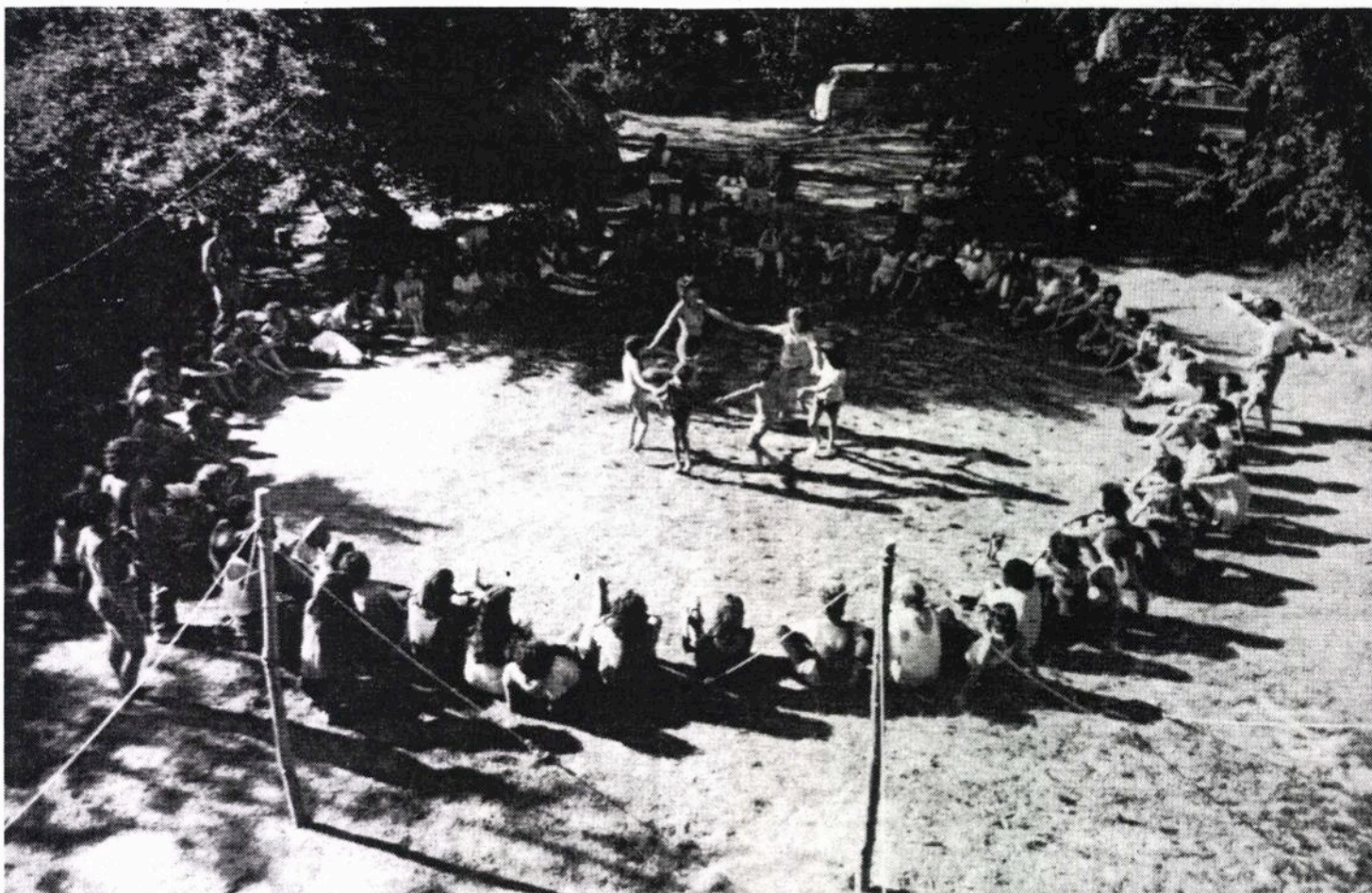
The Great Hall at Another Place Farm, with Sue Carol taking us through a calisthenic warmup, with people dropping like [butter]flies. Five days later, all of us flying across the room [and only occasionally crashing].

That first week in the summer of 1980 gave form to a structure that has been repeated and expanded: intensive workshops during the days, a blowout dance on Saturday

night, music, games, circles and songs before meals, playing with our kids and ourselves, talking about the issues which arise from our dancing and in our lives...

How does it happen that a group of people get together to dance for a week in the country? Perhaps it's the kind of group that knows a good thing when it appears, and is capable of making things happen.

Coordinated by representatives of the cooperative dances in New England, the week long summer camp is held at Another Place Farm in southern New Hampshire. Dance New England also holds quarterly weekends in New Haven [fall], Boston [winter] and New York [spring].



## **ROUND ROBIN**

One in solo  
joined,  
then two,  
till three by three  
they dance their lives  
before the eyes  
of a few good friends

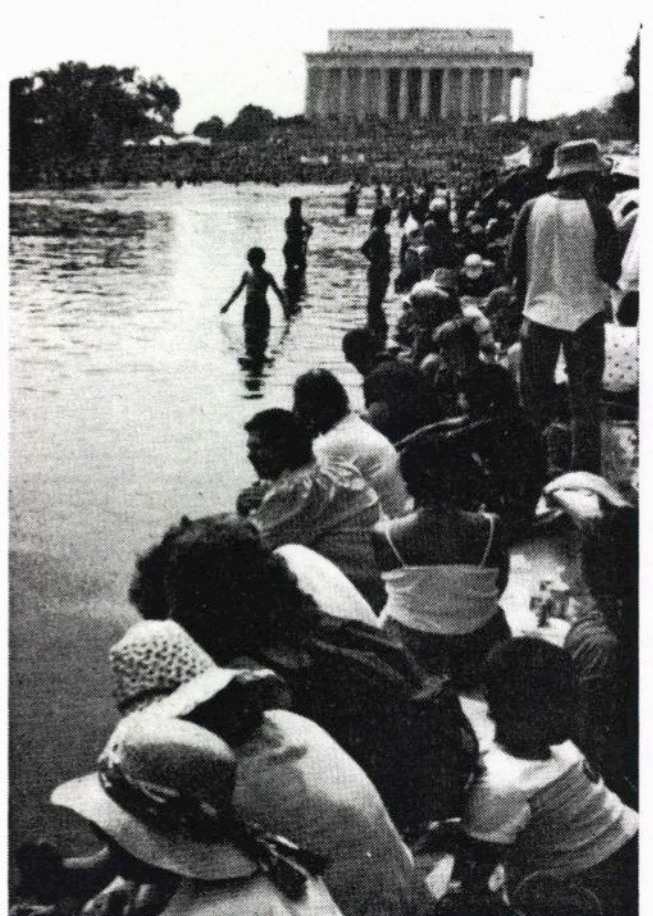
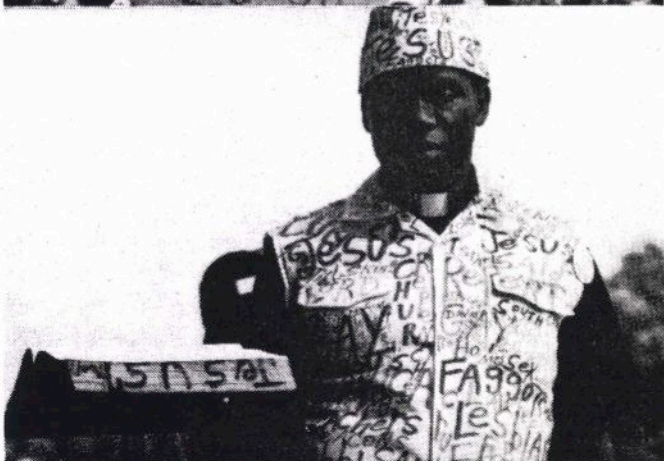
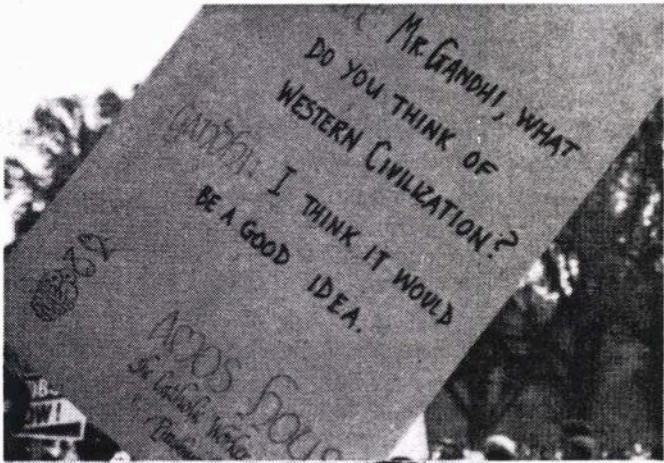
At the Sunday morning community meeting, preparing to make our leavetaking once again, I looked around at these wonderful friends, brunching and chatting; taking care of business so we could go on to play. Computer people, parents, artists, nurses, co-ops, unemployed and looking people — just another incredible changing and remaining group that knows how to take care of itself and each other. Not perfect, not for everyone. But ours and open to new dancers, new friends.

The dance goes on. Life does, too: Dance New England which will be 21 in the year 2000. □

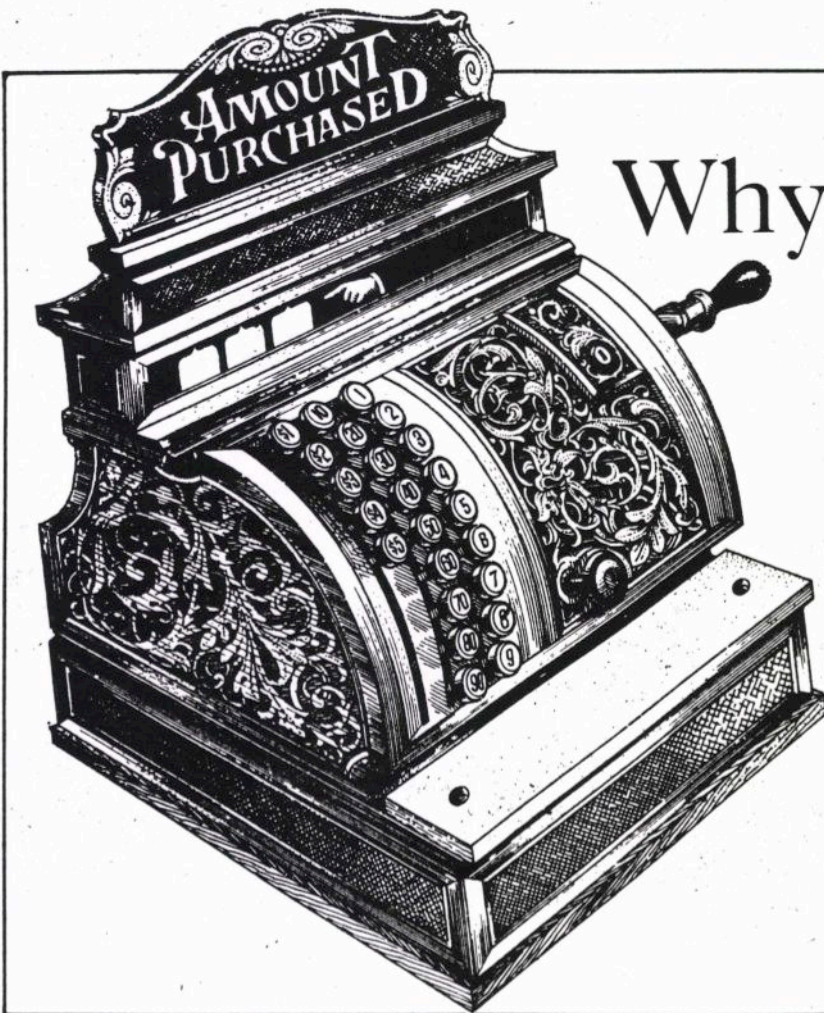




**March for Peace, Jobs and Freedom,  
Washington, D.C., August 27, 1983**







# Why must there be an alternative economic system?

by Jerry Voorhis, Sr.

There must soon be established, alongside the failing systems that now dominate the world, an alternative economic system whose genius is a socially health-giving motivation.

Why? Because effective motivation is the master key to any good society, and neither capitalism nor communism provides such a social motivation. Neither can, over any extended period of time, meet even the basic economic needs of its people. Nor does either of them offer the inspiration of mind and spirit without which life is barely worth the living.

There needs to be developed an alternative system built on a motivation that frees the human spirit; leads to full production and corresponding consumption; and harnesses self-interest irrevocably to serve the common good, the general welfare and the economic health of all society.

It needs to be a voluntary system that makes one's own advancement possible only if that very advancement engenders corresponding benefits to others in society.

It must be a system based on the motivation of meeting fully the basic needs of all members of society, in contrast to the motivation for maximum profit at the expense of others, or a motivation of slavish service to a gigantic, bureaucratic state.

Socially health-giving motivation is the master key. That motivation can be found in work that fulfills one's own

human needs and those of others—at the same time and by the same economic processes and organization.

The alternative must be a system which seeks full production and full employment. It must reduce costs to consumers, not increase them as profit-seeking business seeks inevitably to do. It must be a system that strengthens the economic health of the nation, instead of undermining it.

Finally, the alternative must be one that *motivates* people voluntarily to work together rather than against one another.

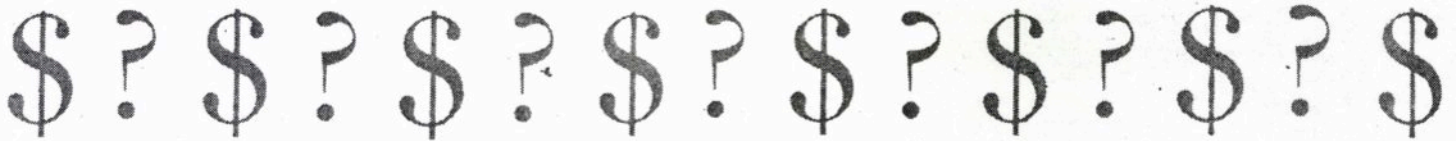
Well, such an alternative system now exists. It is far too small in general scope to challenge the existing order. But it does exist and is capable of expansion given the will of enough people, the finances required and a reasonably friendly and sympathetic government.

The name of this alternative is cooperation; voluntary cooperation to meet common needs.

It is a system that grows from the grass roots up, not from centers of irresponsible economic power down. Every cooperative enterprise has its ownership vested in local people in local communities. Every cooperative enterprise belongs by definition to those who need and can and will use its services. Those very people create the cooperative business for the explicit purpose of meeting fully their own needs and, to the extent possible, the needs of all society.







Well, there is a long, long way to go before this health-giving alternative can actually change the general character of the economic system. But mutual aid, the underlying principle of cooperative business is already at work.

### **Health Maintenance Organization**

One area is health care. It is true that the so-called Health Maintenance Organization (HMO) it has developed, has

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*The alternative must be one that motivates people voluntarily to work together rather than against one another.*

---

taken on a number of different forms. Some are more cooperative than others. But the HMO movement as a whole, is an adaptation of the original cooperative group practice. It includes prepayment, direct service, comprehensive care, and consumer-orientation as alternative to fee-for-service medicine.

And the HMO is today widely recognized as a tested, practical, beneficial and potentially widespread alternative.

Why? Because the motivation of health maintenance organization is to keep people well. It tries to provide its members with maximum quality health care for the least cost. And in every HMO there is a basic humanitarian motive at work. That motive is healthy people paying the average cost of care for the benefit of sick ones. Here indeed the second great commandment is fully expressed.

Furthermore, the Health Maintenance Organization is the one tried and proven method of reducing the mounting and exorbitant cost of health care. This is accomplished because such plans provide constant preventive and primary care and are thus able to cut hospital utilization by anywhere from 20% to 50%. They reduce surgery to what is really necessary and not dictated by a desire for physicians' profit. Therefore they get back to fundamentals: keeping people well, instead of just treating them after they become seriously ill.

HMO's contrast with the inevitable motivation of the fee-for-service system. Fee-for-service cannot escape the fact that its income depends upon enough sick, well-to-do

people to provide the desired, very high incomes of the medical profession.

### **Rural Electrification**

Another aspect of life where the cooperative alternative is already in place is in rural electrification. The rural electric cooperatives came into being purely through the voluntary organization of a human need, plus availability of financing from a government agency. The profit motive had failed completely to electrify the countryside. Only 11% of our farmers had electricity in 1935. This was because the for-profit power companies refused to serve rural areas, because they thought they could not maximize profit doing so. But the motivation of meeting a human need by people joining together who have that need did solve the problem. Today 99% of all farms in the USA are electrified. Half of all electricity consumed in rural America is supplied by the alternative/cooperative system.

The electric coops must, of course, provide service to everyone in their service territory. This dilutes the principle of volunteerism and puts into membership of the cooperative uninformed at best and reluctant at worst members. An effective program of member education and demonstration of the most efficient operation are essential. Electric cooperatives must compete with huge investor-owner utilities which have many times the number of

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*Half of all electricity consumed in rural America is supplied by the alternative/cooperative system.*

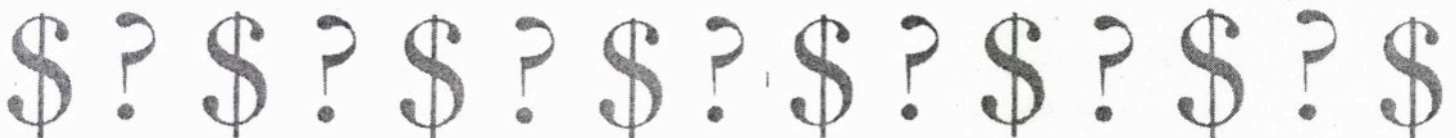
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customers per mile of line than the coops can possibly have in the very nature of their rural location.

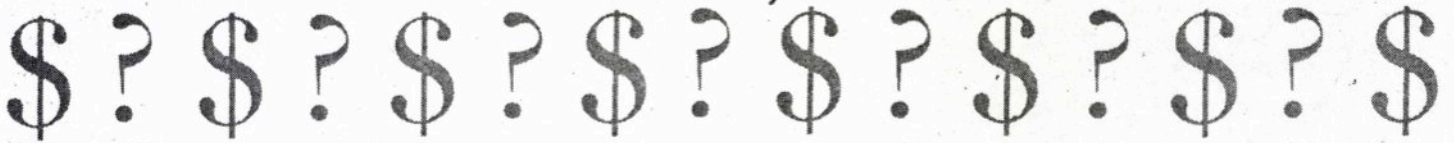
Nonetheless, the cooperative alternative has done the job of electrifying rural America whereas the profit motive simply could not (or more, would not) do that job, desperately as the nation needed it. The motivation of neighbor joining neighbor to fully meet both their needs did do the job.

### **Credit Unions**

All hope of economic independence for any person rests on his or her possession of some savings. Only when one has







some financial backlog to rely upon can one be economically free. Without savings anyone must depend on someone else for a job, a loan, or to find a means of living. But it does little good to make savings if control over one's savings is given away to someone else.

So there is nothing more important than an institution that enables ordinary people (even poor ones) to make savings and keep control of those savings once made.

Well, exactly such institutions do exist. They are financial cooperatives called credit unions. Some 20,000 such credit unions are doing business in the United States today. They have more than \$80 billion in assets and some

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*... effective motivation is the master key to any good society, and neither capitalism nor communism provides such a social motivation.*

---

40 to 50 million members. Almost one third of all American families have one or more members who own shares in a credit union.

Credit unions do about 15% of all small loan business in the country today. Thus their competition has been strong enough to bring banks and other reputable lenders to make small loans to little people. Once that business was almost all in the grim hands of loan sharks. Banks were not willing to make such loans until credit unions taught them that it could be safely done.

The basic difference between credit unions and other lending institutions is this: other lenders lend to people who don't really need a loan. The would-be borrowers always have all the equity they need to guarantee repayment. But credit unions are in business to make loans to people because they do need the loans. Many credit unions are character loans; loans secured by the good character of the borrower.

This is basically because credit unions, being cooperative in nature, belong to and are owned by their savers and borrowers and by no one else. Like all other kinds of cooperatives, credit unions are by their very nature oriented toward the needs of people. For it is the need of a group of people for their very own depository of savings, and repository of credit, and source of loans, that has caused the credit union to exist.

Credit unions enable their members to borrow from

their own pool of savings and to pay interest to themselves and their neighbors. That is a very good idea when you stop to think about it, and a very good alternative to the channelling of the people's savings into the financing of gigantic monopolistic, often multinational corporations. That is what usually happens to savings when they are entrusted to conventional financial institutions such as banks, trust companies, mutual investment funds.

#### **Other Co-Ops**

The cooperative alternative also is alive and well in the business of producing and distributing the supplies needed by farmers and rural people in their businesses and for their homes. It is alive in thousands of cooperatively owned food stores, and supermarkets, It is alive in hundreds of housing cooperatives. It is alive in the cooperative Farm Credit System, it is alive in some cooperatively-oriented mutual insurance companies. It is strong in the marketing of farm crops and the catch of fishermen. Students' cooperatives, cooperatives for eye-care, parent's pre-school cooperatives, cooperative memorial and funeral societies, and many more kinds of cooperative institutions exist in our land and serve the needs of groups of people.

And there is increasing interest in worker-owned enterprises, especially where application of worker-ownership can save jobs which otherwise would disappear as a company moves away.

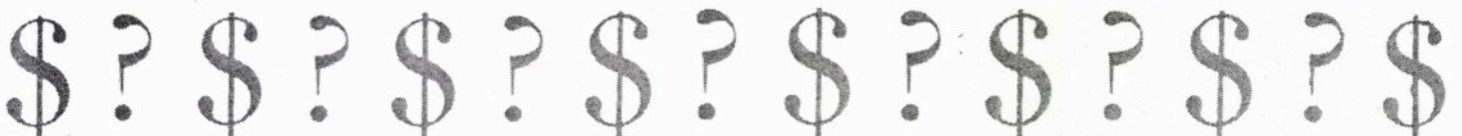
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*Every cooperative enterprise belongs by definition to those who need and can and will use its services.*

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Trouble is that, except for the three illustrations described above (the HMOs, credit unions, rural electrics and perhaps farm marketing and some lines of insurance) the alternative is not yet anywhere near strong enough to provide the balance wheel for a truly free and just economy.

The task, the challenge, therefore, for people of brave, far-sighted vision is to build so strongly and so well the scope of this health giving alternative, we must in time, fulfill that destiny to the benefit of all humankind. □





**IN THE SPRING OF 1982**, Co-op America was just an idea. There were needs for bringing together, in a practical way, socially and environmentally responsible businesses, non-profit public interest groups and cooperatives.

Today, Co-op America is more than a vision. It is a lively association and marketing network that has grown and gained momentum. In little more than a year, more than 300 groups and thousands of individuals have joined.

### BACKGROUND

Through the past two decades have flowed deep themes of environmental and social concern. Out of this concern have developed worker-owned, democratically managed and right-livelihood businesses; progressive public interest non-profit groups; and consumer cooperatives. What they have shared is a commitment to quality of life and a reasonable economic return, rather than profits.

Because of their concerns, most of these groups have chosen to stay small and personal. But there have been some dues for those choices: dependence on traditional, profit oriented services; spiritual and political fragmentation; and a lack of any unified, visible, national economic presence.

A year ago, a first step was taken — creating a national membership association, Co-op America. Through Co-op America, hundreds of these groups have already been serving each others' needs for appropriate and reasonably-priced services, products and information.

In the spring of 1983, these groups took the next step of reaching out to the Individual Members who could complete the circle of creating an alternative economy.

### WHO WE ARE

Co-op America is a non-profit, national membership association joining organizations and individuals concerned with creating an economy based on the values of social and environmental responsibility and cooperation in the workplace; a tax-exempt foundation; and a marketing business — all managed by a worker co-op.

Our Organizational Members include conscious businesses like Good Things Collective and Life Tools Co-op which are retail distributors; producers like Workers Owned Sewing Company and Hummingbird Spinning Wheels; national groups like the Consumer Co-op Alliance, Movement for a New Society, National Center for Employee Ownership, National Women's Health Network; regional groups like Dance New

England, Federation of Southern Cooperatives; consumer co-ops like Puget in Seattle and Leon County in Tallahassee; public interest groups like Minnesota COACT; community service groups like Los Angeles Childbirth Center and Workers Trust; wholesale businesses like Renaissance Greeting Cards, Cleareye Co-op and Blooming Prairie Warehouse.

Our first few thousand Individual Members have primarily been drawn from among the folks who support, read, belong to or patronize our Member Organizations. We continue to be aided in this process by strong endorsements we have received from groups like Ladyslipper, Greenpeace — New England, Whole Life Times, Community Jobs, Mother Jones. Increasingly we will be reaching out to a wider membership.

The Co-op America Foundation is a project of the Trusteeship Institute which is committed to worker-ownership and social responsibility. Co-op America can receive tax-free donations through the Foundation.

Co-op America is managed by a workers cooperative. Our director is Paul Freundlich, co-editor and publisher of *Communities, Journal of Co-operation* since 1975, and editor of the book, *A Guide to Cooperative Alternatives*.

Our Operations Consultant, Debby Shacter was previously with Calvert Group and Consumers United Insurance Company. Denise Hamler, Marketing Coordinator, joined the staff after co-ordinating the Consumer Cooperative Alliance Institute '82. Susan Osburn, formerly with the National Women's Health Network, joined us recently as Membership Coordinator.



### WHAT DOES IT MEAN IF YOU BECOME A MEMBER?

In the short run: unity, access and savings, and participation. In the long run: much more.

**1. Unity:** For all of its wealth, the way America is organized creates vast pressures. Keeping it together means our minds, our bodies, relationships, finances, jobs, living situation, our spirit. Get one aspect of our lives so it feels right, and two others fall apart or come under attack.

For most of us, that's normal, and it doesn't seem to be getting any better.

As a member of Co-op America, you are joining with those who share your values in a practical marketplace of products, services and ideas. The economic strength which is generated can help build the kind of world we want—for ourselves and our children.

*cont. on pg. 41*

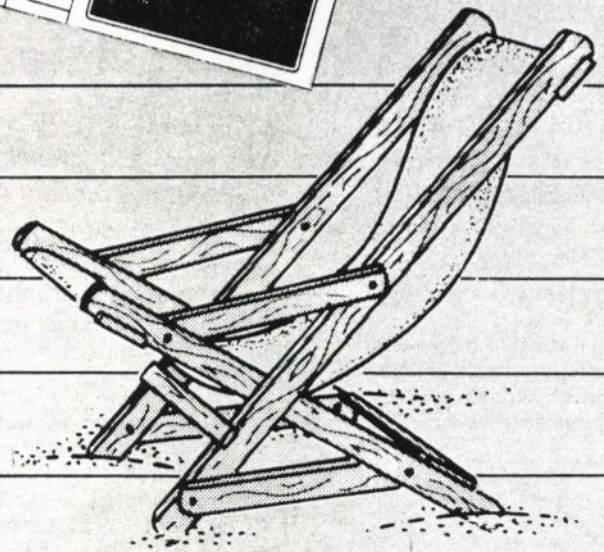
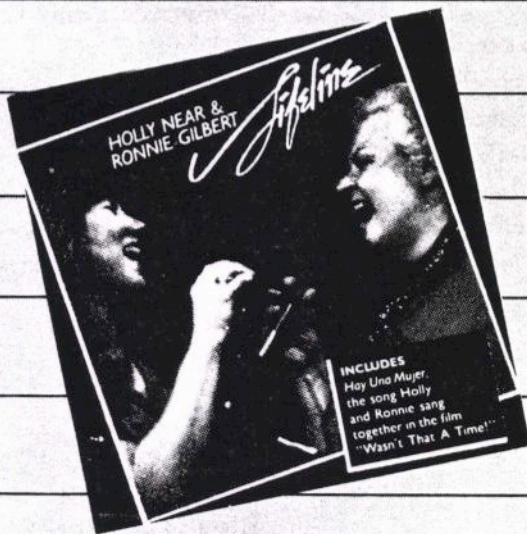
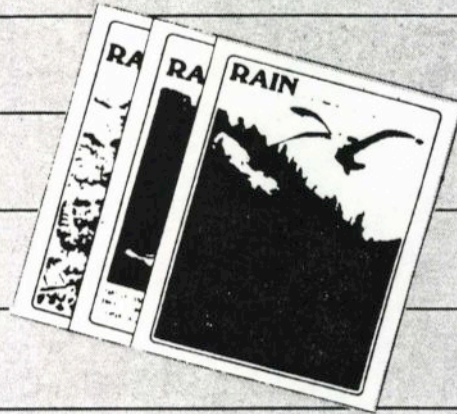
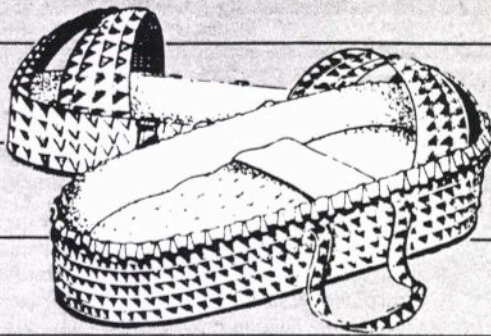




CO-OP AMERICA

Fall/Winter, 1983

HOLIDAY  
CATALOG



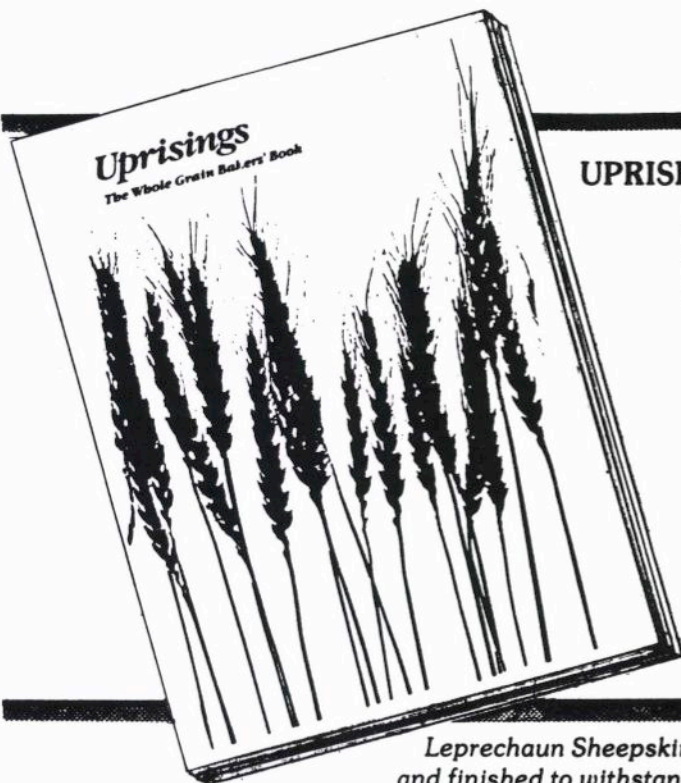
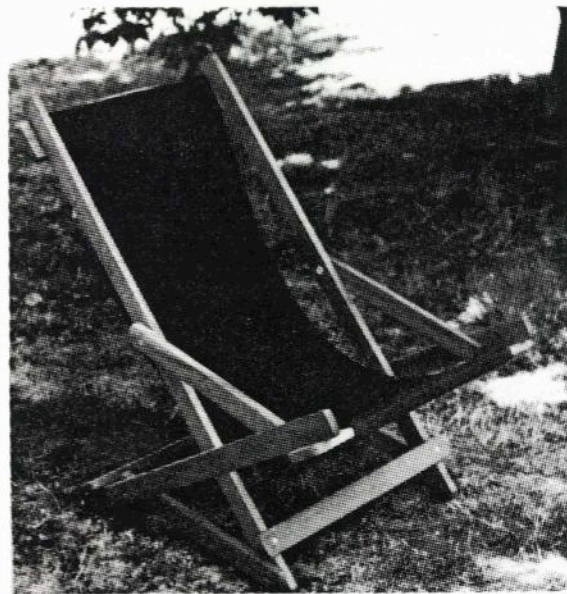
Choosing what you need  
from those you respect  
for those you love



## MAHOGONY SLING ROCKING CHAIR

A beautiful Sling Rocking Chair of weather-resistant mahogany. Rocks on any surface. Folds flat for easy storage or transport. Its removable 100% cotton duck sling is available in attractive navy, chocolate or beige. This handsome mahogany chair is made by the women and men of two craft cooperatives in Honduras, brought to America by Pueblo-to-People, and will be a welcome and comfortable addition indoors or outdoors.

**CA601. Price: \$39.00 [\$6.00 shipping]. Colors of canvas: navy, chocolate, beige.**



## UPRISINGS, The Whole Grain Bakers' Book

**A Uniquely Enjoyable Baking Book featuring the best recipes of 32 whole-grain, cooperatively-run bakeries**

### Featuring:

- easy directions for over 200 home-size recipes, including treats like Papaya Squares and Pecan Sandies, delicious hearty staples like Veggie Bread and Grandpa's Farm Bread, plus plenty of cakes, rolls, muffins, cookies, granola...
- a helpful guide to foods used in whole grain baking, with a commonsense approach to nutrition, as well as comprehensive directions for all types of baking
- an extensive index that includes listings by type of baked good; special dietary characteristic (eggless, dairyless, etc.) and by major ingredients.
- handsome illustrations; a tour of the thirty-two colorful bakeries, and how whole grains affect our health, and work affects our lives.

**CA620. Price: \$11.95 [.50 shipping]**

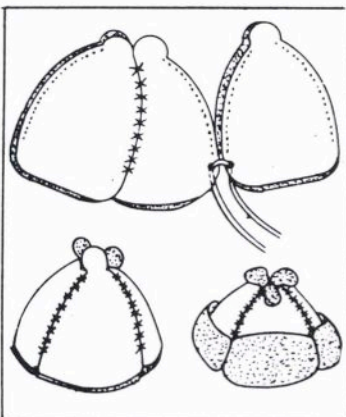
## TIBET

Ancient Himalyan design with unique top vent. 3-piece, head-conforming styling with durable leather lacing for a rugged

touch. The kit comes with all pieces ready for assembly in less than an hour. An incredible price for a wonderful hat.

**CA701. Price: \$25.00 [\$2.00 ship.]**

**Sizes: S,M,L. Colors: stoney, ranch, buckwheat, grey.**

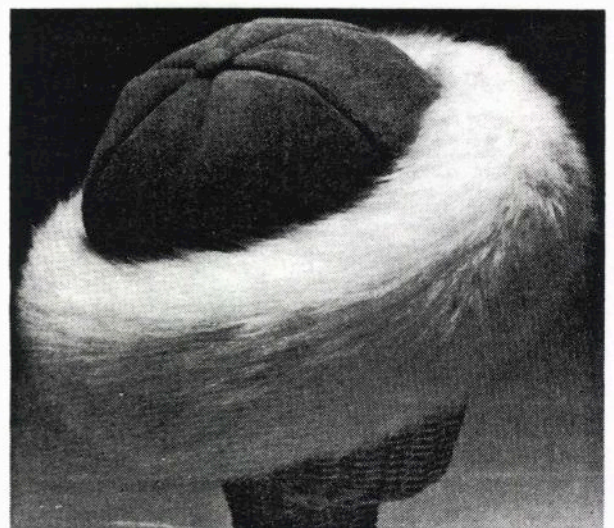


## CZARINA

Luxurious natural deep pile brim, suede crown. Elegant style, yet warm and comfortable.

**CA700. Price: \$49.00 [\$2.00 shipping].**

**Sizes: S,M,L. Colors: nutmeg, antelope, stoney, cinnamon, expresso, honey, ranch, buckwheat, grey, mocha, blue, black, burgandy.**





2100 M Street, NW, Suite 605  
Washington, DC 20063  
1-800-424-9711, ext. 5307  
in DC: 872-5307



Fall/Winter, 1983  
HOLIDAY  
CATALOG

Dear Friends,

Welcome to Co-op America's Alternative Marketplace. In it you will find products and services representing some of our more than 300 Organizational Members. You can be assured of quality and reasonable cost from groups which share your concern for environmental survival, peace, social justice and cooperation.

Some of the extraordinary products and services you will find are:

- \* furniture from Central American craft co-ops, and coffee from Nicaragua offered through Pueblo to People and Friends of the Third World; regional products from the northwest, Appalachia and New England
- \* savings on 100% cotton clothing through Good Things Collective, household goods through Life Tools Co-op, books through Food for Thought; the new Holly Near-Ronnie Gilbert collaboration through Ladyslipper; new age music from Wings of Song
- \* an alternative health insurance plan for members through a worker-owned insurance company; the latest information on social investment

Co-op America is a non-profit, national membership association, managed by a worker cooperative. From baby bassinets to ban the bombs, every dollar you spend will be building a hopeful and practical economic alternative. By supporting locally-based, socially-concerned groups, you are helping challenge the basic assumptions of a mass-produced, profit-oriented and environmentally unconcerned economy.

For those of you using our catalog for the first time, we invite you to try us out. Non-members can order, although there is a small service charge (\$3). Membership information is on page C-12, and we hope you'll join at our regular annual Individual Membership fee of \$15.

For those of you who are already members, we know you'll share our excitement at this newest step in serving you - access to new and useful products, services and ideas to help us build a healthy, peaceful world.

In Cooperation,

*Paul Freundlich*  
for the staff,

Paul Freundlich, director

**Making Your Dollars Count for Personal and Social Change**



## HUMMINGBIRD SPINNING WHEELS

Hummingbird Spinning Wheels are designed and handcrafted in Eugene, Oregon from the finest materials: red oak, solid-core birch plywood, cocobolo, ebony and leather, with stainless steel and oiled bronze bearings. It is an attractive, efficient and inexpensive spinning tool. For transportation or storage, the entire wheel can be quickly disassembled with a few screws and bolts.

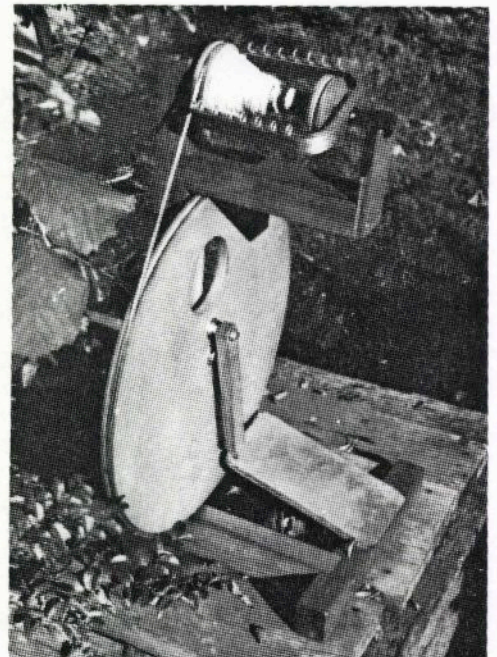
The Hummingbird Spinning Wheel is a handsome tool that will give you years of useful and pleasing service.

The Hummingbird Spinning Wheel is of the castle, or cottage design, with Indian Head tension (single drive belt, bobbin lead, flyer tension). For easy treadling, the drive wheel is mounted on two ball bearings and is eccentrically weighted. The foot treadle is double action, so that heel as well as toe pressure powers the drive wheel. This provides accurate control of spinning speed. Tension on the flyer is precise and easily adjusted by a leather strap. A snap is provided for quick and easy bobbin exchange. The drive band is readily accommodated on the maidenhead when not on the bobbin. Being solidly constructed, the wheel sits well on the floor and does not wander when spinning.

**CA631. Cost: \$145.**

**CA630. In Kit form. Price: \$110.00**

**[shipping for either item, from zip code 000-799, \$12.00; over 800, \$8.00]**



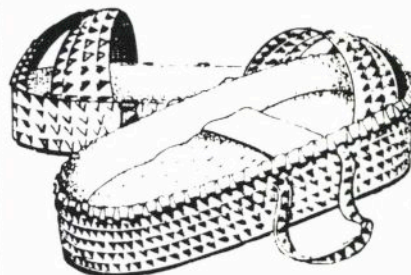
### BOOKCASE

A turned, wooden-bar bookcase in a simple and contemporary style for books, stereo, record albums. Four shelves, 10'' x 36'' x 40'' high. Made by a Honduran craft cooperative.

**CA600. Cost: \$29.00 [\$4.00 shipping]**

## FOR YOUR HOUSEHOLD *through Pueblo to People*

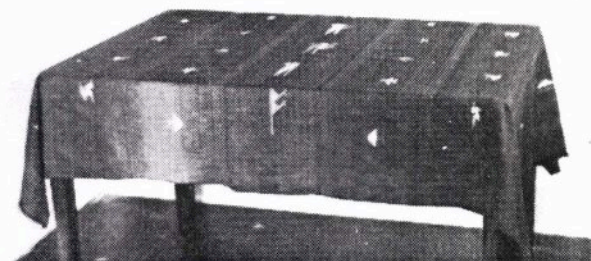
### BASSINETS



These charming bassinets are woven from palm leaves and are extremely durable. They come with a mattress, fitted sheet, quilted reversible comforter made from soft cotton fabrics in floral prints. The bassinets are made by a women's cooperative in Honduras. Available in baby size (29'' x 17'') and doll size (17'' x 10'').

**CA602. Baby. Price: \$49.00 [\$6.00 shipping]**

**CA603. Doll. Price: \$14.00 [\$4.00 shipping]**

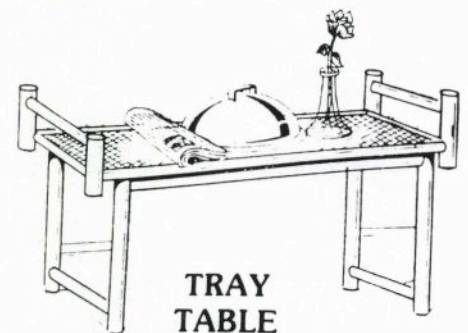


### GUATAMALAN TABLE CLOTH and NAPKIN SET

From a Guatemalan crafts cooperative, famous handwoven cotton cloth, with colorful embroidery. Along with the generous 60 x 80 tablecloth come eight matching napkins. A wonderful setting for a holiday table.

**CA605. Cost: \$25.00 [shipping & handling, \$4.00]**

Specify background color choice: *blue, brown or white.*

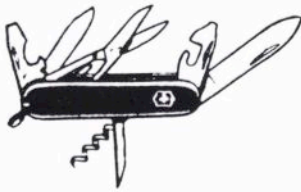


### TRAY TABLE

Great for breakfast in bed, or coffee serving tray. Constructed of blond, wooden bars with woven palm-leaf mat surface. Tray lifts from base for easy serving. 24''x16''x16'' high.

**CA604. Cost: \$14.00 [ship., \$4.00]**





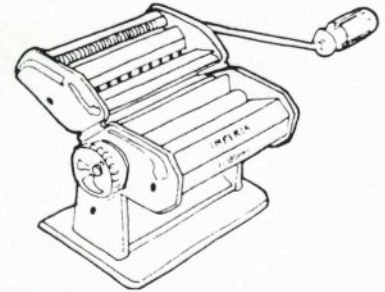
### BACKPACKER KNIFE

This is the classic Victorinox Swiss Army Knife made of stainless steel. The *Backpacker* features a large blade, medium blade, large screwdriver, medium screwdriver, bottle cap lifter, wire stripper, corkscrew, can opener, large scissors, toothpick, large tweezers, medium reamer and key ring.  
**CA647. \$19.50 [\$1.40 shipping]**

### AETERNUM PRESSURE COOKERS

Aeternum Pressure Cookers are absolutely the finest pressure cooker made. All stainless steel, triple bottom construction, Italian made in a very elegant design. Unlike any other pressure cooker, the Aeternum opens to the inside for safety. Mirror finish, inside and out.

5 1/4 qt., CA644. \$56.00 [\$2.70 shipping]  
 7 qt., CA645. \$62.00 [\$2.90 shipping]



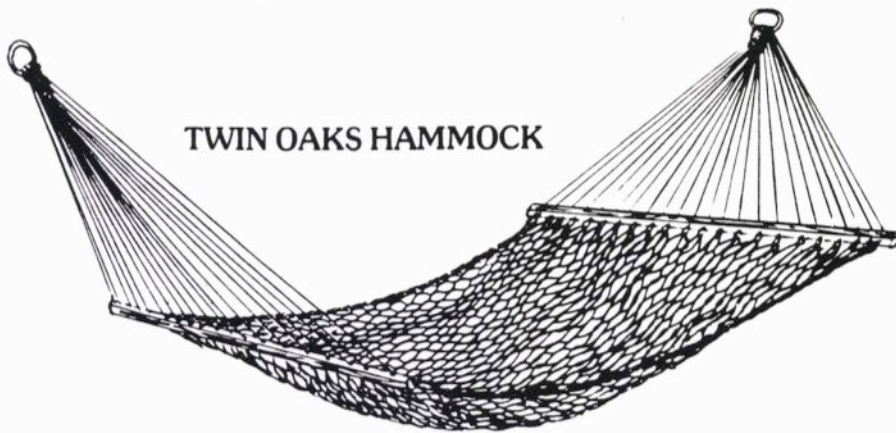
### NOODLE CHEF

Once you've had homemade noodles, it's hard to go back. The Imperia Noodle Chef is made of chromed steel, self-lubricating, self-cleaning, sturdy clamp, self-sharpening, 6" wide, with a 1 year guarantee. Recipes are included.  
**CA642. \$27.00 [\$3.40 shipping]**

### TOFU KIT

Based on the design from the Book of Tofu, this kit comes with everything needed to make tofu: mahogany press, filter bag, cheesecloth, natural nigari, and a 16 page book with recipes and instructions.  
**CA646. \$18.00 [\$1.90 shipping]**

Great savings from Life Tools Co-op  
**15-40% off retail**



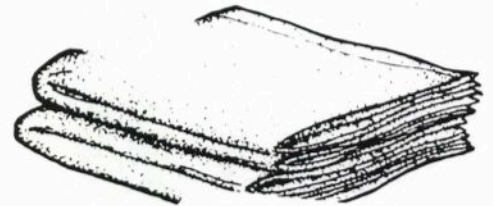
### TWIN OAKS HAMMOCK

Woven by Twin Oaks Community out of white, textured, polysynthetic rope to resist rot, mildew and shrinkage. These comfortable and spacious hammocks (60" x 84") hold several people easily and are an attractive addition to any outdoor or indoor space. The stretchers are made of varnished clear oak, an indication of the quality that have made these hammocks so successful for so many years.

**CA640. Cost: \$56.00 [\$3.70 shipping]**

### OSTER JUICER

A centrifugal pulp ejecting juicer with built in pouring pitcher. Stainless steel blades and basket. One year guarantee. A very good value.  
**CA641. \$59.00 [\$3.40 shipping]**



### 100% COTTON FLANNEL SHEETS

Made in England, these sheets are the best made at the best prices. 100% cotton, soft, light, seamless, untreated, static-free, guaranteed against defect, will not exceed 3% shrinkage, spin dry, no ironing. Flannel sheets make an ideal light covering in the summer, and warm you in the winter. Available in an attractive range of colors and patterns: Champagne, Blue, Cherry or Shadow Stripe.

Full Flat, CA648. Cost: \$20.00 [shipping, \$1.70]

Full Fitted, CA649. Cost: \$24.00 [shipping, \$1.70]

Queen Flat, CA721. Cost: \$23.00 [shipping, \$1.70]

Queen Fitted, CA 720. Cost: \$27.00 [shipping, \$1.70]

Pillowcase, CA722. Cost: \$5.50 [shipping, \$1.40]

Indicate color choice: champagne, blue, cherry or shadow stripe.



### 3 PIECE WOK SET

The set includes a 14" wok, ring base and cover. The most efficient and nutritious way of cooking.  
**CA643. \$21.00 [\$3.20 shipping]**



# Toys and Games with an ecological flavor

## SAVE THE WHALES

In Save The Whales all players work together to save eight great whales: Bowhead, Fin, Blue, Gray, Right, Sperm and Orca. While cooperating with one another, players try to beat the system (oil spills, radioactive wastes, catcher ships) — the forces which are actually pushing our great whales toward extinction — just as in real life.

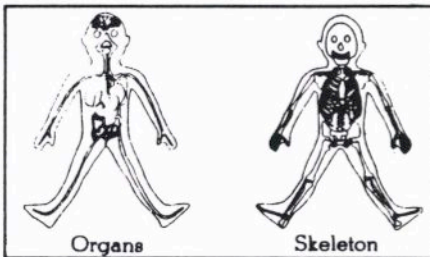
Players earn survival points during the game which they can pool to help whales in trouble. The game cards offer players a chance to learn all about whales.

The board is simply beautiful. The color drawings sparkle as if you were riding alongside a great whale in the ocean.

Save the Whales is very realistic, highly educational and enjoyable, too. The handsome metal whale playing pieces can also be worn as pendants. CA660. Price: \$25.00 [\$2.00 shipping]



Amusing, educational, beautifully colorful silk-screened puzzles from Coyote Collections, an Oregon craft group. This is one of those toys designed for children that adults have a hard time resisting.



### OUR BODY, a multilayered puzzle

A fun introduction to anatomy and the systems that make us tick. 4 layers, 18 pieces. Ages 3-8. CA613. Price: \$16.00 [\$3.00 ship.\*]

\*save on shipping  
\*save on shipping  
— \$.50 for each add. item from same address]

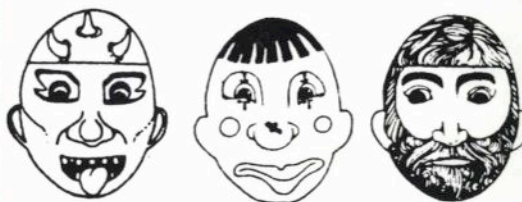


### THE OCEAN, a multilayered puzzle

Crafted of wood and colorfully silk-screened, The Ocean is a fanciful, entertaining and educational toy. Layer by layer we discover the life below the ocean surface. Mixing the layers makes for intriguing possibilities. 18 pieces. CA611. Price: \$18.50 [\$3.00 shipping\*]

### DINOSAURS

A children's favorite. The real, once-alive giants of old. 6 pieces. Ages 3-6. 11" x 14". CA612. Price: \$13.50 [\$3.00\* ship.]



### MAKING FACES, a multilayered puzzle

The four faces are each made up of four wooden sections (hair, eyes, nose, mouth) allowing almost infinite opportunities for foolishness. Brilliant colors will delight all. CA610. Price: \$19.50 [\$3.00 shipping\*]





# MUSIC



## Dynamic, New Age music from the 30 singers and instrumentalists who make up ON WINGS OF SONG

### TRUST IN LOVE

Our latest recording of folk/rock songs written by musical director, Robbie Gass. Provocative and deeply moving songs of personal and social transformation. Called by West Coast Source distributors, "The number one New Age vocal albut of 1983." Includes "Welcome To This World," "Hunger," "Opening The Heart" and "Trust In Love."

CA730. Price: \$8.00 [\$1.25 shipping]. Color choice: Record or Cassette

### MANY BLESSINGS

Chants and songs collected from different traditions which celebrate human unity and inspire peace and well-being. Includes: "Listen, Listen, Listen," "From Thee I Receive," "May The Long Time Sun Shine Upon You," "Tis A Gift To Be Simple."

CA732. Price: \$8.00 [\$1.25 shipping] Color choice: Record or Cassette

### ON WINGS OF SONG

Our first album of original songs by Robbie Gass. The music speaks of awakening, relationships and joy. Includes "Sun And The Moon," "Spring Hill," "You Can Be As Free," "Not My Will But Thine."

CA733. Price: \$8.00 [\$1.25 shipping]. Color choice: Record or Cassette

## LIFELINE, Holly Near and Ronnie Gilbert

A majestic collaboration of generations and spirits. Ronnie was one of the Weavers in the 40's and 50's, a folk group which loudly voiced the progressive and humanistic concerns of the American people until the blacklist virtually silenced them. The strength of their music and their commitment won the devotion of a large following.

Holly grew up admiring Ronnie's strong, proud singing and stance, and dedicated her second album to her. They got together for the filming of "Wasn't That a Time," when Ronnie was learning some of Holly's songs for the Weavers' Carnegie Hall reunion concert. Ronnie's awareness of women's issues and her consciousness of herself as a woman performer had grown because of Holly's music. Then they began touring together.

**Lifeline** is a live recording from the Great American Music Hall in San Francisco. Styles range from folk and jazz to Broadway and gospel.

CA189. Price: \$7.95 [\$1.75 shipping]. Under color choice: Record or cassette.

and...

## JOURNEYS, Holly Near

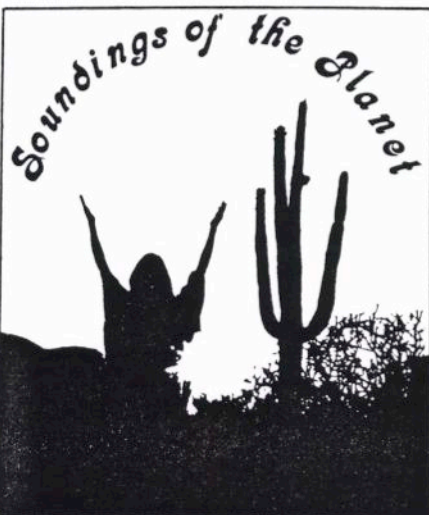
A representative sampling of her first six albums, compiled because so many folks, new to her music, have asked for one. For Holly Near's music, this is a good place to begin.

CA390. Price: \$7.95 [\$1.75 shipping and handling]

When ordering, indicate record or cassette under "color choice"

Women's music from Ladyslipper

The Musical Event of  
Two  
Generations



## A Peaceful, Graceful Meeting of Music and Natural Sounds...

### ALIVE TREE O, Kramer, Evenson, Verdeaux

Cello, flute, grand piano. In a rare and special concert, three outstanding artists perform original and spontaneous compositions for meditation and celebration.

CA773. Price: \$8.00 [\$1.00 shipping]

### MOEBIUS, Cyrille Verdeaux

An ecstatic inner journey spirals on the wings of spacious sound. Romantic, classical and refreshingly beautiful piano melodies float through a poetic and subtle synthesized soundscape. Cello and natural sounds enhance textures of tonal harmonies.

CA772. Price: \$8.00 [\$1.00 shipping]

### DESERT DAWN SONG, Evenson

Desert floor swells with life as the earth rolls into a new day. The magic of birds at dawn and a voice echoing across a canyon join with flute, cello and harp to greet the morning light.

CA770. Price: \$8.00 [\$1.00 shipping]

### LIFESTREAM, Evenson, D'Rachel

Musical harmonies of flute and harp flow with the cycle of nature's water. From the rain, wind and birds of mountain forest to streams, waterfalls and ocean rhythms deep with whale songs.

CA771. Price: \$8.00 [\$1.00 shipping]

Only Available in Cassette



Add a taste of justice to your morning coffee ...



### PURE NICARAGUAN COFFEE

Drip/Filter Grind, vacuum packed in recyclable foil to maintain freshness for months. Temporarily processed in Holland until the Nicaraguans can do it themselves. Each order contains two packages, more than a pound of delicious coffee.

CA760. Price: \$5.50 [\$1.75 shipping, \$.25 for each additional item to the same address]

*This is the highest quality, premium coffee. Here's a chance to mix good taste with good politics.*



[For a wonderful way to prepare your coffee, see page C-16]

### WOOL AND COTTON TIGHTS

#### WOOL TIGHTS

Soft, warm, wool tights, a luxury for your legs. Flat knit with a plush elastic waistband. Reinforced toe and heel. 92% wool, 6% nylon, 2% lycra. Handwash, dry flat, preshrunk. CA088. Price: \$18.00 [shipping included]. Sizes: S [fits 4'9"-5'2"]; M [5'2"-5'7"]; L [5'7"-5'10"]. Colors: Camel, Grey, Black, Navy, Dark Brown, Antique Rose.

#### COTTON TIGHTS

A cotton tight that fits. Made by Hue. Two sizes, regular and queen. 90% cotton, 10% lycra and nylon. Cotton for comfort, lycra and nylon for stretch and durability. Cotton fiber is spun around the lycra and nylon so that only 100% cotton touches you. Tube foot construction for versatile foot fitting, flat knit with a reinforced toe. Hand wash. Preshrunk. CA087. Price: \$16.50. Sizes: Regular [70-165 lbs.]; Large [up to 225 lbs.]. Colors: Black, Grey, Burgandy, Navy, Brown



### CHILD'S CHAMOIS OVER-SHIRT AND JOGGING PANTS

Both very soft and very tough, cotton chamois is ideal for children's clothing. These shirts and pants are easy to get on and off, and roomy enough to layer over another garment. Designed to be worn together as a set or separately. Machine wash and dry. Shrinkage, 2-3%.

#### OVERSHIRT

Soft and loose fitting for active children. CA083. Price: \$13.75 [shipping included]. Sizes: 2-3, 4-5, 6-6x. Colors: blue, dark brown, maroon.

#### JOGGERS

Elastic encased at waist and ankles. Soft, tough pants for kids to run around in. CA084. Price: \$11.75 [shipping included]. Sizes: 2-3, 4-5, 6-x. Colors: blue, dark brown, maroon.



### VERMONT GIFT BASKET

A selection of delicious favorites from Cherry Hill Cooperative Cannery. Contains one pint of pure Vermont Maple Syrup, and one pound each of smooth, naturally sweet Apple Butter and tangy Cranberry Apple Sauce. Blended from hand-selected, premium quality Vermont apples. No artificial flavors, colors, sweeteners or additives are used. You will love having these wonderful jars on your table, or proud to send them as a gift.

CA512. Price: \$16.50 [shipping included]

### VERMONT MAPLE SYRUP

1/2 gallon, 64 oz. of pure Vermont Maple Syrup.

CA511. Price: \$19.50 [shipping included]

### CLANCY'S FANCY REAL HOT SAUCE



Meet the very friendly Hot Sauce. A heart-warming housewarming gift. Unique all-vegetable mixture adds zest to any dish. Clancy's is very concentrated: one bottle serves hundreds. Fire your imagination!

CA710. Price: [4 oz.] \$5.50 [ship. incl.]

CA711. [8 oz.] Price: \$7.00 [ship. incl.]







## GRANDFATHER SHIRT

The all-time favorite from Good Things Collective

A super comfortable shirt. Roomy with a drop shoulder seam and a tailored placket closing. It has a soft band collar and a shirt tail hem. The buttons are of smooth brown coconut shell. For men and women. Material is a heavyweight cotton gauze, offered in an extraordinary range of bright, clear colors. Machine wash and dry. Preshrunk.

CA047. Price: \$29.75 [shipping included]. Sizes: XS,S,M,L,XL,XXL. Colors: white, purple, teal, blue, rust



## TURTLENECK

A wardrobe standard, this turtleneck is one of the most durable knits around. 100% cotton comfort in colors to match any style or mood. Machine wash and dry. Preshrunk.

CA082. Price: \$11.50 [shipping included]. Sizes: S,M,L,XL,XXL. Colors: jade, turquoise, lavender, blue, red, fuchsia, black, rust.

### TURTLENECK FOR CHILDREN

The same great fabric and colors in sizes just right for smaller folks.

CA085. Price: \$8.75 [shipping included]. Sizes: 2-3, 4-5, 6-7. Colors: same as adult colors



## V-NECK TOP — Sale! 20% off

An improved version of our V-neck Summer Top. Of textured, lightweight, 100% cotton gauze, this breezy shirt is gently gathered at the front shoulder seams for a casual look. With short, set-in sleeves, it's a must for cool comfort. Machine wash warm, tumble dry. 2-3% shrinkage.

CA086. Price: \$11.99 [regular, \$15.75] [shipping included]. Sizes: S,M,L,XL. Colors: Periwinkle Blue, Plum, Turquoise, Forest Green.



## JUMPSUIT — Sale! 40% off

Our generously cut, V-neck Jumpsuit is a new style - an original design from a New England manufacturer. Of heavyweight 100% cotton gauze, this textured, elegant garment is great for dress or play. It features sewn-on pockets, elasticized ankles, and pleated shoulder straps. Fabric loops on one shoulder strap close over matching buttons. Wear it loose, or with its own belt. Machine wash warm, tumble dry. 2-3% shrinkage.

CA080. Price: \$29.99 [regular, \$49] (shipping included). Sizes: S [6-8], M [10-12], L [14-16]. Colors: turquoise, fuchsia, teal, lilac.



## SALE — Reduced from \$35.50 CORDUROY PULLOVER DRESS

A comfortable, loose-fitting dress. The high yoke with its soft gathering and open, banded V-neck will look good alone or ver matching shirts and turtle-necks. We put a pocket in each side seam, and added a tie-belt and delicate buttons on the cuffs. This long-sleeved dress can be worn to any occasion, dressy or casual. Below the knee length. 11% cotton corduroy.

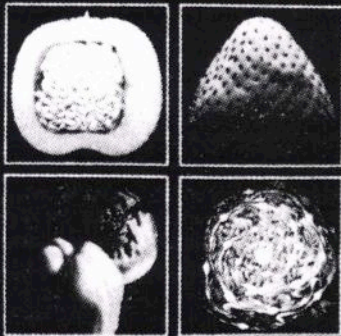
CA081. Price: \$26.50 [shipping included]. Sizes: S,M,L,XL. Colors: char brown, cabbage red, shetland blue, safari green.

from  
Good Things Collective  
100% COTTON CLOTHING



New Alchemy Institute

## Gardening for All Seasons



How to Feed Your Family from Your Garden, 12 Months a Year

**GARDENING FOR ALL SEASONS: The complete guide to producing food at home 12 months a year, by the New Alchemy Institute**

Gardening For All Seasons summarizes 12 years of hands-on food raising experience at staff members' homes — in containers, on windowsills, backyard gardens, apartment decks and rooftops, in solar gardens — as well as at the Institute's innovative organic farms on Cape Cod and in Costa Rica.

The book is intended to help people turn their homes into lush, productive sources of fresh food year round, in a manner that is simple, inexpensive and fun.

Gardening For All Seasons is a main selection of the Rodale Book Club. 7¾ x 9¼ with 70 illustrations. CA670. Price: \$12.95 [\$1.50 shipping]

**BRITTLE POWER: energy strategy for national security, by Amory B. Lovins and L. Hunter Lovins**

This controversial Defense Department study reveals that the United States has reached the point where \* a few people could release enough radioactivity to make much of the United States uninhabitable; \* a small group could shut off three fourths of the oil and natural gas to the eastern states in one evening without leaving Louisiana; \* a few people could black out much of the country.

America's reliance on nuclear power and centralized systems has created an energy network that is so prone to failure that it is a threat to our national security. The authors show how the U.S. can adopt a national energy policy that will both enhance America's military preparedness and make that preparedness less necessary.

512 pp. Paper. CA671. Price: \$8.95 [\$1.50 shipping]

**THE NEW GAMES BOOK, by the New Games Foundation**

A classic in its own time. It includes the non-rules to sixty New Games for two to 2,000 players, from quiet to active; over 250 photos and commentary on the history of New Games, refereeing, festival organization...

CA070. Price: \$7.95 [\$1.00 shipping]

**HOME ENERGY TUNE-UP: manual for owners, renters and landlords, by the Environmental Science Department of the Massachusetts Audubon Society**

This is a no-nonsense guide to home energy management for both homeowners and renters. It tells you how to • weatherize (simple, low-cost steps to reduce heat loss; • **insulate** (what products to use, costs, payback and a simple contract; • **heating systems** (maintaining, improving or replacing your system to save fuel and money; • **solar energy** (solar porches, shades, water heaters); • **energy-efficient appliances** ) to save up to 50% more than ordinary ones) • **financing** (how you can finance your home tune-up so that you start making a profit with your first month's payment. Whatever kind of structure you live in; whatever your situation, this book will help you get the best mileage for your energy dollar. 9/83 publication. 75 illustrations. 6x9. CA672. Price: \$6.95 [\$1.50 shipping]

**DESPAIR AND PERSONAL POWER IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, by Joanna Macy**

This is a guide to despair and empowerment work; a way to break through our social taboos and psychic numbing. It helps us express our distress around the present planetary crisis. The result is a release of energy and vision, that helps us build compassion, community and a commitment to creative action. Several thousand people have participated in the author's workshops around the world. 1983. CA383. Price: \$8.95 [\$1.10 shipping]

**THE TURNING POINT, by Fritjof Capra**

Capra shows how new discoveries in physics lead to a less mechanistic worldview than our the one on which our society has been operating — one more attuned with feminist and ecological sensibilities. He details the profound implications this worldview could have for our approach to biology, medicine, psychology, economics, technology and social/political structures. An inspiring work. 1982. 464 pp.

CA384. Price: \$8.95 [\$1.35 shipping]

**BRIEF ENCOUNTERS, by Emily Coleman and Betty Edwards**

Practical advice on how to make the most of relationships that may not last forever. Whether you are single and searching between primary relationships; moving to a new area; recently separated; involved in a long-term bond that isn't all you'd like it to be; or simply questioning that anything "less than true love" indicates failure, you'll find useful insights. Written in a clear, relaxed style. 400 pp. 1979. Originally \$10.95.

CA385. Price: \$3.50 [\$1.10 shipping]

**WE OWN IT, by Honigsberg, Kamoroff and Beatty**

How to start and manage co-ops, collectives and employee-owned ventures. "We Own It" gives you the legal, tax and management information to start and successfully operate all types of consumer, producer and worker co-ops. It covers non-profit, for-profit and cooperative corporations, ESOPs, partnerships and includes a state-by-state listing of legal requirements.

CA150. Price: \$9.00 [\$1.10 shipping]

**COMMUNITY LAND TRUST HANDBOOK, by the Institute for Community Economics**

Through land trusts, rural and urban communities can regain control of local land and housing. This book describes the land trust model and the many problems it addresses; gives nine case studies of functioning land trusts across the country; and offers practical guidelines for those wanting to establish their own. Well illustrated, with a bibliography for further info. 1982. 230 pp

CA151. Price: \$9.95 [\$1.10 shipping]

**A PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, by Howard Zinn**

Howard Zinn contends that traditional history — which concentrates on the doings of those in power — creates a mood of helplessness among the vast majority of people, insuring their submission. He gives us a different kind — one that tells of those who have been overlooked. Comprehensive and impressive. 1980. 614 pp.

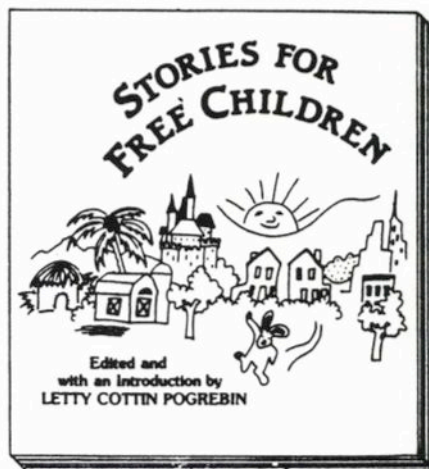
CA158. Price: \$8.50 [\$1.10 shipping]

## BOOKS

**FIFTH WORLD TALES**

A series of amazing bilingual myths and legends, fully illustrated in vibrant colors. The three book packet we offer includes **The Magic Boys** from Guatemala, **Atariba and Niguayona** from Puerto Rico, and **The Little Horse of Seven Colors** from Nicaragua. In Spanish and English, suitable for ages 5-11.

CA380. price: \$14.85 [\$ .90 shipping]



**STORIES FOR FREE CHILDREN, edited by Letty Cottin Pogrebin**

A rich collection of 38 fables, fiction and fairy tales which unfold in a non-sexist, multicultural, multiracial world. Designed for parents and children to enjoy together, these stories are enjoyable, as well as openings to sensitive subjects such as divorce, adoption and death. Illustrated and suitable for all ages. CA381. Price: \$9.95 [\$1.10 shipping]

**MAID OF THE NORTH, by Ethel Phelps**

These 21 delightful folk and fairy tales feature women as heroic, clever and courageous figures. Gathered from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, including African, European, Native American and Asian. 173 pp.

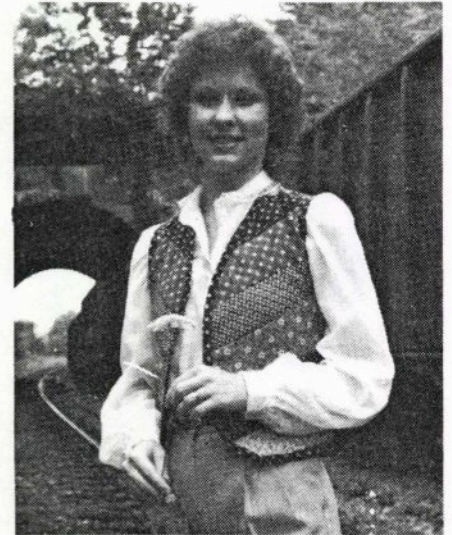
CA382. Price: \$6.25 [\$ .90 shipping]





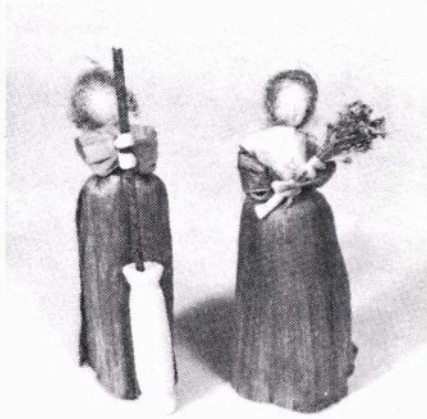
### APPALACHIAN ALLIGATOR

35" long, done in colorful calico. Does not bite.  
CA033. Price: \$18.92 [\$2.25 shipping]



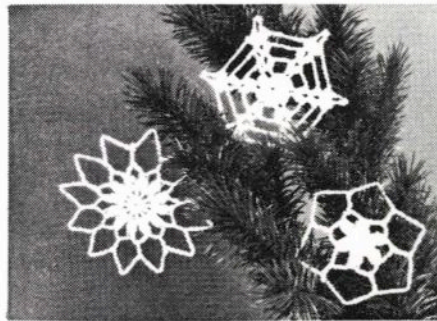
### COLORFUL CALICO VEST

Perfect for casual or down home dressup, you'll be fancy wherever you go.  
CA066. Price: \$31.22 [\$3.50 shipping]. Sizes: S, M, L. Dominant color: red, blue, brown.



### CORNSHUCK DOLLS

A three century old Appalachian tradition. 8" tall, carrying either a bouquet or a work churn. A lovely gift for an adult or child.  
CA067. Price: \$10.64 [\$1.00 shipping]. List choice of "bouquet" or "churn" under color.



### SNOWFLAKE ORNAMENTS

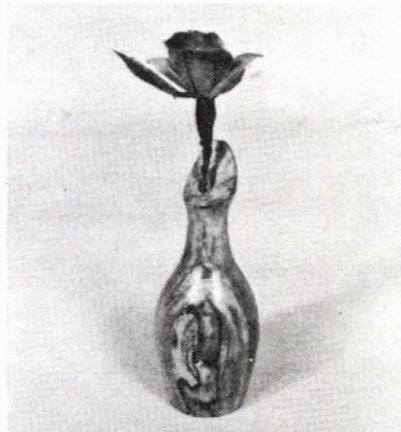
A set of three intricately crocheted flakes for your tree.  
CA481. Price: \$5.33 [\$1.00 shipping]

*Why settle for less than real crafts from MATCH, an Appalachian co-op?*



### HONEYSUCKLE VINE BASKET

10" diameter, simple, sturdy, attractive — woven from honeysuckle vines.  
CA480. Price: \$28.38 [\$3.50 shipping]



### HANDTURNED BUD VASE

8" tall, beautifully crafted wood vase with a embellished with a cornshuck rose.  
CA069. Price: \$13.95 [\$2.25 shipping]



### LAURA DOLL

In blonde or brunette, Laura is a 17" beauty in long dress, apron and bonnet.  
CA068. Price: \$29.56 [\$3.50 shipping]. List under color choice: blonde or brunette.

#### HERBAL MEDICINE, by Dian Buchman

A detailed, practical manual on how to choose and use easily obtainable herbs to maintain good health — and to relieve such common ailments as headache, muscular pain, fever, diarrhea, allergies, poison ivy. Hardcover, originally \$12.95.  
CA133. Price: \$4.00 [\$1.10 shipping]

#### HERSTORY, by June Sochen

A dynamic presentation of the women's side of American history. Dr. Sochen concentrates on the official picture of the lives of women, blacks and Indians, and upon the reality of their lives. Originally \$6.95.  
CA138. Price: \$2.00 [\$1.10 shipping]

more book bargains  
from  
Food For Thought

#### SWEAT, by Mikkel Aaland

Saunas, sweatlodges, Islamic Hammam, Japanese Mushi-buro... An in-depth look with many photos and illustrations. Details for building your own sweat bath are included. Originally \$7.95.  
CA132. Price: \$3.50 [\$1.10 shipping]

#### NON-SEXIST CHILDRISING, by Carrie Carmichael

How you can help your children grow up free to be themselves. Excellent. Hardcover, originally \$9.95.  
CA139. Price: \$2.50 [\$0.90 shipping]

#### THE HARDER THEY COME, by Michael Thelwell

An engrossing novel of the Jamaican folk-hero, gunman and Reggae star, Rhygin — celebrated in the song and film of the book's title. Memorable. Hardcover, originally \$12.50.  
CA130. Price: \$3.00 [\$1.10 shipping]



# MAKING CHANGES

Co-op America is offering these alternatives to help you make productive choices in your life

## CO-OP AMERICA MEMBERSHIP

Co-op America is a national membership association joining over 300 Organizational Members and thousands of Individual Members who share a commitment to social and environmental responsibility and cooperation in the workplace. Our purpose is to create a serious, democratic economic alternative in this country — and in the process to expand the range of personal and community choice.

By becoming an Individual Member of Co-op America, you will:

- receive regular information on our progress and the effect of your dollars
- be offered access to special opportunities like our health insurance plan
- pay no service charge when ordering through our catalogs
- contribute to a revolving loan fund for new, cooperative business development
- support the groups with which you share values, and help define the way those values are manifested in the marketplace

**CA002. Price: \$15.00**

If you are involved with an organization interested in Co-op America, write: **Co-op America, 2100 M St., NW, Suite 605, Washington, DC 20063**

## ALTERNATIVE HEALTH INSURANCE

Only available to Co-op America Individual members, this plan features the use of alternative health practitioners; full coverage of reproductive procedures; well-baby care; low unisex rates; socially responsible investment of premium by a worker-owned insurance company; preferred rates for non-smokers in good health; refund if the group claims cost is less than estimated. The plan includes \$10,000 Term Life Insurance and covers up to \$1,000,000 in claims. It is not presently available in NY or Maine.

You will receive information about the plan automatically if you become a member, or for more information, call: **1-800-424-9711, ex. 5307**

**MOTHER JONES RECOMMENDS THIS HEALTH INSURANCE FOR OUR READERS.**

Co-op America's Health Insurance Plan combines secure comprehensive coverage of your health care needs and gives you a voice in the control of the insurance plan. The plan is structured on a cooperative basis and the investments made from your premiums are invested in socially responsible enterprises.

■ Standard benefits comparable to major plans	■ Unisex rates	■ Premiums lower for healthy lifestyle
■ Alternative health care services covered	■ Reproductive health care for men and women covered	■ \$10,000 Term Life Insurance
■ Cooperatively structured insurance plan	■ Health Promotion Wellness Program included	■ Up to \$100,000 additional Term Life Insurance available

"We looked over many health insurance plans and companies. We selected one for our state that best meets our needs for health care and reasonably cost. Best of all, the Co-op America plan invests its money in socially responsible ways. Now we're recommending a Co-op America plan for you, our readers."

**CO-OP AMERICA**

The Co-op America Health Insurance Plan is just one part of Co-op America's broad effort to change the way we do business. Co-op America is dedicated to providing socially and environmentally responsible products and services to its members—on a national basis. This insurance plan is one of the many services Co-op America has to offer its members.

Exclusives period ends November 30, 1983. Clip the coupon below and mail it today.

Please send me information on the health insurance and the other products and services that Co-op America provides to its members.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_ County \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Co-op America, 2100 M St., NW, Suite 605, Washington, D.C. 20063 or call 1-800-424-9711 (X5307).

*Putting people first*



## SOCIAL INVESTMENT

If you have questioned what your money is used for, or if you could be getting a better, safer return, this packet of materials is for you. It includes information about two socially responsible investment funds, two excellent investment newsletters, and a sensitive investment counselor for larger estates. All these groups are members of Co-op America, of course. We also include a brief explanation about social investment from the Social Investment Forum, of which Co-op America is a member.

We think this packet is a useful starting point to help you put your money where it will do both you and the world the most good.

**CA005. Price: none [\$5.00 handling]**

## CO-OP AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

The first step beyond yourself is understanding what is possible to do with others. This packet will help you find those others; organize with them; and together create the cooperative and community structures to support your values and lifestyle.

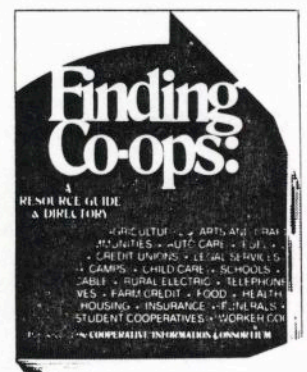
We have included materials and publications lists from a number of cooperative and community support groups drawn from our Organizational Membership. This is a good way to survey what's out there in publications, workshops, conferences and other resources.

**CA006. Price: none [\$5.00 handling charge]**

## FINDING CO-OPS: a resource guide and directory

- An easy to use reference book, with listings divided alphabetically, by type, sector and state.
- A national directory that lists all kinds of co-ops from pre-school to memorial society; from agricultural to consumer food co-ops.
- A resource guide telling how to identify and find support organizations, federations and resource centers.
- Contains a review of U.S. co-op history, with pictures and stories. Produced by the Co-op Information Consortium, 1983.

**CA680. Price: \$15.95 [\$1.75 shipping]**





# MAGAZINES & JOURNALS

## SOJOURNERS

**Sojourners** represents a growing number of Christians who are coming together in a movement of biblical faith and political conscience. Arising from a 40-member community in inner-city Washington, DC., **Sojourners** is a magazine, a voice for change. **Sojourners** covers the range from the struggles of migrant farm workers, to raising our children; from the threat of nuclear war, to advice to new communities; from civil disobedience, to the renewal of worship; from the pursuit of justice in the inner city, to the contemplative inner life. CA750. Price: \$12.00

## RAIN, Journal of Appropriate Technology

One year, 10 issues of **Rain** points the way to model projects, how-to-books, influential documents and political undercurrents. From woodstoves to solar design; community gardens to recycling systems; computer information networks to neighborhood co-ops, **Rain** explores the leading edge of social and technological discovery. And we'll send you a free copy of "Knowing Home," an inspiring book which demonstrates an integrated approach to self-reliance in one bioregion. CA230. Price: \$15.00

## COMMUNITIES, Journal of Cooperation

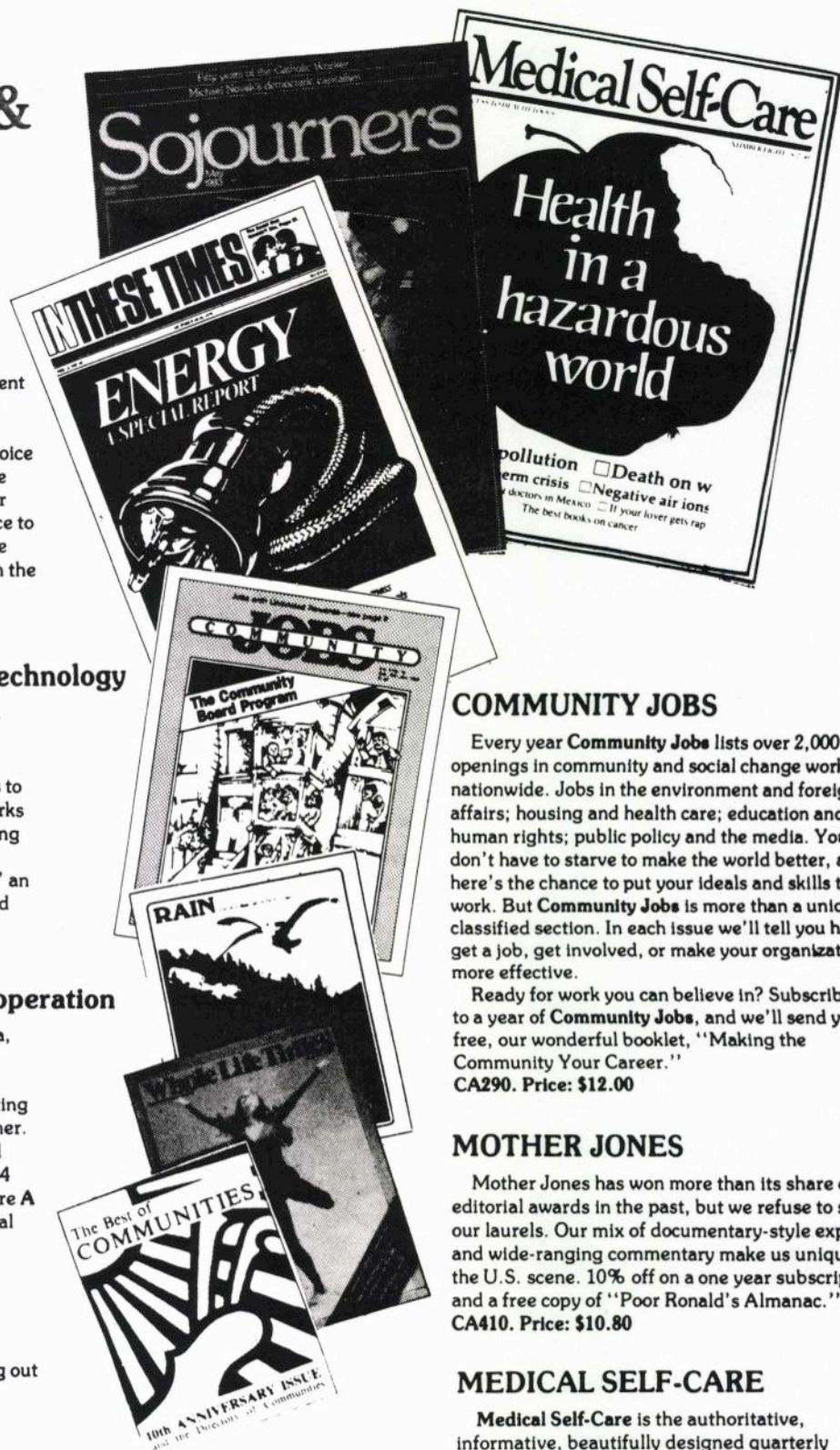
If you want to know what's hopeful in America, **Communities** is probably the place to find it. For more than a decade, thousands of community groups, co-ops and individuals have been reporting the joy and struggle of working and living together. Filled with writing that's personal, practical and real, **Communities** will help you keep in touch. 64 pages, quarterly. Included in this special offer are **A Guide to Cooperative Alternatives** and the special 10th Anniversary issue, an \$18.95 value. CA001. Price: \$12.50

## SELF-RELIANT

**Self-Reliant** is a new magazine (1983) growing out of some of the oldest human needs — self-sufficiency, simplicity, barter. Interesting approaches to environmental survival and community scale are mixed with "how-to" pointers about energy savings, trading and running your own business. Published 10 times a year. CA740. Special Introductory Price: \$9.97

## IN THESE TIMES

**In These Times** is an independent newsweekly with a perspective unique to American journalism. Committed to democratic social and political change, its weekly coverage of the nation, the world and the arts combines incisive reporting, thoughtful analysis and timely reviews with exciting, award-winning design. Six months, 22 issues. CA310. Price: \$15.95



## COMMUNITY JOBS

Every year **Community Jobs** lists over 2,000 openings in community and social change work nationwide. Jobs in the environment and foreign affairs; housing and health care; education and human rights; public policy and the media. You don't have to starve to make the world better, and here's the chance to put your ideals and skills to work. But **Community Jobs** is more than a unique classified section. In each issue we'll tell you how to get a job, get involved, or make your organization more effective.

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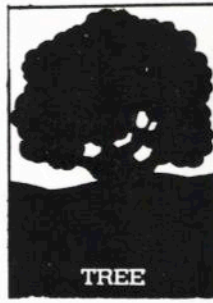
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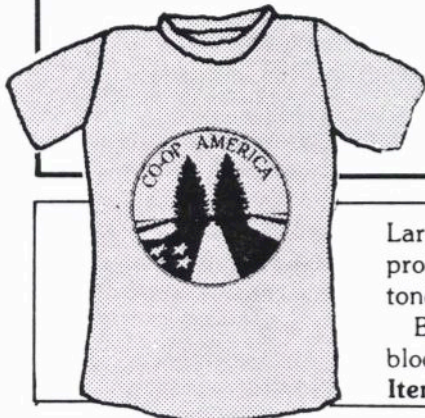


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June 1984

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1 Understand myths and facts about world hunger	2 Go swimming
3 Watch the Sun rise					4 Light a candle	9 Shop at the flea market
10						Listen for the whistling
17						Post your personal tips
24						Make a burger

**TWO CALENDARS**

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The Appalachia — Simple Lifestyle Wall Calendar for 1984 features prize-winning black and white photography depicting the beauty and character of life in Appalachia. The calendar also offers daily suggestions for personal growth through lifestyle simplification ("Try herbs for common ailments"; burn lower wattage light bulbs"), while still leaving plenty of room to record personal schedules.

The Simple Lifestyle Calendar is produced by Appalachia — Science in the Public Interest, a non-profit research and educational organization mobilizing citizens in the areas of energy conservation, appropriate technology and environmental protection. CA690. Price: \$4.50. [\$1.00 shipping]

Orders must be received by November 15 for Christmas delivery. This catalog and prices are valid till 4/1/84. We will acknowledge your order upon receipt, and in case of problems contact our service, AB&C at (703) 684-8644.







It will be a great day  
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our schools  
get all the money  
they need  
and the air force  
has to hold  
a bake sale  
to buy a  
bomber

"Careful, honey, he's anti-choice."



#### NOTECARDS

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#### CO-OP AMERICA

2100 M St., NW

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**2. Access and Savings:** There are necessities like health care protection, jobs, housing, peace; enhancements like crafts, clothing, music, travel; information to allow us the full range of our choice. Our alternative health insurance plan, information resources and catalogs are our first steps in that direction.

**3. Participation:** We want your participation at every level. Your direct feedback about what's important will shape our direction.

We believe that as people are affected by Co-op America, they should have that stake reflected through their control. Right now, the largest stake is with the staff which has contributed its sweat equity, and we are a worker co-op.

Our Organizational Members, particularly the ones providing products and services, have a growing stake, already recognized through representation on an advisory board. By the fall of 1984, these Organizational Members will share formal control of Co-op America.

For you as an Individual Member, the same process applies. We already have a consumer representative on the Advisory Board (from the Consumer Cooperative Alliance) and will put a more formal representative structure into place by the fall of 1984.

**4. Much more:** Participation, access and unity also involve mid and long-range goals.

Participation also means giving you better tools to organize your life and your community. Some of those tools are personal, and some involve strengthening local institutions.

Co-op America is already working with one of the most innovative consumer co-ops in the country, Puget Consumer Co-op, on member-support services. We've also considered Co-op America Buying Clubs (computer-linked for ordering?) to increase member savings, working through existing food buying clubs wherever possible; a line of non-food Co-op America products available through local storefronts; Co-op

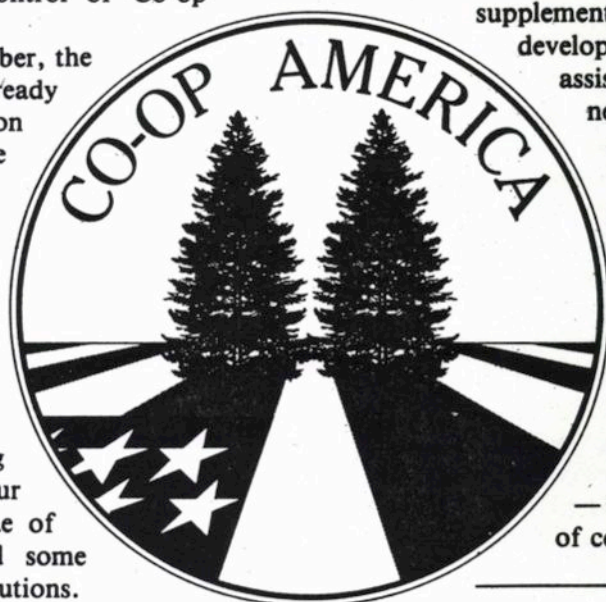
America regional reps who could provide support and networking services to members.

Access and savings also mean more products and services, such as auto insurance, travel and housing; access to educational alternatives and conferences, and workshops; regional and specialized catalogs. Another long-term direction is our interest helping create a bank to service our members (socially responsible investment, of course), and our own bankcard for use in ordering, and useful with all our local Organizational Members.

Unity also means a sense of economic, political and spiritual confidence solidly based on shared practice. As the Alternative Marketplace become more real, many forms of cooperation are possible.

During the next year, Co-op America will continue to grow. Our plans include: offering a regular publication to our Individual Members and a special seasonal supplement to our catalog; beginning the development of a revolving loan fund to assist responsible businesses; adding new products and services that our members have requested; and expanding our membership.

After being in operation for one year, we have a lot of successes behind us — and our pledge to you is to continue to serve our members and develop networks that are committed to social and environmental responsibility and economic democracy — all within the spirit and practice of cooperation.



#### ADVISORY BOARD

Tony Vellela (Consumer Co-op Alliance); Jim Gibbons (Consumers United Group); Hazel Henderson (author, *Politics of the Solar Age*); Kathy Kinsella (Kamber Group); Rick Koven (Workers Trust); Terry Mollner (Trusteeship Institute); Glee Murray (*Community Jobs*); Derek Shearer (co-author, *Economic Democracy*); D. Wayne Silby (Calvert Group); Ed Harrington (Good Things Collective). □





# COMMONWORK

Commonwork Pamphlets is a not-for-profit publishing collective based in New Haven, Connecticut. Commonwork publishes four or five pamphlets a year. They vary in subject, but all are conceived with three goals in mind: to bring an independent radical perspective to bear on an issue or political problem; to fill gaps in information left by other organizations and media; and to speak in a language and style accessible to general readers and working people.

Often, Commonwork Pamphlets are designed as tools for social change organizations, such as peace groups or unemployed worker councils. Some address practical problems, such as the choices available to young men facing the draft registration. Others address broader questions about the future of society. Most pamphlets are designed to contribute little-known information—for instance, the history of unemployed organizing in the Great Depression, the actual role blacks play in the military, or the social and political background of workers in Polish Solidarity—to ongoing debates.

Commonwork began life informally in 1979 as Common Sense for Hard Times Pamphlets. In response to the rebirth of the cold war and the resumption of draft registration, a group of activists and writers in the New Haven area published four pamphlets dealing with various aspects of the draft. The success of those pamphlets was phenomenal; within a few months, 80,000 copies were in circulation.

The group was formalized as Commonwork Pamphlets in late 1981. Currently, Commonwork has ten active members, who meet once a month to discuss current and future projects. Besides the production of pamphlets, one of the main focuses of our activity at the moment is improving distribution. If any readers of *Communities* would be interested in distributing pamphlets, or know of organizations which would be appropriate outlets, please get in touch.

Commonwork is independent of any political organizations. Our pamphlets are a resource that we hope can be used by people in many settings who want to deal with shared problems.

Subscriptions to Commonwork are \$5 a year; single copies of individual pamphlets are .50, and considerably lower bulk rates are available. Anyone may reprint a Commonwork Pamphlet so long as Commonwork is credited and receives a copy, and the pamphlet's language is unchanged.

Commonwork Pamphlets, P.O. Box 2026, New Haven, Connecticut 06521-2026

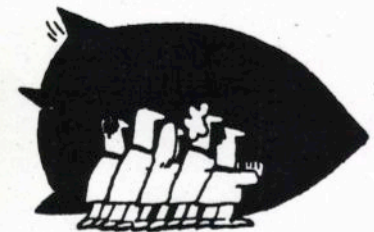
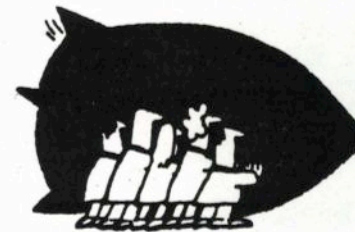
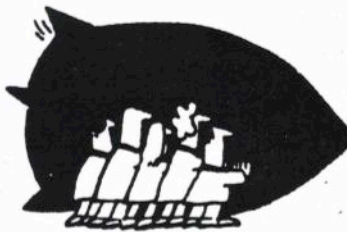




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# The European Peace Movement and What it Means to America

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by Michael Ferber

It is now nearly forty years since the nuclear age began. The greater part of humankind has grown up with the knowledge that the world might come to an end in an atomic

holocaust. Nearly everyone agrees that such a holocaust is more likely now than it has ever been. Is there anything we can do to stop it?

The desolation of a nuclear war is so far beyond our experience that most of us balk at imagining it. The technical complexities of weaponry and the control of weaponry discourage us from thinking about them. The deep entrenchment of the two superpowers and their military establishments seem to brand any political protest as futile. So we stifle our fears and rationalize our anger and try to forget our despair. Paralyzed before the enormous and relentless momentum of final self-slaughter, we bring the slaughter closer by our very paralysis.

Now, however, there are signs that we are emerging from our hopelessness. Americans have begun to raise their voices against the arms race. And in Europe, both West and East, a peace movement of extraordinary size and depth has announced itself to an astonished world.

It is a movement which presents Americans (and Russians) with the richest opportunity since the end of World War II to reduce the likelihood of another, and infinitely worse, world war. It is as if we have been granted another chance to save ourselves. The European movement goes far beyond European goals: it speaks to every party to the accelerating weapons buildup, and it has done things which can serve as a creative model for the peace movement in America.

## What Brought the Movement About

The first aim of the European peace movement is a nuclear-free Europe. "From the Pyrenees to the Carpathians," as President Ceaucescu of Romania put it, or "from Ireland to the Urals," as others prefer, no nuclear weapons would be stationed. NATO had the Warsaw Pact forces would dismantle all their tactical and intermediate atomic missiles, artillery shells, and mines, and declare Europe no longer a "theater" of World War III.

Its ultimate goal, however, is world disarmament. The Dutch peace movement has adopted the slogan, "Help rid the world of nuclear weapons—let it begin in the Netherlands." America and Russia will both come under strong European pressure.

What brought the movement to its present height of energy and numbers was the NATO decision of December 1979 to station six hundred new American nuclear missiles, the Pershing II and the "cruise" (Tomahawk), in Western Europe. About a hundred of each would go to West Germany, and the rest, all cruises, would go to England, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Both these missiles are intermediate-range or "theater" missiles, and the



rationale for their deployment was, of course, that they would counter Soviet increases and upgradings of their SS-20 intermediate missile.

Very quickly, however, many citizens of all five recipient countries objected to the plan. They were disturbed in the first place because their own governments had consulted the public very little or not at all before the decision. The British House of Commons, for instance, held its first debate on nuclear weapons in fifteen years—six weeks after the NATO decision had been endorsed by the Thatcher government.

More important, they disagreed with the NATO rationale. The Soviets were indeed modernizing their missiles, but the total number of warheads had changed little, and the missiles themselves were only marginally advanced in quality. The American cruise missile, on the other hand, though it was not yet in production, would seriously escalate the arms race: it is so small that it can be hidden beyond the means of the most sophisticated monitoring devices to detect, and the USSR will surely develop a comparable missile in response. NATO too had long ago decided that "theater" weapons would not be needed in Europe even if the USSR were to station them; tactical nuclear weapons (which NATO, not the Warsaw Pact, first deployed) and the United States' strategic arsenal would do. Now comes a new jump in quantity and quality which the Soviets will understandably try to counter.

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*When Reagan appointed . . . long-standing advocates of huge military spending as his disarmament negotiators, Europeans felt that American foreign policy had fallen into the hands of naive and dangerous confrontationalists.*

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As to the captive audience in this "theater," the Europeans were not amused over the distinctively American plan of a "limited nuclear war," the idea that a nuclear war could be confined to Europe while leaving America untouched. The Soviets have always denied the possibility of this idea: after all, a large part of the USSR is in Europe, and would be destroyed in a European war. It is only America which can entertain the prospect of fending off a war through its strategic weapons while sacrificing Europe.

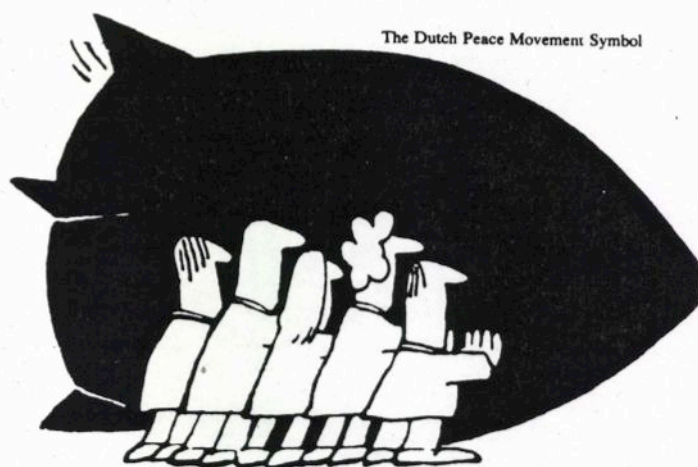
The NATO missile decision was made during the Carter administration. But when Ronald Reagan was elected President, many Europeans felt the situation had grown much more dangerous. During his entire public career Reagan has trumpeted the most mindlessly simple foreign policy, whereas Western Europe has had a much more intimate and realistic understanding of co-existence with

the USSR. As his Secretary of State Reagan appointed General Alexander Haig, whom Europe knew well as Supreme Allied Commander of NATO forces; one of his routine duties was to plan for the *first use* of nuclear weapons against Eastern Europe. And when Reagan appointed Eugene Rostow and Paul Nitze, long-standing advocates of huge military spending, as his *disarmament* negotiators, Europeans felt that American foreign policy had fallen into the hands of naive and dangerous confrontationalists.

## The Size and Shape of the Movement

From October to December 1981 nearly every Western European capital and several other major cities saw enormous marches and rallies, some of them the largest political gatherings since before the war: in Bonn, West Germany, 300,000 gathered; London, 250,000; several Italian cities, 500,000; Brussels, the headquarters of NATO, 200,000; Amsterdam, 400,000 (the largest in Europe); Athens, perhaps 300,000. In the Bonn demonstration fifty-five Social Democratic representatives to the Bundestag took part, members of Helmut Schmidt's governing party; also present, in defiance of orders, were seventy German soldiers in uniform. In Amsterdam several hundred soldiers joined the march.

In the Netherlands, which has the strongest peace movement, the chief organizing vehicle since 1966 has been the Interchurch Peace Council. It has reached out through the churches at the parish level, neighborhoods, and local groups of every sort to the "grass roots," independently of any political party. Besides the slogan we have quoted, it adopted a logo showing a family pushing away a large bomb. The message is clear, and the response has been strong: we cannot wait for governments, the people themselves must get rid of the bombs.



The Dutch Peace Movement Symbol

The Dutch Peace Council has made links with fellow Christians in both Germanys. In East Germany, a Lutheran clergyman named Rainer Eppelmann has gathered two hundred signatures of prominent East Germans on the "Berlin Appeal" for a nuclear-free Europe. He was arrested but released after two days. Over four thousand young men have written letters declaring that their



Christian faith forbids them to serve in the East German army. A similar number attended a public meeting in February 1982 which criticized East German government policies.

Among the great demonstrations in the fall of 1981 were two in Bucharest, Romania: 100,000 in November and 300,000 in December. These, unlike the protests in East Germany, had the backing of the government, which has long pushed a foreign policy independent of the USSR.

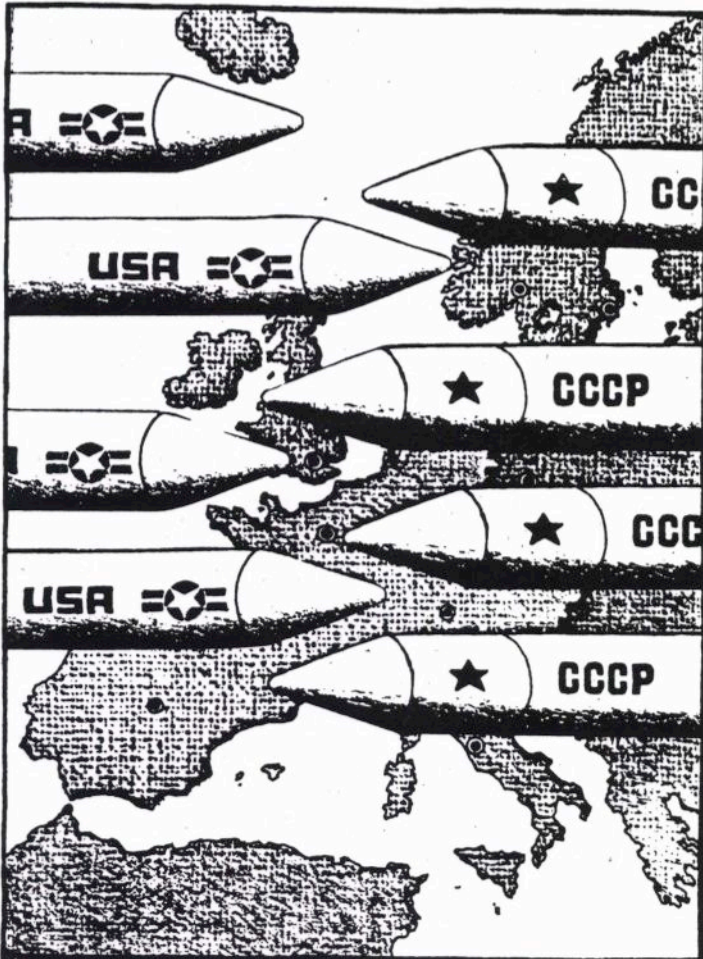
Western European peace organizers also have good

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*... when the people want peace badly enough, their governments will have to get out of the way and let them have it.*

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contacts with the Solidarity union in Poland, but that organization cannot take up an international issue when it is struggling for its very survival. In general, the western movement feels that its closest spiritual allies in the East are the "democracy" movements, though it believes that the USSR and Warsaw Pact governments have strong motives themselves to seek disarmament. The outreach, in short, is people-to-people; it goes beneath, around, and through the governments and established parties. The



European movement does not intend to be captured or deflected by the Cold War interests of either superpower.

The tactics of the movement, besides demonstrations, petitions, and advertising campaigns, embrace every form of nonviolent pressure on governmental authorities. Dutch and Irish organizers have recently come to the United States to study the tactics of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. There are plans for marches from Norway to Moscow, camp-ins outside NATO missile bases, East-West youth conferences, and possibly direct bilateral disarmament negotiations between, say, Holland and Romania, or Greece and Bulgaria, by-passing the superpowers. Already underway are actions which by-pass even the European governments, such as declarations by several regional councils in England that their regions are now nuclear-free zones no matter what Parliament may say.

### The American Reaction

American officials have reacted with a mixture of troubled caution and arrogant dismissal. Watching the first demonstrations roll through the northern European cities, Lawrence Eagleburger of the State Department announced that they were all symptoms of Protestant gloom. Unfortunately for Mr. Eagleburger, the very next weekend about a million people marched in Italy and Spain. With the Catholics now in the movement, this stab at a new theory had to be withdrawn, and Washington fell back on its trusty old one: communist manipulation. Ronald Reagan, at his August 1981 news conference, said that while some in the movement are "sincere," "others are really carrying the propaganda ball for the Soviet Union, because there's no mention made of two hundred SS-20s," the Soviet missile. In fact there had been plenty of "mention" of the SS-20s during the whole preceding year, and in the following weeks there were plenty of signs in the demonstrations aimed at the Soviet Union: they demanded that the SS-20s be removed from European soil. A little later Reagan had hardened his position: the European demonstrations are "bought and paid for" by Soviet agents. That claim is too ludicrous to warrant a reply.

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*It is only America which can entertain the prospect of fending off a war through its strategic weapons while sacrificing Europe.*

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Reagan finally acknowledged the power of the movement in November when he announced a missile-reduction proposal to negotiate with the Soviets, but it does not address the basic fear that the new US missiles are a substantial jump. At least the US is now talking to the USSR in Geneva, and for that, small as it is, we must thank the Europeans.



There are signs, too, that the American people are paying closer and more sympathetic attention to the European movement and have come to share European fears over Reagan's policies. Personal and organizational links between the European and American peace movements are growing stronger. Many English, German, and Dutch activists have visited America to explain their cause and Americans are listening.

### The Communists

But is the peace movement truly international? Doesn't the movement, in effect if not in intent, favor the Soviet Union?

As we have said, the western movement has joined hands with groups in Eastern Europe, some of them in tense relations with their governments. The goal of the movement is to disarm the Communists as well as the Capitalists, and encourage the citizens of every country to compel their governments to reverse the arms race.

Western Europeans recognize that the Soviet Union has problems of its own—that its fragile economy can support a huge military machine far less well than the more advanced economies of the West, that its people want more consumer goods, that good trade relations with the West are essential. General Haig has acknowledged these problems, but instead of taking them as a point of departure for peace, he announced in the spring of 1981 that the US goal was to destroy the soviet economy *by means of an arms race*—a terrifyingly stupid strategy if there ever was one, and a confession that it is America that is now forcing an arms race, not the Soviet Union. The European movement's strategy is to appeal to the Soviet Union's obvious need for disarmament and conversion to peacetime production.

The European movement has drawn both superpowers, finally, into bidding for its support by offering peace proposals at Geneva. So far, Brezhnev has made handsomer statements than Reagan, but if Americans doubt Soviet sincerity we have only to demand that Reagan make an equally attractive offer and then sit down and seriously negotiate. Europe may serve as a match-maker by

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***“Twice in this century Europe has disgraced its claims to civilisation by engendering world war. This time we must repay our debts to the world by engendering peace.”***

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playing hard-to-get.

The Europeans are particularly angry at the American government right now, because its new missile plan aggressively throws off the nuclear balance. But Americans should not feel threatened by this anger. On the contrary, we should be angry ourselves at the irresponsible generals and politicians of both parties who are leading us into unimaginable disaster. This is the time to overcome our sense of impotence and hopelessness and take action. We should take heart from the Europeans, and organize ourselves to bring about disarmament. For nearly forty years the governments of the world have failed to take a single meaningful step toward disarmament. As President Eisenhower said long ago, when the people want peace badly enough, their governments will have to get out of the way and let them have it. □

### What They Are Saying

We must commence to act as if a united, neutral and pacific Europe already exists. We must learn to be loyal, not to “East” or “West” but to each other, and we must disregard the prohibitions and limitations imposed by any national state.

It will be the responsibility of the people of each nation to agitate for the expulsion of nuclear weapons and bases from European soil and territorial waters, and to decide upon its own means and strategy, concerning its own territory. These will differ from one country to another, and we do not suggest that any single strategy should be imposed. But this must be part of a trans-continental movement in which every kind of exchange takes place.

We must resist any attempt by the statesmen of

East or West to manipulate this movement to their own advantage. We offer no advantage to either NATO or the Warsaw alliance. Our objectives must be to free Europe from confrontation, to enforce detente between the United States and the Soviet Union, and ultimately, to dissolve both great power alliances.

In appealing to fellow Europeans, we are not turning our backs on the world. In working for the peace of Europe we are working for the peace of the world. Twice in this century Europe has disgraced its claims to civilisation by engendering world war. This time we must repay our debts to the world by engendering peace.

(From the Appeal for a Nuclear-Free Europe, April, 1980)



# WHO ARE THE WORKERS IN POLISH SOLIDARITY— AND WHAT DO THEY WANT?

Polish workers have made headlines in America since August 1980. Their meteoric success in organizing Solidarity provided catchy copy for the morning papers and dramatic footage for the evening news. Walesa's moustache became so familiar that if he would only agree to sell deodorant he'd easily make a million dollars.

But in spite of this sensational coverage, or perhaps because of it, the workers of *Solidarnosc* remain a mystery to most Americans. Who are they? How did they organize Solidarity? What they accomplished in so short a time is astonishing, and it is incredible that they are still organizing under martial law.

## WHO ARE THEY?

The great majority of Solidarity activists are today between the ages of 25 and 35. They were born into a new industrial state rising out of the chaos and devastation of World War II. Their families, uprooted by the war, settled near new manufacturing complexes such as the Gdansk shipyards on the Baltic Seaboard.

From their early childhoods, the future activists of Solidarity knew that someday they would take their places as workers in these factories. Thus, as a generation, they were just as important to the success of the new socialist state as were the recently constructed industrial plants.

## GROWING UP IN A WORKERS' STATE

Officially, Poland has been a workers' state for 35 years, run by and for workers. But, even before the rise of Solidarity, Polish workers themselves repeatedly challenged the Polish reality through strikes and street demonstrations. If the ideals of socialism promised a better life for all, why wasn't there enough to eat? Why, in this workers' state, were the workers unable to control their own lives?

When major strikes broke out on the Baltic Seaboard in 1970, the government responded at first with repression. Several hundred workers were killed and many more injured, but still the strikes continued. A new government leader, Edward Gierek, travelled to striking factories in person to announce a change in government policy. He promised an end to repression, consultations with workers over their problems, and an improved standard of living.

Gierek hoped to win workers' loyalty by offering them the fruits of a flourishing consumer society. This required the retooling of the Polish economy at a cost of billions of western dollars. Gierek's message to workers was clear: if they would leave the politics to the officials and turn their attention back to productive work on the job, they would soon be rewarded with the color TV sets and blue jeans that new Polish factories would produce.

But in spite of Sunday afternoon soccer in full color, the reality of working people's daily lives improved very little. Most of the benefits of the new economic policies went to support the scandalously expensive life-styles of the high government officials whom many called "the red bourgeoisie."

Price rises were inevitable, and when they came in 1976, the autoworkers in Radom and Ursus struck in

protest. After their revolts were broken, a group of artists and intellectuals formed the Committee to Defend Workers (KOR; later named the Committee for Social Self-Defense) to marshal financial and legal support for workers jailed for strike activity. They published and distributed literature which documented the repression underlying the "red bourgeoisie's" consumer society. Their signatures on publications exposed the amorality of this society's what's-in-it-for-me attitude. In spite of their personal courage, however, KOR remained an isolated voice on the margins of popular opinion. Even as late as the spring of 1980, their call for free trade unions met with indifference from the majority of Polish people who had long ago despaired of meaningful change.

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*In Europe, both West and East, a peace movement of extraordinary size and depth has announced itself to an astonished world.*

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The cynicism gave way to an exhilarating sense of growing unity and strength when a wave of strikes swept the country in July 1980. The sporadic work stoppages were catalyzed into a general strike several weeks later, when an Interfactory Strike Committee formed at the Gdansk shipyards. Strikers there had formulated a list of twenty-one demands that were adopted as their own by thousands of striking factories throughout the country.

## SOLIDARITY TAKES HOLD

Strikers had taken full advantage of their economic leverage as producers by staying in their factories and refusing to be provoked into street violence. Their cry was, "Don't burn Party headquarters, form strike committees!"

The victorious tactic of a general strike of factory occupations anchored the movement in radical,

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*Andrzej Tymowski is an electrician. He is the editor and translator of *The Strike in Gdansk*, available from Commonwork Pamphlets for \$2.75 postpaid.*



consensus-based democracy. Strike activists were given positions of leadership by acclamation, but with the clear understanding that their authority sprang from the shop floor and could be revoked at any moment. When Walesa, for instance, declared the shipyard strike over because the government had acceded to local demands, he was hooted down by an assembly that included representatives from other plants. "No," they shouted. "The shipyards stay on strike until all demands of the strike movement are met." Walesa had to reverse the decision.

All strike negotiations were conducted in public assemblies and broadcast over loudspeaker systems. Representatives from outlying districts taped the proceedings on cassettes, to be replayed at striking factories back home.

Solidarity's structure reflected the general strike that propelled it into existence. News of the strike in Gdansk spread through factory networks, which were based on the new trust that developed between people who had broken through the old web of fear and apathy. As these networks grew in strength, they gathered plant departments and individual factories into regional centers based at major industrial plants.

After the Accords were signed, these regional strike centers became the new union framework, a loose federation of regional chapters. The national leadership was the National Consulting Commission. Composed of two representatives from each region and several permanent members, its task was to exchange information and to relay suggestions for coordinated action between regions. It met only as the need arose and had no power to enforce its decisions.

The regional structure of Solidarity contrasted sharply with the craft structure of the official trade unions. Solidarity welcomed all people employed in a given region as members of that region's chapter. Popular enthusiasm was so great that in the two months between the Accords and official registration, solidarity organized ten million members; that is, over 80% of the workforce and more than one quarter of the total population.

Thus, even before it had the legal right to organize, Solidarity had established itself as an organization of the entire class of working people. Technicians, government employees, scientists, and journalists joined Solidarity. They joined to support the cause of industrial workers, and also to protect workers in

general, by creating greater economic clout for their own interests. Independent farmers and students formed separate unions in association with Solidarity.

## SOLIDARITY IN ACTION

**"They want us to pull our load, like workhorses. But we want to hold the reins well, so that they won't take any more wrong turns.**

In a country that has known formal political democracy for only four years in its entire history, Solidarity spearheaded a radical experiment in democracy without parallel in the world. Once the lid of secrecy and censorship had been lifted, it became a national obsession to prevent manipulation or arbitrary decisions. No matter how long discussions in search of consensus dragged on, they were universally acknowledged as preferable to top-down directives.

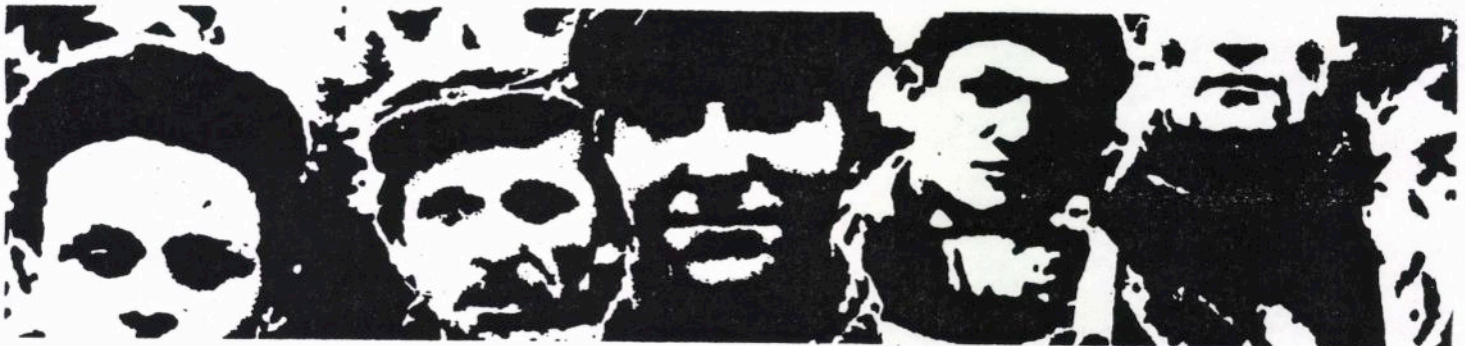
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*Even before it had the legal right to organize, Solidarity had established itself as an organization of the entire class of working people.*

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The challenge of creating and maintaining a self-managed organization of ten million people out of nothing produced an explosion of creative talent. The most articulate, politically canny spokesmen for Solidarity stepped directly from their jobs as electricians and lathe operators into positions of responsibility in the union. Art and writing blossomed; over 600 Solidarity publications sprang to life in the first year of its existence. Every factory, every town, insisted on its own paper and took great pride in its production.

The five-day work week was one of Solidarity's earliest and hardest-fought victories. Yet by late summer 1981 "free Saturdays" seemed a luxury Polish society could ill afford. The nation's economy teetered on the edge of collapse. Massive hunger marches inflamed social frustration to the flashpoint of violence. Although the government offered no proposals of its own, it launched a hysterical campaign to blame the volatile climate on the strikes spurred by Solidarity.





## HOW TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK

To break this social and economic deadlock, Solidarity called for tactics which would provide social services to relieve the discomfort caused by shortages, develop new kinds of strike action that would not disrupt necessary production, and set in motion workers' self-management of their workplaces and control over goods produced.

First, solidarity organized self-help institutions to aid the elderly, the sick, and working families in meeting daily needs under increasingly difficult conditions. The Solidarity program adopted at its September 1981 Convention contains a detailed plan for emergency operations for the coming winter.

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*No matter how long discussion in search of consensus dragged on, they were universally acknowledged as preferable to top-down directives.*

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Secondly, Solidarity proposed a variation on the traditional strike, calling it the "direct action strike." Workers would continue to go to work, but would find ways to deny the results of production to the state-employer. For example, printers struck to protest censorship and the government's refusal to grant Solidarity access to the media. During the strike, however, they continued to print children's books, local papers and strike bulletins—everything in fact, except the official Party paper.

Thirdly, Solidarity demanded the right of workers to fire their bosses. General managers and their staffs were to remain in charge of routine administration. But they would be hired or recalled by vote of rank and file representatives to a workers' council, rather than by political appointment through the Party apparatus. Hundreds of workplaces instituted efforts to force corrupt or inefficient managers to resign, and to force government ministries to approve appointments suggested by workers' councils.

Lastly, Solidarity began organizing production itself.

The National Commission issued an appeal to the Solidarity membership for volunteer work on their hard-won free Saturdays. Local self-management councils would take charge of the plants during Saturday work, organizing the process of production and insuring that goods produced were delivered to areas of greatest need.

This approach promised practical results. Workers at the Ursus tractor plant, for instance, agreed that machinery produced on Saturdays would be designated for direct transfer to independent farmers rather than to the state wholesaler. Miners in Silesia agreed to send coal to farming regions in return for assurances of food supplies for mining regions that had few farms.

## MARTIAL LAW

The government never took an official stand on Solidarity's proposals for self-management, but unofficially it did everything to obstruct them by stalling negotiations and refusing administrative cooperation. Many Poles wondered if this do-nothing government was capable of any concerted effort whatever.

On December 13, 1981, General Jaruzelski cut short that speculation by declaring martial law. His answer to Solidarity's initiatives for a self-managed society: "We must shackle the hands of adventurers, the extremists of Solidarity, before they push the country into civil war . . . Our military actions do not threaten anyone, but are aimed at peace and international cooperation."

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*"They can shoot us but they cannot make us work. Our power lies in ourselves, when together we decide what we want and how to get it."*

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If martial law aimed to break the union by jailing its "leaders," it has utterly failed. Solidarity's origins in a nonviolent general strike, its decentralized structure, and its tradition of decision by consensus, were the best possible preparation for surviving a "state of war." Today underground information bulletins circulate from hand to hand, as they did in the weeks preceding





the strike in Gdansk. Help has been organized for families of workers killed, jailed, or dismissed from their jobs. Factory crews make collective decisions on the forms resistance should take. For instance, loyalty oaths are signed by no one or by all, to prevent individuals from being singled out for harassment.

The threat of military terror could not prevent the rise of Solidarity; it will not be able to extinguish it. Words that rallied workers in August 1980 take on even greater meaning today: "They can shoot us but they cannot make us work. Our power lies in ourselves, when together we decide what we want and how to get it." □

## THE TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS IN GDANSK THAT STARTED IT ALL

The non-negotiable core of Gdansk's twenty-one points was the right to independent trade unions and the right to strike as a guarantee of their independence. Bitter past experience had convinced workers that only an organization controlled by the rank and file could force the government to keep its promises. They remembered how easily radical-sounding concessions—such as workers' councils in 1956 and consultations in 1970—could later be nullified in practice by political maneuvers beyond the control of workers.

The remaining points defined the immediate needs of working people, linked those needs to a broader social movement for civil liberties, and expressed the workers' intention to supervise the direction of economic reform.

Raises were not to be based on a percentage of income, but would be a fixed sum across the board so that workers at the lower end of the pay scale would be helped most. Demands for maternity leaves, day-care centers, reduced waiting time for housing, and a lowered retirement age aimed to relieve the pressures on working families. Privileges for police and party officials, such as special shops that sold goods not available to workers, were to be eliminated. Food supplies were to be allocated first of all for domestic consumption; only the remaining surplus was to go for export. The workers' grievances could not be kept separate from the interests of society at large. When strikers demanded the reinstatement of their fellow workers who had been fired for participating in protests in the past, they included intellectuals and students dismissed for similar activities, and non-strikers (such as KOR members) who were actively aiding the current strike movement.

Workers insisted that news of the Seaboard and the twenty-one points of the Gdansk Interfactory Committee be published in the daily press. They sought

assurances of continued access to the public media for both workers and other independent viewpoints, an end to censorship, and an end to harassment of unofficial publications.

Finally, the Gdansk demands announced the need for a thorough housecleaning in the economy and its administrative apparatus. They declared that corrupt officials should be removed and inefficient managers replaced. They pressed the government to make public the secret data workers needed to understand the operations of the economy. The strikers made it clear that they did not want to take over the state's economic authority or get bogged down with responsibility for the day-to-day administration of factories. But they claimed the right to oversee the government's actions in this sphere, and to control investment decisions and allocations policy, so that never again would a "red bourgeoisie" have free rein to misdirect the course of the national economy.

The movement represented by these twenty-one demands spoke for and was supported by virtually everyone in Polish society except for those directly beholden to the Party or the internal security apparatus. Faced with such massive power, the government reluctantly agreed to all of the demands.

When it signed the Accords at Gdansk on August 31, 1980, the government agreed in principle to allow independent, self-managed trade unions. But how would these unions look in reality? Should there be one big union, or many independent ones? If one, should it be organized by trade or by territory? Should it be directed by a strong central executive or be decentralized with emphasis on local autonomy? How would it relate to the official trade unions and Party-dominated factory councils? What would be its role beyond the workplace?





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# Black Communities Against War

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Preparation for war is draining the life from black America. Young black men and women are being conned into dangerous dead-end military jobs instead of getting real education and rewarding work. Billions of dollars are being spent making weapons, some of which can destroy the world, while millions of people go jobless, homeless, and hungry. Yet the military wants you to think that "Defense Spending" is good for black people.

Let's look at the real story.

## The Military—A Future Or A Dead End?

The military is spending a lot of money on seductive advertising dreamed up by slick Madison Avenue ad-men. They get paid to con people into thinking life in the military is great when in fact, for many, the life can be truly horrible. These ad-men want us to think that the military offers opportunities and an environment free from the problems of the wider society. The military claims it's providing training for black people. It says that joining the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marines prepares young men and women for good jobs later in civilian life.

### **The Black Community Should Know The Truth About These Claims**

Military recruiters promise a lot that they can't deliver and don't intend to deliver. In order to entice people into enlisting, these recruiters offer a fantasy world of adventure and excitement. They promise to give people the jobs they signed up for when they enlisted. They promise training which will help enlistees get good paying civilian jobs later. And they promise a college education people can't afford otherwise.

But these full-of-promises recruiters can't guarantee anything. They have no real say in which jobs military personnel will actually be given. Many enlistees don't get the jobs they wanted in the first place. Almost fifty percent of those who are assured that they can change jobs after a year, find that such an assurance is nothing but a bold-faced lie. They are stuck with the job they started out with. A lot of black people end up in food and supply sections in the military or only learn how to fire a rifle. In 1981 over half of the supply administration workers in the Army were black; over 40 percent of the food service workers were black. On the other hand, the higher skilled and higher paid job categories, such as military police, combat engineers and aircraft personnel had fewer blacks.

### **Training For Civilian Jobs?**

Given the type of jobs that blacks tend to get in the military, it's not surprising that black veterans have high rates of unemployment. Fifty percent of all black Vietnam vets are unemployed. Today the unemployment rate among all vets is almost double that of the general American population. So what happened to all those great jobs the military was supposed to be training people for?



A lot of black people in the military end up hauling dishes, sweeping floors, and training for combat. There's nothing in that life which prepares them for jobs in the civilian world, unless they can find jobs as janitors who carry guns.



## They Call This Adventure?

In the military people work from 60 to 80 hours a week for low pay. They are subject to the whims of their superior officers. If a "boss" tells you to cross your eyes and stand on one leg, you have no recourse; not following orders can get you jailed real fast. If they tell you to dig latrine holes then you dig latrine holes.

A lot of people in the military work with dangerous equipment. Most of that equipment, like bombs, shells, and guns, is meant to kill. So you're surrounded by weapons and other deadly hardware. Every year people are killed and maimed through accidents with these dangerous tools of the trade. In the Navy alone about 600 people die from accidents every year. The military ask people to put their lives on the line and offer very little in return. For most black people the military has little to offer except drudgery and danger. Some adventure. I wouldn't recommend it to a roach.

## Bedsheets And Burning Crosses In "Today's Military"

Many black people join the military to escape the daily insults of racism. But it's a sad reality that the military has deep racial problems. Although there have been some efforts to decrease tensions, such problems persist. *The Army Times* recently reported that every military base in this country has a Ku Klux Klan chapter. Incidents involving the Klan have taken place on the aircraft carrier Enterprise, and at bases like Fort Carson, Colorado, and Fort Hood, Texas. The Pentagon itself admitted in 1979 that there had been "a dramatic increase in manifestations of K.K.K. activity." The Pentagon Civil Rights Office concluded that the Klan is just a part of the "new racism" in the military. The NAACP has found it necessary to demand that the Defense Department remove "all known members of the hate groups, neo-Nazis, Ku Klux Klansmen" from the ranks.



Outside the United States, and especially in Europe, there is hostility toward black troops. European countries have called for a reduction in the number of black troops because they don't want them in their towns. Recently in Germany, a neo-Nazi group shot and killed an off-duty black soldier. But this racism is not confined to a few Nazis. A high ranking German government official declared that black troops are ignorant drug users who don't know how to read and write.

### The Military Injustice System

Black people stand a higher chance of going to jail in the military than do the white enlistees.

**51.2% of the military prison population is black.**

But the number of blacks who have any say in who goes to jail and who doesn't is very small.

Only 13% of the military police

5.3% of the officers

4.7% of the lawyers

in the military are black.

**THERE IS ONLY ONE BLACK TRIAL COURT JUDGE IN THE ENTIRE MILITARY SYSTEM!**

The military puts lots of black people in jail but it doesn't do much to put them in positions of responsibility in the legal system.

## The Same Old Tune

It's really the same old tune. Black people get the filthiest, most unskilled jobs; they are insulted and attacked. When their tours are over, they find themselves with no useful skills. In fact, so many get so fed up with this situation that they fight back and end up with dishonorable discharges. Four times as many black soldiers as white leave the army with "bad papers." This makes it even harder, if not impossible, for them to land a decent civilian job. For many the military is not a future; it's a dead end.

## How Will Black Troops Be Used?

One likely possibility is that they will be ordered to fight other black peoples around the world. The U.S. is now supplying arms and setting up bases in some African countries, such as Morocco, Egypt, Kenya, Zaire and Somalia. These countries are becoming tied politically and economically to big business and the U.S. government. If these countries were threatened by revolution or by outside conflict, the U.S. might decide to intervene. It might use black troops in highly visible roles in order to avoid charges of racism.

The U.S. might also get involved militarily in South Africa. There are millions of black people struggling to obtain freedom from oppressive dictatorship. Black people are being tortured, herded into concentration camps, and forced to work as slaves. Yet big U.S. business continues to invest and operate inside South Africa. Since 1971, direct U.S. investments have tripled, rising from \$1 billion to \$3 billion. President Reagan has stated that South Africa is an important



asset to U.S. interests and must be supported, regardless of its racial policies. Any full scale revolt by black people of South Africa would undoubtedly be met by direct U.S. military aid to the government there. Black American soldiers once again would be useful as a way of avoiding charges of racism. Black troops would find themselves killing and being killed by black Africans. The U.S. is already following such a policy in Central America, where Puerto Rican and other Hispanic-American troops are being used to train and work with the armies of repressive dictatorships.

## Who Gets Killed?

A large proportion of riflemen are black. Forty-five percent of all troops assigned to gunnery and artillery are black. Since the Army isn't training these troops for nice safe desk jobs, they are the ones who will catch the fire when it starts. During the Vietnam War, twenty-six percent of the casualties during peak years were among black troops even though black people constituted only eleven percent of the American population. Recent studies estimate that during the initial stages of a war in Europe about fifty percent of the casualties would be black.

Black people, who tend to get very little from the military, stand to lose a lot: their lives.

### **The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. On War And Peace**

"Our only hope today lies in our ability to go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal opposition to poverty, racism, and militarism."

"A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies."

"This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death."

"We must shift the arms race into a 'Peace Race.'"

—Martin Luther King, Jr.

## Fighting For Democracy

For 200 years since the American Revolution, black people have fought—and died—for what we believed to be freedom and democracy. Because America has treated us as slaves and second-class Americans we have tried to prove, through shedding our blood in the military, that we are full-fledged citizens.

It is America that must demonstrate to us a real commitment to true democracy. We should not have to put on military uniforms and go out to kill or be killed in order to be recognized as citizens. We have historically been in the forefront of important struggles for democracy in this country. The Abolitionist movement against slavery, the Civil Rights movement, and the movement against the Vietnam war saw intense activity by black people. It was people such as Fanny Lou Hamer, Malcolm X, Rosa Parks, Fred Hampton, and Martin Luther King, Jr. along with millions of other blacks who fought for justice and so pushed this country to make the changes it has. Rather than enlist in the military and fight overseas we must struggle at home where the problems are, and where the solutions must be developed.

## What Can We Do?

Many black people are being driven into the military by poverty and lack of real employment or educational opportunities. As it becomes more difficult to get jobs more people are being forced to join the military just to survive. At this time the U.S. government doesn't need a draft. Economic hard-times are making people enlist. Yet the military has precious little to offer; it's really no alternative. We have to break out of this dilemma.

First of all, black community organizations such as the churches, the NAACP, the Urban League, and the thousands of local and regional grass roots organizations could be using their important positions in the black community to advise and counsel people about the pitfalls of the military. It is crucial that we get behind the slick facade of military claims and present the harsh reality of military life for what it is.

But even the military will look good to those who have few other options. For those faced with a choice between working at fast food restaurants, hanging out on the corner, or getting in trouble with the cops, the military may seem real attractive. Something has to be done in our communities to make it possible for people coming out of high school to find meaningful work and education. Our poverty stricken cities must be revitalized.

This country has the economic muscle to accomplish such a revitalization. But we will never be able to implement a massive revitalization program if we are spending billions of dollars on the military. That money is being taken away from our communities. Money which now refits old battleships and builds new tanks could be used to address community needs such as day care centers and job-training. Every year over 20 billion dollars is spent on research for new weapons. Imagine what would happen if just half of that huge amount were devoted to improving health care and making our schools really work.

We have to tell young men and women the truth about the military. But for that truth to have full meaning we have to challenge the fact that huge amounts of money being spent on weapons of destruction. We must demand some channeling of



these billions of dollars into revitalization strategies which will benefit the people of the United States—not just the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines.

Over the next six years the U.S. is planning to spend two trillion dollars on military requests. That's our money they're going to use. We need to take that money back and apply it to the needs of our communities.

### **How Our Money Gets Used And How It Could Be Used\***

The \$2.1 billion it cost to build one CVN-71 Nuclear aircraft carriers. . .

could have restored full funding for Medicaid (cut by \$900 million), and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (cut by \$1.2 billion.)

The \$5 billion increase in military spending during 1982. . .

could have been used to restore full funding for Food Stamps (cut by \$1.7 billion), Child Nutrition (cut by \$1.5 billion), and unemployment benefits (cut by \$1.7 billion).

The \$400 million authorized for development of the Pershing II missile system. . .

could restore the \$352 million cut from health education and training programs.

\*1982 figures from: "What a Trillion and a Half Dollars for the Pentagon Mean for You."

—Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.

If we must fight, let us fight as Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, against "Poverty, Racism, and Militarism." Rev. King knew that these are the real enemies, not the black people of South Africa, not the Chinese, not the Central Americans.

The military wants only to destroy.

We must build.

We can create a socially responsible peaceful society which has an adequate defense but which recognizes the

importance of human needs. Through such a society we can truly overcome racism, poverty, and war.

We Must:

- Urge people not to enlist.
- Advise them on the pitfalls of the military.
- Counsel them on existing alternatives to the military.
- Demand an immediate halt to wasteful war spending and to the nuclear arms race.
- Work for a complete revitalization of the American economy.

We can suffer separately in nightmarish war or we can live together in a society of the people, by the people, and for the people. It's up to us.

*By John Brown Childs*

### **Some Organizations Having Information On Resistance To War**

**PROJECT STP (Stop the Pentagon/Serve the People)**

P.O. Box 13416

Philadelphia, PA 19101-3416

(This group is especially aware of the impact of militarism on Black and Hispanic communities and offers a range of relevant information.)

**Friends Peace Committee**

Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)

1515 Cherry Street

Philadelphia, PA 19102

**Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy**

120 Maryland Avenue, NE

Washington, D.C. 20002

**Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD)**

1245 Second Street, NE

Washington, D.C. 20002

**Mobilization for Survival**

135 West 4th Street

New York, N.Y. 10012

**Use this space to put your organization's address**

*Cartoons/Tom Fricker*

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## WHAT VALS IS

VALS — short for values and lifestyles—is a way of viewing people on the basis of their attitudes, needs, wants, beliefs, and demographics. The VALS program was created by SRI International in 1978 in an attempt to “put people” into the thinking of those of us trying to understand the trends of our times—in the marketplace, economically, politically, sociologically, and humanly. The approach is holistic, drawing on insight and many sources of data to develop a comprehensive framework for characterizing the ways of life of Americans. Conceptually, VALS owes a major debt to the findings of developmental psychology. Our initial speculations have now been extensively confirmed, honed, and extended in field research. The system is currently being applied in many areas of business and is evoking interest in circles as diverse as sociology, politics, law, education, and medicine.

A basic tool of the VALS program is the VALS typology. This typology is divided into four major categories, with a total of nine lifestyles. These are:

- Need-Driven
  - Survivor lifestyle
  - Sustainer lifestyle
- Outer-Directed
  - Belonger lifestyle
  - Emulator lifestyle
  - Achiever lifestyle
- Inner-Directed
  - I-Am-Me lifestyle
  - Experiential lifestyle
  - Societally Conscious lifestyle
- Combined Outer- and Inner-Directed
  - Integrated lifestyle

It should be understood from the start that these lifestyle categories are not fixed and immutable. Many people grow from one level to another as children, as adolescents, and as adults. Some very few may start at the bottom and reach the top within a lifetime, but far more common is movement of a level or two.

The concept of a person's lifestyle may be likened to the bullfighting term *querencia*.<sup>\*</sup> Every bull, it seems, has his favorite turf or home area in the bullring. When prodded or lured, he will sally forth into other areas of the ring, but in response to his *querencia*, or homing instinct, he will return to the piece of ground where he is most comfortable. So it is with people. The individual, at a given time, may move up or down or across to another pattern of life, perhaps in some limited life domain, such as work or marriage. Yet the tendency is to gravitate back to the place that is best understood and least threatening—the home lifestyle.

The VALS typology is hierarchical. The prime development thrust is from Need-Driven through Outer-Directed and Inner-Directed phases to a joining of Outer- and Inner-Direction. These major transitions are seen as crucial way-posts in the movement of an individual (or a society) from immaturity to full maturity. Three of the four major developmental categories are subdivided into lifestyle phases representing stages of advancement within the main category.

By “maturity,” we specifically mean psychological maturity. Very generally, psychological maturation is marked by a progression from partial toward full realization of one's potential. It involves a steady widening of perspectives and concerns and a steady deepening of the inner reference points consulted in making important decisions. Thus, the role of habit and “stock answers” abates as a person matures, and the person becomes increasingly more complex and self-expressive in a values sense.

In the paragraphs that follow, we have tried to describe the psychological essence of each segment of the typology and, in so doing, to provide a feeling for the widening concerns and multiplying values of people as they move through the typology.

<sup>\*</sup>We are indebted to Howard Leonard of Young & Rubicam for this felicitous analogy.



**LIFESTYLES DISTRIBUTION, 1981**  
(Percentage of Population Aged 18 and Over)

<b>Need-Driven</b>	<b>11%</b>
Survivors	4
Sustainers	7
<b>Outer-Directed</b>	<b>67</b>
Belongers	39
Emulators	8
Achievers	20
<b>Inner-Directed</b>	<b>20</b>
I-Am-Mes	3
Experientials	6
Societally Conscious	11
Integrated	2

Source: VALS 1981 Survey.

## THE NEED-DRIVENS

The Need-Drivens are people so limited in resources (especially financial resources) that their lives are driven more by need than by choice. Much evidence shows that they are the furthest removed from the cultural mainstream, are the least aware of the events of our times, and are most inclined to be depressed and withdrawn. Values of the Need-Driven center around survival, safety, and security. Such people tend to be distrustful, dependent, unplanning. Many live unhappy lives focused on the immediate specifics of today, with little sensitivity to the wants of others and little vision of what could be.

We divide the Need-Driven category into two lifestyles: Survivor and Sustainer.

### Survivors

Survivors are the most disadvantaged in American society by reason of their extreme poverty, low education, old age, and limited access to the channels of upward mobility. They are people oriented to tradition but marked by despair and unhappiness. Many, now infirm, once lived lifestyles associated with higher levels of the VALS hierarchy. Other generation-after-generation Survivors are ensnared in the so-called "culture of poverty."

### Sustainers

Sustainers are a group struggling at the edge of poverty. They are better off and younger than Survivors, and many have not given up hope. Their values are very different from those of Survivors in that Sustainers have advanced from the depression and hopelessness typical of Survivors to express anger at the system they see as repressing them, and they have developed a street-wise determination to get ahead. Many operate in the underground economy.

## THE OUTER-DIRECTEDS

This large and diverse category is named to reflect the central characteristic of the people within it: The Outer-Directeds conduct their lives in response to signals—real or fancied—from others. "Out there" is what is most important. Consumption, activities, attitudes—all are guided by what the outer-directed individual thinks others will think. Psychologically, Outer-Direction is a major step forward from the Need-Driven state in that the perspective on life has broadened to include other people, a host of institutions, shared goals, and an array of personal values and options far more complex and diverse than those available to the Need-Driven. In general, the Outer-Directeds are the happiest of Americans, being well attuned to the cultural mainstream—indeed, creating much of it.

The VALS typology defines three principal types of outer-directed people: Belongers, Emulators, and Achievers.

### Belongers

Belongers constitute the large, solid, comfortable, middle-class group of Americans who are the main stabilizers of society and the preservers and defenders of the moral status quo. Belongers tend to be conservative, conventional, nostalgic, sentimental, puritanical, conforming. The key drive is to fit in—to belong—and not to stand out. Their world is well posted and well lit, and the road is straight and narrow.

Family, church, and tradition loom large. Belongers are people who know what is right, and they adhere



# VALS—VALUES AND LIFESTYLES OF AMERICANS

to the rules. They are not much interested in sophistication or intellectual affairs. All the evidence suggests that Belongers lead contented, happy lives and are relatively little vexed by the stresses and mercurial events that swirl around them.

In terms of psychological maturity, Belongers are ahead of the Need-Driven in having a much wider range of associations (both personal and institutional), a longer term focus for planning their lives, and a less opportunistic pattern of behavior. These are people well integrated with their surroundings.

## Emulators

Emulators live in a wholly different world from that of Belongers. Emulators are trying to burst into the upper levels of the system—to make it big. The object of their emulation is the Achiever lifestyle. They are ambitious, upwardly mobile, status-conscious, macho, competitive. Many see themselves as coming from the other side of the tracks and hence are intensely distrustful, are angry with the way things are, and have little faith that “the system” will give them a fair shake. Emulators tend not to be open in their feelings for fear of alienating those in authority, on whom they depend to get ahead. The Emulator group contains a higher fraction of minorities (24%) than any VALS group other than the Need-Driven.

Psychologically, Emulators are a step ahead of Belongers in that they ask more of themselves and the system and have assumed greater personal responsibility for getting ahead instead of drifting with events in the style of many Belongers. On the other hand, Emulators seem often to have unrealistic goals. In truth, many are not on the track to make them Achievers, but they appear not to realize this.

## Achievers

Achievers include the leaders in business, the professions, and government. Competent, self-reliant, efficient, Achievers tend to be materialistic, hard-working, oriented to fame and success, and comfort loving. These are the affluent people who have created the economic system in response to the American dream. As such, they are the defenders of the economic status quo. Achievers are among the

best adjusted of Americans, being well satisfied with their place in the system. Only 5% of Achievers come from minority backgrounds.

Achievers are psychologically more advanced than Emulators in having a wider spectrum of values, in being more open and trusting, and in clearly having brought their ambitions into better alignment with reality. Achievers are supporters of technology and are open to progress, but they resist radical change. After all, they are on top and too radical a change might shake them off!

## THE INNER-DIRECTEDS

People we call the Inner-Directed\* contrast with the Outer-Directed in that they conduct their lives primarily in accord with inner values—the needs and desires private to the individual—rather than in accord with values oriented to externals. What is most important to such people is what is “in here” rather than what is “out there.” Concern with inner growth thus is a cardinal characteristic. Inner-directed people tend to be self-expressive, individualistic, person-centered, impassioned, diverse, complex.

It is important to recognize that, in American society today, one can hardly be profoundly Inner-Directed without having internalized Outer-Directedness through extensive and deep exposure as a child, adolescent, or adult. One implication is that inner-directed people tend *not* to come from need-driven or inner-directed families. Some measure of satiation with the pleasures of external things seems to be required before a person can believe in or enjoy the less visible, incorporeal pleasures of Inner-Direction. This means not that the pleasures of the outer world disappear (for the VALS typology is a nested model), but that inner needs become more imperative than outer needs. From the psychological standpoint, then, Inner-Direction in today's Western culture represents an advance over Outer-Direction in that it

\*The term “inner-directed” was made famous by Riesman, Glazer, and Denney in *The Lonely Crowd* more than 30 years ago; although we have borrowed the expression, what we mean by it is entirely different.



adds new values to old, thus increasing the range of potential responses and the number of channels available for self-expression. For children raised in strongly inner-directed families, however, the psychological advance would involve the shift from Inner-Direction to Outer-Direction. This would be true, for example, of people raised according to the tenets of the great inner-directed Eastern cultures.

VALS has identified three stages of Inner-Directedness: I-Am-Me, Experiential, and Societally Conscious.

### I-Am-Me

I-Am-Me is a short-lived stage of transition from Outer- to Inner-Direction. Values from both stages are much in evidence. Typically, the I-Am-Me person is young and fiercely individualistic to the point of being narcissistic and exhibitionistic. People at this stage are full of confusions and emotions they do not understand; hence, they often define themselves better by their actions than by their statements. I-Am-Mes tend to be dramatic and impulsive. Like cats, they have whims of iron. Much of their Inner-Direction shows up in great inventiveness, a willingness to try anything once, and an often secret inner exploration that will later crystallize into life-long pursuits.

### Experiential

As the I-Am-Mes mature psychologically, they become the Experimentals. At this stage of Inner-Direction, the focus has widened from the intense egocentrism of the I-Am-Me to include other people and many social and human issues. Experimentals are people who most want direct experience and vigorous involvement. Life is a light show at one moment and an intense, often mystic, inner experience the next. They are attracted to the exotic (such as Oriental religions), to the strange (such as parapsychology), and to the natural (such as "organic" gardening and home baking). The most inner-directed of any VALS group, these people also are probably the most artistic and the most passionately involved with others. Although intense, this is a thoroughly enjoyable stage of life, full of vigorous activity (although less so than at the I-Am-Me stage), and marked by a growing concern with intellectual and spiritual matters.

### Societally Conscious

The Societally Conscious have extended their Inner-Direction beyond the self and others to the society as a whole—in fact, sometimes to the globe or even, philosophically, to the cosmos. A profound sense of societal responsibility leads these people to support such causes as conservation, environmentalism, and consumerism. They tend to be activist, impass-

## KEY DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE LIFESTYLES

	Female (%)	Median Age (yr)	Mean Educational Attainment (yr)	Caucasian (%)	Median Household Income, 1980 (\$)
Survivors	60%	66	8.4	55%	<\$ 5,000
Sustainers	52	32	9.9	57	9,000
Belongers	60	54	10.8	92	14,000
Emulators	48	28	12.5	76	19,000
Achievers	39	42	13.6	95	35,000
I-Am-Mes	42	20	11.7	87	12,500
Experimentals	61	26	13.9	96	26,000
Societally Conscious	54	38	14.9	89	30,000
Integrates	54	40	16.0	93	34,000

Source: VALS/SMRB, 1981 Survey.



## A fresh approach to understanding why people act as they do as consumers and as social beings.

sioned, and knowledgeable about the world around them. Many are attracted to simple living and the natural; some have taken up lives of voluntary simplicity. Many do volunteer work. The Societally Conscious seek to live frugal lives that conserve, protect, and heal. Inner growth remains a crucial part of life. Consequently, many Societally Conscious people assume a high degree of self-reliance, which extends to holistic health and a sense that they are in touch with inner forces that guide them.

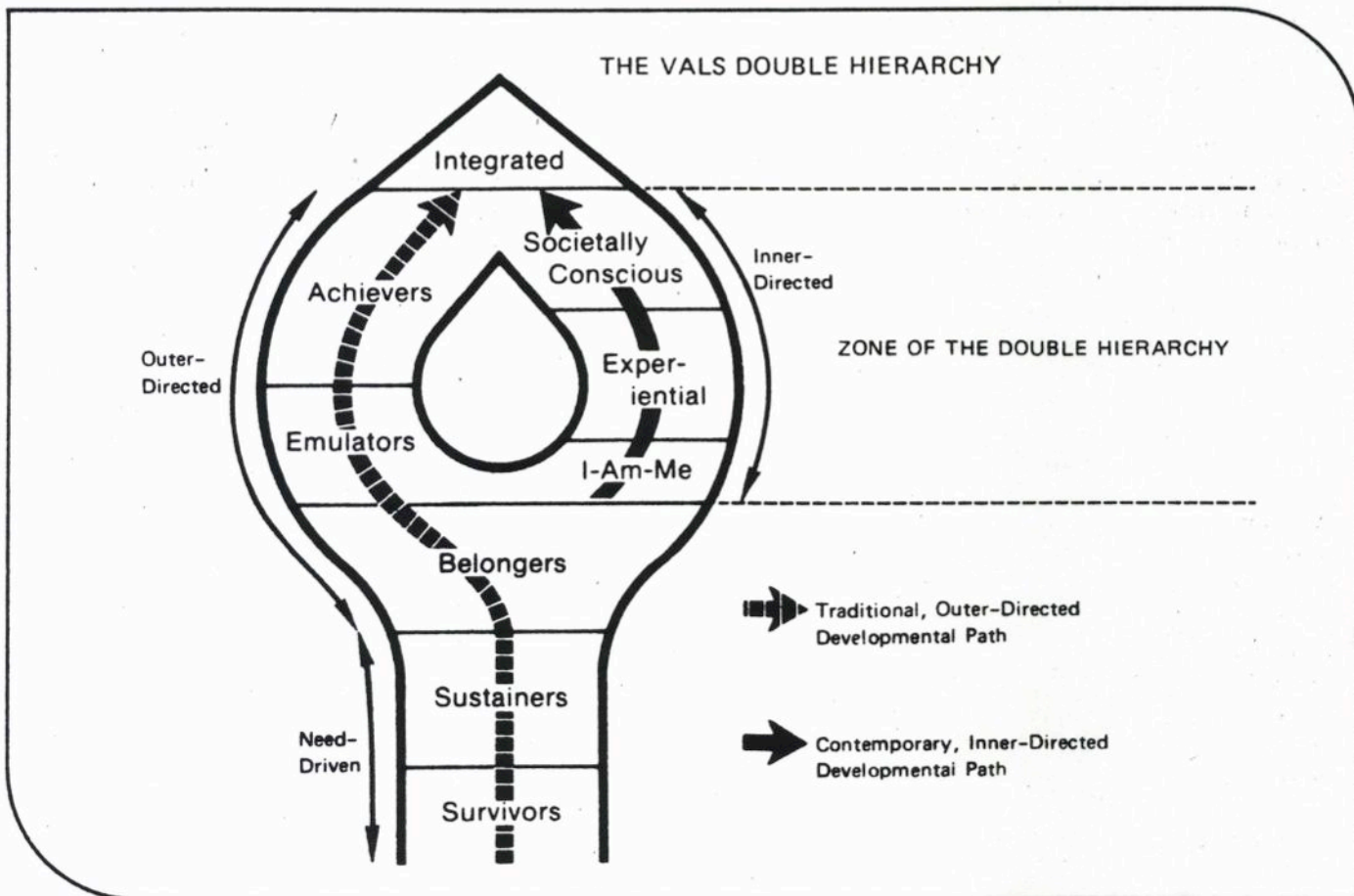
### COMBINED OUTER- AND INNER-DIRECTED: THE INTEGRATEDS

At the pinnacle of the VALS typology is a small group we call the Integrateds. These rare people have put it all together. They meld the power of Outer-Direction with the sensitivity of Inner-Direction. They are fully mature in a psychological sense—able to see many sides of an issue, able to lead if neces-

sary, and willing to take a secondary role if that is appropriate. They usually possess a deep sense of the fittingness of things. They tend to be self-assured, self-actualizing, self-expressive, keenly aware of issues and sentiments, and often possessed of a world perspective. These highly unusual people are the Lincolns and Jeffersons and Einsteins and Schweitzers and Huxleys and Hammarskjölds of society.

### THE DOUBLE HIERARCHY

Given the lifestyle groups sketched above, one may ask how they fit together into a single system. It seemed apparent from the first that a simple nested model would not work. As far as we know, others had not faced this problem because value clusters analogous to our inner-directed groups of I-Am-Me, Experiential, and Societally Conscious had not been proposed in other schemes of human growth. For some months, the issue perplexed and gnawed at us.





We knew that the I-Am-Me, Experiential, and Societally Conscious stages clearly are pre-Integrated. We also thought that they must be post-Belonging: A person must have established (in some kind of Belonging phase) a sense of territory and have achieved a basic psychological confidence sufficient to sustain the elaborate and often difficult transitions in values involved in moving through the I-Am-Me, Experiential, and Societally Conscious phases. An analogy can be made with a tree: Its root structure must be deep and broad if the tree is to grow to full height and withstand the buffeting of the wind.

If Inner-Directedness is post-Belonging and pre-Integrated, where do the stages fit with respect to Emulators and Achievers? Certainly I-Am-Me is a far less mature stage emotionally and intellectually than the Achiever stage; on the other hand, Societally Conscious people seem to share many qualities of maturity with Achievers. Emulators, in contrast, seem to overlap in emotional maturity with both I-Am-Me and Experiential stages. This left us confused and bemused. Then—although in retrospect it seems remarkably simple—the realization came that the ways of Inner-Direction and Outer-Direction might be *parallel* rather than *sequential*. This thought created one of Maslow's beloved peak experiences. The insight enabled us to draw the so-called "double hierarchy."

## UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES

The VALS typology is eclectic; it has plucked ideas, perspectives, and terms from a great many places. By far its greatest debt, however, is owed to the works of personality theorists working in the area of developmental psychology. The needs hierarchy of Abraham Maslow, in particular, has contributed to the thinking behind the VALS typology.

Many personality theorists have attempted to identify the key stages in the growth of people from immaturity (at whatever age) to full maturity (also at whatever age). Most of the developmental typologies are hierarchical in that growth is said to proceed

along a specified path, moving from one stage "upward" to the next. Each successive stage thus requires "graduation" from an earlier stage in a predetermined order.

Many psychological hierarchies have been proposed to explain the development of human characteristics, such as motivations, personality, morality, intellect, communication. These schemes share the notion that growth can be usefully divided into steps or stages. Some of the theories identify but 3 stages, others 10 or more.

Very much oversimplified, the concept behind such schemes is that each stage of development is marked by a particular pattern of priorities concerning what is important and what is trivial. At each stage different "drivers" create the need to abandon old lifestyle patterns. Associated with each priority pattern is a unique set of dominating values and needs. The names of the stages in the VALS typology are a shorthand way of identifying the central priorities of each stage of development and their associated values. Only the person who has, in some sense, satisfied and internalized the special values and needs of a stage is free to leave them behind. Further, the (sometimes sudden) achievement of a higher level, by definition, brings with it espousal of a whole new set of values and beliefs that often are in direct contrast to those of the previous stage. Progress up a hierarchy, then, proceeds in a series of jumps or transitions.

True hierarchies should be thought of as nested models, with each new stage "burying," as it were, previous stages. This means that an individual's totality—like the layers of an onion—consists of inner "spheres" of values relating to stages of development that often date back to childhood or adolescence. Hence, the more developed a person is, the more complex his or her value structure and the more diverse the range of value-based reactions. This is why highly developed people often identify with many—even all—of the VALS levels: They are all of them!



# WHAT VALS DOES

Members of the VALS program—some 85 corporations—use our findings in a diversity of ways. Because most specific applications are proprietary, we can discuss here only generalized uses.

## Market Research

Participants interested in the market research aspects of VALS have access to the large data base collected annually by Simmons Market Research Bureau (SMRB). Data from the SMRB surveys (which have a respondent base of about 14,000) are broken out for eight of the VALS types and can be obtained on-line or in hard copy. (Integrations are omitted because they cannot be identified in the current simplified VALS classification instrument.) Some 3,500 tables of data are available covering demographics, media usage, consumption of about 700 products, numerous activities, and the like. VALS participants who are also members of Simmons have access, in addition, to data on several thousand product brands and media specifics.

These data are applied by researchers to segment markets, estimate market size, position products and services, and so forth. The automobile provides a familiar example of this kind of application. VALS data show that Achievers buy more large and luxury cars; Belongers tend toward "family-sized" cars; the Societally Conscious purchase more gas-savers; muscle cars are bought by Emulators and Experientials; the Need-Drivens purchase used cars. Further, big differences exist in how many cars the various lifestyle households are likely to own, their assessment of features desired in a car, how they use cars, and the country of origin. The Inner-Directeds, for example, are far more likely to buy a foreign-made car than are the patriotic, America-first Belongers.

## Product Development, Packaging, and Design

The kind of thinking that goes into matching an advertisement with the consumer can also be applied in product development or modification, packaging, and design. Basically, the target audience is first

defined in terms of attitudes, demographics, activities, needs, hopes, and the like. The critical dimensions relevant to the product are identified, and a multidimensional consumer profile is prepared. The problem then is to match this profile as exactly as possible in the design and development of the product or package. One member of VALS uses our forecasts of value trends to profile consumers 5 years ahead. This is helpful because development of that company's products requires at least that much lead time.

## Strategic Planning

One of the most difficult—yet crucial—problems in long-range strategic planning is to understand changing human values and to incorporate trends into plans. VALS provides "values futures" in the form of four scenarios for the 1980s selected to reflect high, middle, and low economic progress plus a "transformation" scenario depicting a major swing toward inner-direction and a lifestyle of voluntary simplicity. Probable quantitative and qualitative shifts in the VALS typology are described for each of these scenarios. In addition, several VALS reports detail how this material can be used in long-range strategic planning. These have been written by respected individuals in the planning field, such as Ian Wilson, Donald Michael, Willis Harman, James Ogilvy, Peter Schwartz, and William Royce.

## Advertising

Advertising agencies are among the most acute and imaginative users of VALS. Insights drawn from lifestyle research are used not only to select optimum media schedules, but also to select themes and ambiances best suited to target consumers.

Attuning the advertisement perfectly to the consumer is a high art that requires the creative leap from the closely defined target to the compelling expressive appeal. Successful leaps are often beautifully simple and very effective. Few campaigns have used theme symbology more adroitly than the Merrill Lynch series. The bull symbol, of course, is appropriate for an investment firm. But, originally, the symbol was a thundering herd of bulls (and some-





how everyone heard they'd been photographed in Mexico!). With the insight that the key image of investors is that of the Achiever came the image of "a breed apart" to replace the Belonger symbol of the herd. To follow up on the basic symbolism, a series of breed-apart bull commercials were designed to reflect different financial predicaments: the bull sheltered in a cave from financial storms; the bull pawing through the snow for grass in hard times; the bull in good times crossing a babbling river to reach the rich pastures on the other side; the bull threading a maze, stalking through a china shop, uncovering a needle in a haystack, and many others. These themes aligned the corporate image with the rugged individualism and "can do" spirit of Achievers.

### **Human Resources**

A final important area in which VALS is frequently applied is the domain of human resources. The key applications are:

- Developing recruitment strategies, matching individuals to jobs.
- Designing benefits attractive to employees with differing lifestyles.
- Career planning.
- Selecting leaders able to build teams from diverse personnel.
- Sales training to identify lifestyle types and hence improve sales productivity.

*Marie Spengler, Director, VALS Program*







# REACH

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

*Dondi, Twin Oaks*

## People Looking

☆ We are a couple with 3 young children interested in buying land in Minnesota or Wisconsin. We would like to locate near people interested in sharing alternative schooling and various aspects of intentional community. Also important in our lives are political activism, feminism, rural living and nurturing. We need to locate within a 2 hour drive of St. Paul. If you are interested, or know of any communities, alternative schools or day-cares, rural co-ops, or interested families in the area, please contact us.

Also, if you have any experience or information you could share on home schooling or alternative schools (especially in Minnesota or Wisconsin), please write. I have an education degree, but am not certified.

**Andi Oesterreich**  
Rt. 1, Box 147  
Mayer, MN 55360

☆ Bill and I have a house in West Philadelphia behind the art museum. We would like to use this house as a sort of outpost in the city to promote wholistic living (alternative school? co-op? concerts? city garden on roof?). The house is all ready for major repairs, hopefully to

be high tech. We need some help with this house. Please contact us immediately!

At the same time, we'd like to live in the country on a cooperative farm not too far from Philadelphia. We wish to establish organic vegies and fruit, spiritual healing, high tech, high vibes, high times, and lots of music.

**Sarah and Bill Rose**  
436 N. 33rd St.  
Phila., PA 19104

☆ We are a mature, responsible, industrious couple with a son (6 in December) who are looking for a community in New England where there are other children who are being home schooled. We would like to live with supportive, caring people who are concerned with healthy living, growing own food, constructing living spaces, and educating their children in a loving environment. We are not into drugs, religious extremism, or having a charismatic leader. We look forward to hearing from you!

**Diane and Michael Landis**  
110½ Conway St.  
Greenfield, MA 01301

## Groups Looking

☆ Although West Walden Farm has been in existence for nearly two years, we are still a 'Community in Dialogue'. At three adults and two children, we are slowly, steadily refining and redefining our membership. Individuals or small families who enjoy hard work, family fun (teasing, pranks, swimming holes & homemade ice cream on the back porch) like to grow and make their own food, care for each other lovingly, on-premises 'right-livelihood', lots of good stimulating reading and discussion, and homestead living, could find a permanent home here. We need

stable and mature people of all ages, preferably with some outside work skills or steady income and some capital to invest. We are firm believers that good structuring provides more freedom for individuality. Our 'rules' lay more along the live of conservatism of time, money and resources. We tend to integrate with the surrounding community rather than generate an 'us against them' attitude. Eventually we hope to open and operate a natural foods store in the county, possibly stocking many of our own food and craft items.

The land and existing buildings lend themselves to a central community house and individual sleeping clusters around it.

We are not presently equipped to handle heavy personal problems, drugs, booze, unhealthy or radical attitudes about anything. We welcome all types and ages of people as long as we can see definite parallels in basic life styles and goals.

There's lots to do and good folks to do it with in a secluded rural/pastoral Ozark locality. *McDonald County is beautiful America — thirty years ago!*

Write us or call us and tell us about yourselves.

**West Walden Farm**  
Rt. 1, Box 225  
Anderson, MO 64831  
(417) 845-6597

☆ The Keristan Islanders are looking for two categories of people: People who can join the community and people who wish to make use of a *major new undertaking* we've begun as part of our 27th Anniversary celebration. We've just established the Network Clearinghouse for Community Organizing. Marilyn Ferguson called to our attention the idea that what's really needed now is a network clearinghouse to put all the people in the Aquarian Conspiracy (all individuals and/or specific, independent, autonomous groups who identify with the idea of higher



consciousness) in touch with each other.

Back in 1975 we began the Utopian Liaison Office with a simple questionnaire to link people by very special interests. We had approximately fifty interests mentioned with lots of opportunity for people to represent a variety of special interests as a basis for cross-matching. Now we are in the process of obtaining computers so that the entire concept can be carried out in a much more sophisticated manner.

In order for someone to qualify to apply for membership in the Keristan Islands intentional community, she/he must be extremely interested in the subject of communal living from an intellectual angle. We analyze everything and participate in probing conversations featuring direct, verbal confrontation of contradictions any individual may exhibit. In order for someone to qualify to apply for membership in the Network Clearinghouse for Community Organizing, which is maintained by the Utopian Philanthropists' Society (a program of Kerista) she/he must be interested in lifestyle quality enhancement. It's not just for people who are interested in using the service to meet people. It's for people who wish to use the service to tell us what their very special interests are — we'll produce reports and learning programs on these areas. Write for a free Prospectus on the community and the Clearinghouse.

#### **Keristan Islands**

543 Frederick St.  
San Francisco, CA 94117  
(415) 753-1314/665-2988

☆ Appletree Commune (est. '74) is 6 adults — three full members, one provisional member, and two potential members with their baby. We also support two teenagers. We want about 20 members. We now live in a rented house near Cottage Grove, and we plan to buy land in the next year. We belong to the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. We are non-sexist, non-ageist, non-racist, non-violent. We value cooperative decision-making and open communication, conflict resolution, self-actualization, communal child-rearing, and healthy diet. We have a work credit system and income pooling. Full members gradually donate their assets. We are developing communal businesses that reflect our interests.

We have no spiritual affiliation, but any member is free to develop their own. There is no standard form for intimate relationships, but it is high priority that we are each satisfied.

Arrange visits by correspondence only. For a brochure on Appletree in more detail, write us.

#### **Appletree Commune**

P.O. Box 5  
Cottage Grove, OR 97424-0001  
(503) 942-4372

☆ We are the Federation of Egalitarian Communities. Presently 6 communities, Appletree, Dandelion, East Wind, Sandhill, Twin Oaks, and Chrysallis (as a community in dialogue), are joined together with agreements of non-violence, equality of all people, and cooperation. Our communities hold our land, labor and other resources in common, have a participatory form of government, and assumes responsibility for taking care of its members' needs.

The Federation is 7 years old. Our communities are up to 16 years old. We range from 7-85 members in our communities. Our ages presently range from newborn to 65. We want to grow. Individually as communities we want to get larger and as a Federation of communities we want to expand. We see the communities movement as a world wide network, offering individuals a communal alternative to traditional societies. If you are a community already existing or an individual looking to join a community such as ours, please write to us.

#### **The Federation of Egalitarian Communities**

c/o East Wind Community  
Tecumseh, Missouri 65760



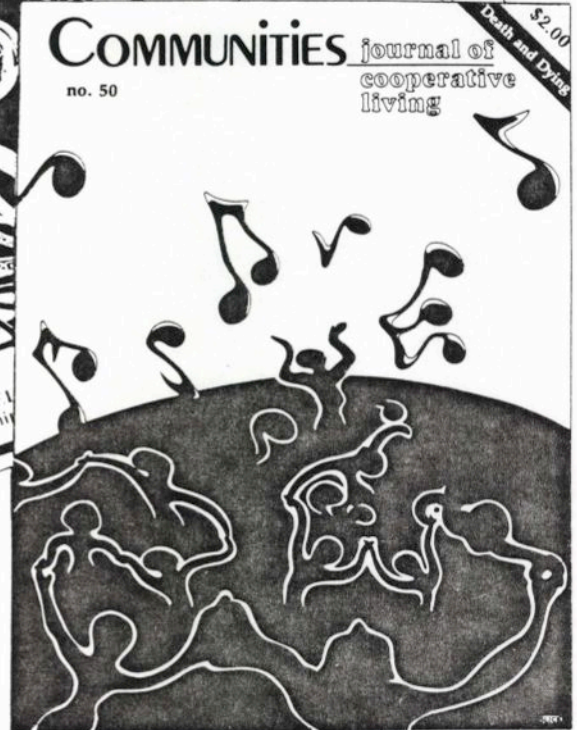
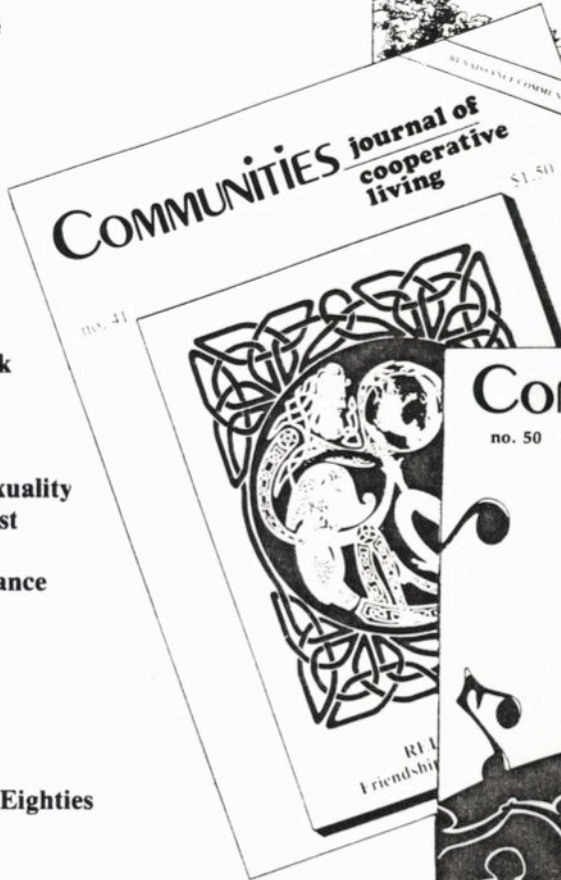
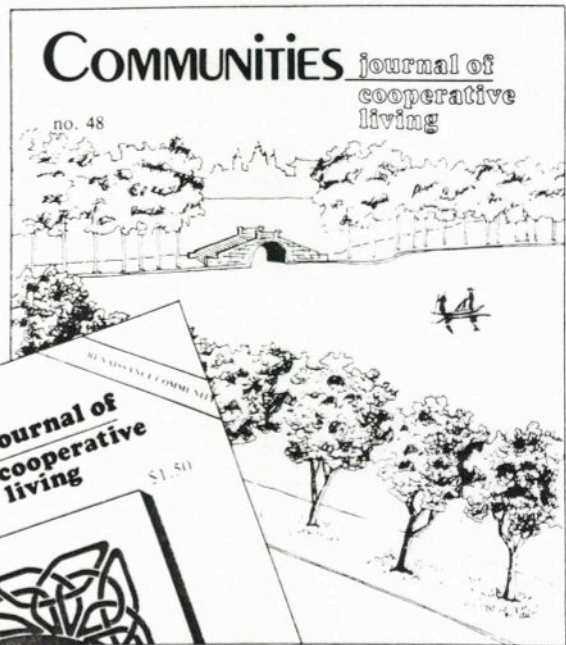
## **EGALITARIAN IDEALISTS OF THE WORLD UNITE!**

A mental health maintenance core group is now operational with ten adult females and seven adult males aspiring to grow to 60 adult women and 60 adult men. The new paradigm is a "best-friend identity cluster" utilizing polyfidelity and a balanced rotational sleeping schedule. All males opt for voluntary sterilization (vasectomy). Females have been burdened with the responsibility for population control up until now; it's time for males to shoulder that responsibility. An introductory prospectus describes our ideals and our story. It's free to serious, nonseparatist feminists who agree that population control is the foremost problem on the planet. Write about yourself: Keristan Islands Best Friendship Cooperative, 543 Frederick St., San Francisco, CA 94117.



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