What Cooperators Want

1. Plenty, not Scarcity. The burning of coffee, plowing under of cotton, slaughtering of piggy sows, forced restriction of oil production, bribing of farmers to cut down acreage, and all other methods of sabotaging production machinery are abhorrent to cooperators.

2. Distribution, not Concentration. The Plenty must be distributed to those who can use it, not piled up in the elevators, warehouses and coffers of the rich. To meet the present emergency, free distribution is necessary. But to prevent future concentration and to provide future distribution, a system of consumer and producer cooperatives must be built.

3. Lower, not Higher Prices; Higher, not Lower, Quality. Cooperators want more and more for their money, a higher and higher living standard.

4. Higher Wages, That is, real wages. If prices rise—as they are—they rise more. The ratio must change. Cooperators are ready to lead in boosting the wages of their employees. Who will follow?

5. Production Gauged to Satisfy Consumer Demand. No system of production yet known is so sensitive to consumer demand as the Consumer Cooperative system. It is a problem of control. Cooperators want—

6. Control by Consumers. How? First, local consumers' societies (Rochdale) for retail functioning. Second, regional federations of local societies into wholesales for wholesaling, production and transportation. Third, federation of regional wholesales into a National Wholesale for centralized wholesaling, production, transportation, and trade with cooperative wholesales in other countries.

WHAT COOPERATORS WANT—AND WHAT THEY ARE GOING TO GET!
COOPERATION

An organ to spread the knowledge of the Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, in voluntary association, produce and distribute for their own use the things they need.

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Plaster Cast

The consumer, floored by the depression, is now being put in a plaster cast by the recovery. The world seems to have it in for him. Almost every government is rapidly extending its control over industry. Witness the import quotas, marketing boards, price-fixing, cartelization, licensing and other measures for cutting out competition.

In Austria, for example, a store selling peanuts today must continue to sell peanuts tomorrow. The peanut department and chain stores, are prohibited from expanding. Cooperatives before they will come under the ban.

In Switzerland, disinhibited from expanding. Cooperatives are forced to buy home-cured bacon. It doesn't matter if Danish bacon is better, or lower-priced—these factors which the cooperatives have always assumed as of some importance are being flipped aside by the governmental pun- dits, who appear to think that they and they alone know what is best for the country. Meanwhile, Denmark is franc- tically subsidizing her farmers, as is almost every other nation, to make up for the loss of export trade. It seems to be a race to see which country can wipe out its foreign trade the quickest.

This wave of strait-jacketing threatens the very life of the Cooperative movement. Cooperation depends upon freedom of competition. To progress, it must have the opportunity to pursue unhindered its method, which is to compete profit industry out of existence. In that work it should have the help, not the hinderance of the State.

For or Against?

To be fair, we must admit that not every act of governments is against the consumer. For example, Poland recently dissolved its cement cartel. It was found that of the 17 factories belonging to the cartel, 8 were being subsidized on condition that they produced nothing, while the output of the other 9 could not even be produced by 2 or 3. In England, the entire milk trade is being brought under the government Milk Marketing Board, which is fixing prices and licensing dealers. But the manager of this Board is Mr. S. Foster, late manager of the London Cooperative Society. The co-ops may still pay "divi" on milk. And here at home, one day the government will price the milk in a certain city at a profit-insuring consumer-exploiting level, and the next it proclaims the right of cooperatives to pay the "profits" back to the consumers. What do you make of that?

In the war between producers and consumers, on which side does the State stand? Does it know? Isn't it about time it made up its mind?

"Neighbor"

In William Morris' "News from Nowhere," his picture of the ideal society, the people invariably call one another "neighbor." It strikes us that the present sorry world would be improved a shade if more of us got in the habit of addressing our fellows as "neighbor." It is particularly appropriate for cooperators to do so, since their motion is more than any other, is a movement of neighbors. A cooperative society is an organization of neighbors, acting together in a neighborly way and in the interests of their neighbors.

"Fellow-cooperator" is a good word, but it has seven (7) syllables and when all are pronounced properly, the effect is like a double-header freight train getting started, noisily taking up the slack in the couplings all down the line. "Friends and fellow-cooperators"—by the time the speech has got this out of his mouth, the kids down front are staring restlessly in their seats wondering if the speech isn't most over, and the old folks are beginning to think about the coffee.

"Comrade," well, the Socialists and Communists have a prior lien on this word, and let them have it, say we. Every hear an American farmer use the word, No, to him it savors of "Roozian." A cooperative speaker who addresses a farm audience with a chummy "Comrades" might as well follow it with "Hey, kids, get me a pie."

No, it doesn't suit them, the word becomes more and more foreign to the speech. Everyone is talking about the coffee. "Neighbor" fills the bill. It is short, sweet but not too sweet, and its pedigree is OK with the home folks. We suggest that the cooperative movement adopt this word and use it in passing the time of day, when addressing audiences and as a salutation for letters. It is a stout, blue denim word and will stand a lot of wear.

What's Your Answer?

What is your answer to this question: Should cooperative publications accept advertisements from private profit concerns, or from any organizations that are not consumers' cooperatives or affiliated with the cooperative movement?

It is not unusual to see ads of profit goods—especially profit goods that are sold in the cooperative stores—in the cooperative press of other countries. Is it right or wrong? What do you say?

Leaders

VIENO SEVÉRİ ALANNE, Executive Secretary of the Northern States Cooperative League, 2100 Washington Ave. N., Minneapolis, Minn., and Hämenniemi, Finland, Oct. 23, 1879. Had 3 years at preparatory school; 8 years of "classical academy," 4 years at Polytechnic Inst. of Finland (degree in Chemical Engineering), 1 year post-graduate work in Organic Chemistry (1903), and 3 months' special course at Univ. of Wyoming. If still you doubt him to be a scholar, dip into his Finnish-English Dictionary.

He read "Life of Giordano Bruno," Marx's writings, Van Loon's "Tol- erance," and was influenced. Became interested in Cooperation in 1908 through interest in Socialism. A well-known cooperative editor in the northwest since 1920. "My views have gradually developed from that of a Socialist-Cooperator and Communist-Cooperator toward that of a 'Cooper-nist,' with strong working-class (Socialist) leanings. I am confident that Cooperation will finally prevail all over the world."

Marrried. Has 1 son, junior auditor for Central Cooperative Wholesale of Superior; 1 daughter, formerly co-op stenographer. His wife, too, is a cooperator.

When Alanne speaks, there are no errors or omissions. Covers the subject, dots the i's and crosses the t's. A thorough chemist, but not narrow. And gives himself without stint. Short, stocky, always good-humored. Clips his words short, moustache also. And he's fair—would make good justice of the Supreme Court. When cooperators want a good chairman for a meeting, they seek Alanne.

Cooperation is a way of capitalizing business without capitalism.
A. W. Warinuner, Executive Secretary, Central States Cooperative League, Bloomington, Ill. Born May 24, 1881. Attended public school and one year of college. Continued his education in the School of Hard Knocks. He worked as railroad telegrapher.

Married. Has a son and a daughter, neither active in the movement. But his trade is his secretary and right-hand man in the League, which is conveniently housed in the front room.

And in the basement, where with a multigraph they turn out propaganda, good stuff when Warinner feels like writing.

He got interested in Cooperation in 1916-17, mainly through connection with Socialist Party. (Score two for Socialism). Was manager of cooperative stores at Brookfield, Mo., and Tucumcari, N. M., and for a time of the now defunct Central States C. W. S. E. St. Louis.

Sees Cooperation "as a cause promoting better human relations and a method of carrying on the business of the world which will make for greater security for all. If I did not see in it the only practical hope for building a better social and economic order, I would not be interested, especially to the extent of devoting my life to it." Hard-boiled, but "Pop" to the kids. Maybe due to long dealings with co-operators. Likes beer and beginning to show it. Favorite pastime: Refusing secretaryship of National League. Keenest about teaching the young "uns" Cooperation in the one-week summer schools, of which he ran seven last summer.

Would Elevate Prostrate Consumer to Seat in President's Cabinet

In an open letter to President Roosevelt, F. J. Schlink, director of Consumers Research, Inc., of Washington, N. J., asks that a "Department of the Consumer" be formed, headed by a Secretary for Consumers in the Cabinet.

We have a Dept. of Labor intended to serve the working man, and a Dept. of Commerce which very capably serves the consumer in a weak position. He still bears the brunt of everything that is done to rescue the profit system and set it going. But when he organizes himself with his neighbors, it is surprising what he can do.

There are institutions called consumers' guilds and leagues of voters, and so forth, which are lists of names with little or nothing at stake. They really consist of the officials surrounded by a faint adumbration of consumer consciousness. But there are also real organizations of consumers that have a definite meaning.

The unorganized consumer is still in a weak position. He still bears the brunt of everything that is done to rescue the profit system and set it going. But when he organizes himself with his neighbors, it is surprising what he can do.

When such bodies of consumers express themselves to the NRA, the NRA takes notice. At the public hearing on the Restaurant Code, on November 28, the men's clothing code, a Mr. Nelson, named organizational consumers organized in their own behalf. They presented protests against the payment of 25 cents an hour and $15 a week, as the minimum wage, to which the Labor Advisory Board had agreed, and demanded that the minimum wage written in the code should be 40 cents an hour and $18 a week. Sleepy industrialists and labor leaders woke up; and the president Deputy Administrator demanded to know, "What kind of an organization is this?" Something different had appeared upon the scene.

Wherever cooperation goes, asking for the rights of the consumers, it is discovered to be something different from the sort of business commonly in Schlink's name, Sears, Roebuck & Company, called on the men's clothing code, a Mr. Nelson of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, on housing, and A. B. C. Dohrmann, of whom, says Schlink, even the NRA could not give any identifying information. He was called on the clothing code.

Due to neglect of the consumer interest, prices have risen more rapidly than wages. Taxes are deliberately laid on the consumer to pay the cost of destruction and waste reduction. Prices are being fixed, which always puts the consumer in a fix. His response is to quit buying. For example, sales of electrical household appliances fell 10% in October as compared with September, according to The New York Times.

Among the "representatives of the consumer" who have been called to Washington to help make codes, Schlink named and gave the names of manufacturers. The Food and Drugs Administration and Bureau of Standards, supported by public funds, do not serve the public, the open letter alleges, but rather function largely for the benefit of private business. Yearly the Bureau of Standards tests nearly 2000 dry cells, from a dozen manufacturers. The resulting data is given free to the manufacturers concerned, but is returned to consumers, and can not be had even by state and city governments unless they agree not to make it available to their citizens.

These bureaus should be made a part of the new Department of the Consumer, says Schlink. Other existing government units which should be moved into such a department are the Federal Purchasing Board, Federal Specifications Board, Office of Education, and the Bureaus of Home Economics, Chemistry and Entomology.

The Consumers' Opportunities

By J. P. Warbasse

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There are institutions called consumers' guilds and leagues of voters, and so forth, which are lists of names with little or nothing at stake. They really consist of the officials surrounded by a faint adumbration of consumer consciousness. But there are also real organizations of consumers that have a definite meaning.

The cooperative societies represent the consumers in the economic field. Each member, besides being a bona fide and duly elected member, has staked an investment of from $5 to $1000. The cooperative societies are something genuine and tangible. Incidentally, the churches and social clubs represent consumers organized in their own behalf with a property stake and a purpose.

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What the Consumer County Councils Are To Do

CONSUMER County Councils are to be set up in every county of every state of the U. S. Each Council is to consist of 5 to 7 members, with its headquarters at the county seat. Both urban and rural consumers are to be represented.

The chief function of these Councils, according to a letter from Dr. Paul Douglas' office, will be:
1. "To act as agencies for the consideration of consumers' complaints against undue price increases.
2. "To serve as channels for the dissemination of accurate information concerning NRA and its effect upon consumers.
3. "To act as an agency through which consumers may become articulate on questions of national economic recovery.
4. "To aid in the development of a more economical and efficient distribution of goods to consumers.
5. "To cooperate with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Civil Works Administration to speed reemployment by development of sound civic projects."

It is important that cooperators watch these county councils. There is no limit to the possibilities of their services to the cooperative movement. In every county where there is a cooperative, he should be sure that a cooperative is made a member of the Consumers' Country Council of his county. He will have the support of the Consumers' Board, from which this project springs.

What will come of this no one can say. Indeed, the uncertainties of the future are so great as to make it possible for the cooperators to cause the consumers of the whole country to be express or perhaps maymiscarry. But the fact remains that an effort is now being made, with faith and with intelligent and able backing, to help the consumer to help himself.

Another significant event is the movement to add a Department of the Consumer to our national government, with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. This has been proposed by Mr. Roosevelt by Mr. F. J. Schlink, Technical Director of Consumers' Research. The proposal is so reasonable and the energy of Mr. Schlink so challenging that the matter will not be easily evaded. The more persons who write to the President in approval of this plan, the more attention it will receive.

The NRA is susceptible to the influence of the public. Attention is given to every complaint concerning the working of the NRA that comes to Washington. Once it was futile to send telegrams to Washington, but that is not now the case. Cooperative societies can immediately protest the NRA concerning any code that affects cooperatives adversely. A copy of the telegram should be sent to the Consumers' Advisory Board. This is now most useful in the case of the Code of the Retail Fuel Industry (coal), of the Apartment House Industry, of the Salt Industry, of the Iron and Steel Industry, and many others.

The cooperatively organized consumer is now in favor and should take advantage of his opportunities. The people of the United States have suffered such defeat in the social environment of such a character that they may be counted on to put back in power in due time a political administration which expresses more nearly their own intellectual and moral quality. This present administration is exotic. Cooperation should cultivate its garden while the sun shines.

Cooperation in Simple Terms

There is something capitalistically-inclined to whom you would like to present the idea of Consumers' Cooperation in such simple terms that he can not refuse to understand it. Try the following approach:

Once men lived alone in caves. The economics of a cave-man's life were simple. When he got hungry he went out and killed game, brought it in and ate; when he was cold he skinned the quarry and wrapped the skin around him. Thus he provided for his own needs as a consumer.

But cooperation among people grew. The economics of a family's life were a bit more complex, but still not so hard to understand. People lived together and could help one another. They could even trade with one another. The first cooperatives were among horticultural societies, among cattle raisers, and among traders. The more people cooperated, the more they had.

The trouble is that this is not understandable to the average person, particularly in a time when there is much confusion about the economics of things. The older generation is not used to thinking about cooperatives in the same way as the younger generation. The Cooperatives have been described as a "second-rate" method of doing business, and "second-rate" is not a good name for a business.

Therefore, we are sometimes tempted to say that the Cooperative Movement is a "second-rate" method of doing business. This is not true. The Cooperative Movement is a "first-rate" method of doing business. It is a method that works and is being used more and more by people who want to get ahead in the world.
The early cooperators were in the thick of this industrial revolution. It bore terribly upon them and they said, "Let us produce for our own use, as of old, but let us do it jointly and cooperatively, for the old individual life is gone. As individuals we have not access to the land any more. We are herded into cities. But here in the cities, cooperating as consumers, we will get back to the old sound production-for-use philosophy." And so they started the first consumers' cooperative society and set up the first production-for-use plant, a "co-operative," a cooperative, which, coupled with the use of machines, we call industrialism.

Also, when specialization came into vogue, and especially after the invention of clever specialized machinery—machinery which could do a little so long as each man or each family produced a little of everything, there was no call for machines, but as soon as one man in one place began producing merely one article with thousands of duplicates, machines for turning out these duplicates became very desirable—and then certain men began to hire others to pay them wages. These wage-receivers became dependent upon the wage-payers and this was the beginning of the exploitation of the laborer. It all came as a result of this desire for man's feeble brain to understand and cope with. First, certain commodities, like gold, which all valued, were accepted as mediums of exchange, now called money. Then, some men, being cleverer than others, in the act of exchange, tipped the scales in their own favor and such cleverness gave rise to a new system of manufacture, which, coupled with the use of machines, we call industrialism.

This was a revolutionary change, which came about within a comparatively few years, and it is no wonder that man, accustomed for so many centuries to the simple plan of producing for his own use, has not yet learned to operate under this new plan.
New Co-op. Building in Finland

This is the beautiful building, recently completed, of the Finnish Cooperative Wholesale (O.T.K.) in Helsingfors. It is modern in every respect. In it are housed the wholesale and the cooperative insurance society, on the top floors are up-to-date laboratories for the testing of goods to be sold through the society. The interior is as modern and attractive as the exterior. O.T.K. is owned by 109 distributive societies, which operate 1720 stores and have a membership of 248,000. Flour mills, match factories, a tailoring establishment, a ladies' dressmaking shop, an underwear factory, coffee roastery, margarine factory and a chemical plant are operated.

How the Best Stores Do It

A "Survey of Retail Management Practices" by the U. S. Dept. of Commerce brought out the following points:

Stores selling for cash only were found more frequently to be operating at a profit than stores on a cash-and-credit basis.

Stores run at a profit showed more positive methods for collecting delinquent accounts than unprofitable stores.

Stores not giving delivery service were profitable in a greater proportion of cases than those which gave such service.

A greater proportion of the profitable stores used sales promotion methods, and used them more completely and consistently, than did the unprofitable stores.

A larger proportion of stores showing a profit determined their costs and profits by each of the various departments of their business.

A greater proportion of the profitable stores made provision for training and instruction than did those stores which indicated a loss.

Fair Business

Net earnings of the Range Co-op Oil Association, northern Minnesota, in six months of 1933 exceeded the total share capital. This is a federation of 11 co-op stores.

More Pointers on Propaganda

To win converts to Cooperation in any community, one may approach individuals directly, or one may work through existing organizations. We will consider the latter method here.

In your Youth League, or Woman's Guild, you have ambitious young workers, zealous for Cooperation, anxious to do something concrete to further the cause. Some can speak (if encouraged), others write, others conduct classes and forums. All can speak more or less effectively to an audience of one. These cooperators also belong to other organizations in the community, such as the churches, women's clubs, Grange, labor unions, lodges, civic associations, taxpayers' leagues, schools, colleges, Y. M. C. A., Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, etc. It is true that most of these are conservative, even reactionary, groups. But most of them are non-sectarian and non-factional, like the cooperative. And like the co-op they are working, presumably, for genuine community betterment. To some extent at least, they should be natural allies of the cooperative. To what extent, can only be found by testing them out.

The natural approach to these organizations is through those of your members who are also their members. For example: Mattie Smith, who is a member of the Women's Guild, is elected lecturer of the Grange. That means she gets up the programs for Grange meetings. Mattie, how about giving the Grangers two or three good speakers on Cooperation during the year? Then Johnny Brown, the Methodist minister's son, is running with the Co-op Youth League crowd. Perhaps Johnny can get his father and mother interested in a kind of social reconstruction that really reconstructs. Maybe he can get Cooperation on the list of Men's Forum subjects, or have a cooperative movie shown at the Community Services on a Sunday night. And George Spivak, of United Textile Workers Local No. —, at the suggestion of his wife who is a cooperative guildswoman, gets up in union meeting and moves for a committee to study a cooperative housing plan similar to the Amalgamated in New York, which he describes and shows pictures of.

Do It Systematically

This kind of work should be carried on systematically. Canvas your membership and see what other organizations are represented. Then call together all who may act in this way and discuss strategy. A special committee on this form of propaganda may be advisable.

Don't pass up the schools. Members of Youth leagues who are also school students should suggest Cooperation as a subject for debates in English and Public Speaking classes, for talks in Assembly, for essays, etc. How about "The NRA vs. the Cooperative Movement" as a timely subject? Movies if available are also usually gladly accepted by schools. A "field trip" to the premises of the cooperative society by the class in economics or social science may be proposed. A Hospitality Committee should be ready to receive them and show them around. Such features are often welcomed by teachers because it gives them something "different" to do with their classes.

Have speakers at meetings and functions of other organizations whenever possible. First it is necessary to have such speakers prepared, both men and women. The Youth League should get up a class in Public Speaking, having a qualified adult hear and coach the speakers. This class will study both Cooperation and how to talk about it. The community is always ready to listen to one of its young people who has something concrete to say and can say it. Then set yourself a quota of "speeches in other organizations," depending on the number of such organizations in your community, frequency of meeting, contacts with cooperators, degree of liberal sympathy, etc.

Don't hesitate to ask for more than
The Best Laid Plans of Mice and Men

By Esopus

III.

Now, as the reader will remember, the peasant whose family was in tatters and himself in rags, and who, although his pocket was empty of money had nevertheless gone to the marketplace, hoping that by some miracle he would be able to obtain clothing, returned home rejoicing. The weight of the bolt of cloth across his shoulders was nothing. Nowadays, he would have voted for the chap who would dress in the warmth of the sun and the moon; but would even go to church and strut before their neighbors.

And all because of that good merchant, Dollar, who had allowed him to take the clothes for nothing. For nothing? Ah, for a mere promise to pay on Monday after next. But the peasant concluded that he had been a lucky beggar.

The goat got hung by the neck in the yard. The peasant crossed himself and said:

"Father, we have no milk for supper. The goat got hung by the neck in the yard and died."

The peasant crossed himself again and said:

"Father, we have no milk for supper. I took thee for a man of (hy word!"

"I took thee for a man of thy word!"

"Father. Give me another week." And Dollar, humoring the lad, said to the peasant:

"Very well. I see you have had bad fortune. I will give thee until Monday week, but you must pledge me your farm. Here, I have already written the pledge. Sign thee here."

"I took thee for a man of thy word!"

"Be not hard on him, Father. Give him another week."

"I took thee for a man of thy word!"

"Father, we have no milk for supper. But George didn't change his mind; he had paid $132.50."

Thus Credit began life posing as a benefactor of the poor, a pose which, the reader will observe was already cutting his eye teeth, said:

"I took thee for a man of thy word!"

Lest Credit should think that he was not fulfilling the promise, the peasant sternly said:

"I took thee for a man of thy word!"

"Be not hard on him, Father. Give him another week."

"I took thee for a man of thy word!"

"Father, we have no milk for supper. But George didn't change his mind; he had paid $132.50."

"What Cooperators Are Doing Abroad" may be very interesting to your audience, but it will not accomplish the effect unless it brings the subject back home and ends with an appeal to "join the co-op."

Cooperative Growth in Virginia

A vigorous cooperative movement is developing among the farmers of Virginia. Gordon H. Ward of Blackshears, cooperative extension worker, informs us as follows:

The Virginia Seed Service is now the Southern States Cooperative, and aims to manufacture and distribute for farmers throughout the South Atlantic region. The cooperative purchasing associations of Maryland and North Carolina may consolidate in the new regional. A subsidiary, known as the Southern States Cooperative Mills, has been established and is fast completing its first mural on deep water in Baltimore, which will have a capacity of 40 cars per day. Fertilizer manufacturing activities are also being expanded with mills in Norfolk and Petersburg. The G. L. F. Cooperative fertilizer plant at Baltimore is being used to serve certain farmers.

Under the fertilizer code, prices are to be stabilized at a point which will enable the old line companies to make a profit. Since they had an average loss last spring of $4 per ton (while the cooperatives more than broke even), prices will probably be raised at least $4. The cooperatives will have to change the same price, but they can refund the $4. Thus they should get the business.

Another fertilizer co-op is the Virginia Truck Growers Mfg. Corp., which this summer came under the Virginia cooperative act. It was started in 1926 by truck farmers around Norfolk, and has its own fertilizer plant. From the start cooperative principles of one man, one vote and limited dividends on stock (5%) have been followed. Locals have been organized and given membership through the distribution of shares. The secretaries of these locals are being bonded and will handle purchase of supplies for members of the local. In time, the local organization will become a general farmers' purchasing association, integrating wholesale and retail operations.

Can a Co-op Compete?

Ask George Schemm of Valentine, Neb. He needed a grain binder, according to the 'Nebraska Union Farmer,' the local dealer wanted $230. George bought his from the Farmers Union Exchange. When the local dealer found out, he came down to $150. But George didn't change his mind; he had paid $132.50.

What the Czech Cooperators Are Doing

The organized consumers of Czechoslovakia in 1932 got their food products through the cooperative societies 9.6% cheaper than did the consumers who depended upon private stores, according to Prof. S. Borodaevsky.

The Central Union of Cooperative Societies in that country is about to celebrate its 25th birthday. The Union consists of 220 consumers' societies, 185 producers' societies, 193 building associations, 174 workers' and peoples' houses, 43 credit societies and a number of others. Total membership is 1,500,000. 75% of the business is done by the consumers' societies. Dollar volume was about 15% less in 1932 than in 1930.

Bon Voyage, Sunnyside!

Sunnyside society, Long Island City, opened its store on Dec. 2, with a full line of groceries, delicatessen goods, fruits and vegetables. A "department of natural foods" is planned. The milk and laundry business is reported growing steadily.

Superior To Go Ahead

The People's Cooperative Society of Superior has voted to go ahead with the opening of a branch store in the heart of the shopping section as planned.
Sales Are On the Up
Sales of cooperatives are on the increase. For instance, Trenary Farmers Cooperative Store nearly doubled its sales in November over the same month of 1932. Its Munising branch jumped from $1100 to $2600.

Save 40-50% by Cooperating
The Associated Cooperative Fire Insurance Companies, Woodridge, N. Y., cut their losses almost one-half last year—from $136,340 in 1932 to $79,300 in 1933. "Our members," writes Boris Fogelson, secretary, "paid 40 to 50% less than they would have had to pay if insured by stock companies."

Co-op Current
Twenty-four farmers in Granite Falls, Minn., says Federated Press, have formed a cooperative for electric power distribution. They buy current from the municipal plant for 5c and retail it to members for 7c. With the difference they put up poles, lines, transformers, etc., and provide for reserves.

A good article in November "Harpers," by Marquis Childs, tells how rural cooperatives in Sweden distribute electric power in much the same way. That's right, there are a few Swedes in Minnesota.

Co-op Housing for Minneapolis
They are considering cooperative housing in Minneapolis. The Workers Housing Corporation has been formed and an application for a loan of 2 1/2 million has been made to Public Works Administrator Ickes.

Total sales of Rock Cooperative Company, Michigan, for the first 7 months of 1933 were $52,899.92, net gain $1484.20.

Sound Sense
"If you have invested money in a cooperative society, protect it with your trade."—The Canadian Cooperator.

Debate Outline
(Editors' Note: My class at Commonwealth got quite hot over this question. That is why I suggest it, O. C.)

Resolved. That a candidate for an elective position in a cooperative society (such as member of the Board of Directors) should make an active campaign for election.

Affirmative.
1. Makes for intelligent voting—lets members get acquainted with candidate.
2. Stimulates interest in the election—gets out the vote—makes democracy work—gives the co-op new life—makes publicity around town.
3. Elevates importance of office and stimulates desire to hold it—creates pride and prestige appeal.
4. Give chance for newcomer—not so likely that the old gang will be reelected over and over.

Negative.
1. One candidate may be able to afford more ads., more torchlight processions, etc., than another. (Before the debate, the following question should be decided: If campaigning is to be encouraged, should the society pay a certain campaign expense for each candidate, as English societies do? If expense is to be left to the candidate, should this expense be limited?)
2. One may be a silver-tongued orator, or clever publicity man, while another is tongue-tied. Both may be equally well qualified for the office.
3. May encourage bribery, ballot-box stuffing, and other political chicanery.
4. May stir up personal animosity and cause dissension which may spread to other affairs of the co-op.
5. May involve politics, religion, race, or color of hair of candidates.

Artists Get Barter Bug
Even the artists are having to go back to barter. They bring their work to the Art Exchange Bureau, 156 West 45th St., New York City, which arranges swaps for them. Sometimes the swaps are three- or four-cornered before the artist gets what he desires.

The Cooperative Women's Guild of Great Britain has over 70,000 member guildswomen.

Producers' and Consumers' Movement Contrasted
Where the consumers' cooperative movement in this country seems to devote its educational work first to development of a cooperative commonwealth and second to efficient cooperative buying, we (the farm cooperatives) reverse the formula by placing our primary emphasis on efficient cooperative business and secondly upon the development of cooperative spirit. Frankly I believe that is one reason why the farmers' cooperative movement has been moving a little more rapidly in most areas of the U. S. than has the consumers movement. I don't mean this as criticism, because I am well aware that you have faced problems more difficult than ours to solve.

Extract from a letter by a farmers' cooperative leader:"

Cooperative Youth
New Youth League Organized
Early in November, a movement was started to organize a Youth League of the Waukegan-North Chicago Cooperative Association. The preliminary meeting was a great success, particularly in the number of individuals present.

The second meeting completed the job of setting up the organization as a working group. The constitution as presented was accepted after some amendments had been made.

At the third meeting, the following officers were elected: President, Miss A. Ogrin, Vice-President, Edward Koncok, and Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Jennie Popit. Committee chairmen were elected, and they in turn selected their committee members.

Preparations are being made for quite an extensive educational program, and the entertainment committee has already shown itself to be very efficient.

The Youth League of the Waukegan-North Chicago Cooperative Association, is affiliated with the Central States Youth League, and has a membership of over forty persons. It is expected to increase this number considerably in the near future, making this organization one of the largest, if not the largest Youth League in this country.

The Cooperative Builder
The official organ of Northern States Cooperative League
Central States Cooperative League
Central Cooperative Wholesale
An interesting and lively cooperative journal published semi-monthly at Superior, Wis.
Subscription rate .25 per year.

FIRE INSURANCE
SAFETY-ECONOMIC-COOPERATIVE
WORKMEN'S FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY
227 East 44th St., New York, N. Y.
Member of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A. Under supervision of N. Y. State Insurance Department.
STUDY CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12, N. Y. C. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

HISTORICAL

38. Consumers Cooperation In the United States (Blue), 1924. 10 cents.

46. Story of Rural Life (In Blue). 10 cents.


68. Model State Law ......... .10

76. Credit Union Primer (By Ham and Robinson). .50

84. “When the Whistle Blew” (Story. By Bruce Calvert). .25

92. What Is Consumers Cooperation? By Dr. J. P. Warbasse. 1 cent.


124. Potter, B.: Cooperative Movement In Great Britain 1910-1920. 1.50

132. Redfern, Percy: The Story of the C. W. S. 1.16

140. Oerne, Andres: Cooperative Ideals and Problems. 50 cents.

148. Owen, Robert: Autobiography. 1.50

156. Flanagan, J. A.: Wholesale Cooperation in the United States. 2.15


172. Chase and Schlink: Your Money’s Worth, A Book for Consumers. 1.10


188. Webb, B. and S.: The Consumers’ Cooperative Movement, Bound Volumes, 1915 to 1932 inclusive, each year. 1.26

196. Polsson, B.: The Cooperative Republic. 1.85

204. Redfern, Percy: “People’s Year Book, 1933,” English, large 12mo, 30 cents.

212. Smith-Gordon and O’Brien: Cooperation in Denmark. 1.10

220. Smith-Gordon and O’Brien: Cooperation in Many Lands, 1929. 1.60

228. Holyoke: Rochdale Pioneers 1844. 1.10

236. Hough, E. M.: Cooperation in India, 1922. 2.10

244. Holyoke: Rochdale Pioneers. 1.10

252. Indian Cooperation. Children's story. .15

260. Jessness, O. R.: Cooperative Marketing of Farm Products. 2.10

268. Potsson, B.: The Cooperative Republic. 1.85

276. Potter, B.: Cooperative Movement In Great Britain 1910-1920. 1.50

284. Hough, E. M.: Cooperation in India, 1922. 2.75

292. Holyoke: Rochdale Pioneers. 1.10

300. Indian Cooperation. Children's story. .15

308. Jessness, O. R.: Cooperative Marketing of Farm Products. 2.10

316. Kress, J. A.: Capitalism, Cooperation, Communist, 1926. 2.00

324. Many Lands, 1920. 1.15

332. Denmark. 1.10

340. France. 1.10

348. Russia, 1924. 1.50

356. Scotland, 1844. 1.10

364. Britain 1891. 1.10

372. Ireland, 1918. 1.00

380. America. 1.00

MONTHLY PUBLICATIONS

Cooperation—(In bundle lots, 100 for $1.00). Subscription, per year (foreign, $1.00) ........................................ 1.35

Review of International Cooperation (Pub. by the I. C. A.) ........................................ 1.10

Books

The following books are recommended as containing the best discussion of the modern Cooperative Movement. They may be ordered through The League, postpaid on receipt of price.

Blane, Edie T., Cooperative Movement in Russia, 1924. 1.00

Brightwell, E. R.: Animal “Co-op” Book—For Children. .15

Chase and Schlink: Your Money’s Worth, A Book for Consumers. 1.10

Flanagan, J. A.: Wholesale Cooperation in Scotland, 1920. 2.10

Gids, C.: Consumers’ Cooperative Societies, American edition and notes, 1922, Cloth. 1.00

Hall, Prof. Fred: Handbook for Members of Cooperative Committees. 2.00

Holyoke: Rochdale Pioneers. 1.10

Hough, E. M.: Cooperation in India, 1922. 2.75

Indian Cooperation. Children’s story. .15

Jessness, O. R.: Cooperative Marketing of Farm Products. 2.10

Kress, J. A.: Capitalism, Cooperation, Communist, 1926. 2.00

Life As We Have Known It. Life stories of English guildsmen, telling what the Guilds have done for them. .50

Manx, J. F.: The Story Retold. .65

Nicholson, Ian: Our Story. .35

Oerne, Andres: Cooperative Ideals and Problems. 50 cents.

Owen, Robert: Autobiography. 1.50

Peksel, B.: The Cooperative Republic. 1.85

Potsson, B.: The Cooperative Republic. 1.85

Redfern, Percy: The Story of the C. W. S. 8.85

Redfern, Percy: The Consumers’ Fias in Society, 1936. 1.00

Smith-Gordon and O’Brien: Cooperation in Denmark. 1.10

Smith-Gordon and O’Brien: Cooperation in Many Lands, 1929. 1.60

Stolinsky, A.: The Cooperative Movement. 1.00

Warbasse, J. P.: Cooperative Democracy, 1922. 1.60


Welsh, H., and E. H.: The Consumers’ Cooperative Movement, 1921. 1.10

Welsh, Catherine: Industrial Cooperation, 1920. 1.00

Wood, Leonard: Cooperation and the People’s Year Book, 1932 to 1933 inclusive, each year. 1.25

The People’s Year Book, 1935, English, large 12mo, 30 cents.

Year Book of The Cooperative League, 1932. 75 cents.

“What Consumers’ Cooperation Means to a Depression-Sick America”

Try it on your depression-sick friend. A new leaflet, mostly pictures 3 cents per copy, $2 per 100

We also recommend

“What Is Consumers’ Cooperation?”

by Dr. J. P. Warbasse. A clear, concise definition. 5 cents per copy, $4 per 100

Order from

The Cooperative League

Rivanna Print—Flintburg, Mass.

Front Page News

SEVERAL Co-ops that have surplus cash on hand are depositing it with the Central Co-op Wholesale in the form of advance payments on their future purchases, rather than keep it in the local banks.

—from The Cooperative Builder, Superior, Wisconsin, Jan. 6, 1934.
**COOPERATION**

An organ to spread the knowledge of the Cooperative Movement, whereof the people, in voluntary association, produce and distribute the means by which they live.

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OSCAR COOLEY, Editor

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WE view with pleasure the increasing articulateness of the consumer in Washington and his increasing influence in the New Deal as the effect of its policies on the consumer is pointed out. Now, The Cooperative League is asked for pamphlets and leaflets on consumers cooperation to be reprinted and distributed by the Consumer County Councils. Good! Let the presses roll.

In addition each County Council should assemble a library of books, periodicals and pamphlets of consumer information to be loaned throughout its county. Public and school libraries should assist. “Traveling libraries” might be utilized. Give the people knowledge and they will set themselves free.

Concerning Revolutions

The world has seen but one great change worthy of being called a Revolution. That was when man changed from production for use to production for profit. The first shot was fired when the first sale was made, that is, when the first goods were exchanged rather than used by the producer. The fight began to get hot when Private Ownership was instituted, and hotter still when Specialization got a-going. That was when man changed from production for use to production for profit.

Some young enthusiast begins to fulminate about the “coming Revolution.” The real Revolution is here: we are in it. We have been for a long time, and will be for much, much longer. Why get lathered up about it? Of course this is the “coming Revolution” which our young enthusiast heralds is not the Revolution that we speak of. There are waves in the ocean; there is also a tide.

It's not a bad idea for Cooperators to take a long-term look at these matters. It gives them a better idea of what to stand. It also gives them a broader sympathy with all other forces working for the success of the Second Revolution.

NRA Nonsense

Under the proposed trucking code, farmer Smith would not be able to haul a can of his neighbor's milk for profit, without getting a license and filing a schedule of rates. Next thing we know, the small boy who carries the old lady's bag across the street and gets a penny for it will be required to file his schedule of rates.

What if farmer Brown pays his neighbor Smith to help him butcher, or by giving his kids a lift to school? In that case Smith's “schedule of rates” is going to be interesting reading.

The Man from Mars, recently arrived on the Earth, espied an old Model T in a frozen field, wandering aimlessly and laboriously about as if lost. Out of curiosity he drew nearer. The bus was labelled “The Economic Machine.” The driver, a happy but dumb-looking dol, was tagged Capitalist. Behind him was what appeared to be a back-seat driver, labelled Socialist. Hanging on the running board and watching his chance to hit the driver over the head with a piece of iron pipe was a Communist.

A fourth man, labelled Cooperator, had got out of the ancient vehicle and was walking down the road where a sign pointed "To the Cooperative Commonwealth."
The Consumer Comes Into View
By J. P. Warbasse

Practically all industries have submitted their codes to the NRA. By the first of January, 1935, codes had been approved by the President. Industry and labor have done most of their work. The consumer is growing steadily in importance. Now the fundamental and practical work of the Consumers' Board is making its impression on the NRA.

It is an interesting fact that industry and labor have had funds of their own to employ all the people needed to watch their interests. They have wages and profits at stake. But the consumers, either organized or not, have not been able to send but few people to Washington to protect them from the codes. The Cooperative League, with 1,400 cooperative societies in its membership, having 500,000 individual members, has represented the organized consumers. It is the one outstanding consumer representation. Its membership is bona fide and tangible. The members have been elected, and every one has a financial stake of from $5 to $100 invested in his consumers' society. This is a very different sort of membership than that of many loosely put together organizations supposed to represent consumers.

Some independent cooperative societies and the Consumers' Research Association have from time to time sent representatives to look after their interests. But, compared with industry and labor, the consumer has had few people to serve him.

We need more help in Washington. There is now open a nice job with The Consumers' Board for a cooperator who can finance himself. The Board has no funds for this, but if the job can be self-financed or financed by a cooperative society, it can be made highly useful to the cooperative movement in particular and to the consumers in general. The services that can still be performed for the consumers are numerous and increasing.

The other interests have been working for their own pocket all the time. They have been aggressive, pugnacious and efficient in their special pleading. When the consumers' representative appears before a board or committee, he sounds an utterly different note. He is discovered as working for somebody else and not concerned for his own profits. He is not trying to get something from the public, but to do something for the public.

Wherever his voice is heeded, the public is benefited.

This is seen in such situations as the Pure Food and Drug Act. The utterly disgraceful attitude of industry and the press and the indifference of labor may yet legalize lying about patent medicines, cosmetics, tooth and body applications, and the great gamut of humbugs that take a billion dollars a year for their worse than useless stuff.

The Consumers' Board and Consumers' Research raised their voices for the public, and made the pious supporters of these frauds wince at the truth. If there is anything that reflects the low grade of civilization of this country it is the support given to the patent medicine frauds by persons who sit in high places and are acclaimed as respectable. There is no dirtier money in America than theirs.

The oil people are still hoping to stop the growth of consumers' cooperative oil societies. In Massachusetts a new cooperative organization has been refused petroleum by the district oil code authority. This cooperative is informed by the chairman of the District Oil Committee, that a cooperative oil distributing society is in violation of the law and subject to a fine of $500. This chairman is an influential politician who is president of a local oil company and member of the State Oil Committee. He has announced that no cooperative will be permitted to handle oil. The taxi drivers of Boston recently started to form a cooperative oil asso...
petroleum, salt, wire fencing, coal, feed, fertilizer, and other industries.

Another executive order signed by the President, is needed, ruling that genuine cooperative societies shall not be discriminated against by any business, and that commodities and supplies shall be sold to them in every market on the same terms as to other businesses engaged in the same lines; and that a cooperative paying saving returns, patronage rebates, or dividends, shall not be refused the privilege of buying at wholesale from manufacturers. Then all of the obstacles in the codes, that industry has put in the way of cooperative progress, will be removed.

Under these circumstances, the Code of the Cooperative Consumers will no longer be necessary. Their organizations will have gotten, by means of executive orders of the President, all of the protection that their own code could supply under the most favorable conditions. In the light of the current events, the consumer is coming into view and the cooperatively organized consumer is discovering the advantages of his position.

News and Comment

Whites Don't Know the Half of It

Negroes have all the usual difficulties in organizing cooperatives, besides some of their own, according to Dr. W.A.C. Hughes, of the Methodist Mission Bureau of Negro Work, who spoke at an all-day conference of cooperators held in Philadelphia, Jan. 11. Several years ago a group in Arkansas decided that they were being held up by the plantation stores, and that they needed a cooperative. Word got to the storekeepers, and the next meeting was shot up by a mob.

During the afternoon session specific cooperative problems were discussed under the leadership of L. E. Woodcock, secretary of the Eastern States Cooperative League. In the evening John W. Edelman of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery

Workers described the house for 300 families which they plan to build, using government funds. According to plans, the store and several other enterprises in the house will be cooperative.

Dr. Andrew J. Kress of Georgetown University, who has been active in protecting cooperative interests at Washington, talked on 'The NRA Opportunity.'

Cooperative activities in Philadelphia have increased after being dormant for many years. The United Consumers Cooperative Association (formerly the Young Negroes Cooperative League) is building up its volume of business and plans to establish several branch deposits where customers at a distance from the store can leave orders and call for them the next day. Two barter groups, one in the suburb of Media and one in the city, are considering converting their organizations into permanent cooperatives.

Central Wholesale's Volume Up

Sales of the Central Cooperative Wholesale in November totaled $142,854.11, which was 52.4% more than in November, 1935. The first 11 months of 1933 yielded over $5,000 larger net earnings, a smaller gross margin, and smaller expenses than in the same period of 1932.

Joseph Gilbert has resigned as assistant secretary of the N.S.C.L. to give his full time to the Midland Oil Association. He is editor of the "Midland Cooperator," new monthly paper which contains news of the oil associations as well as excellent editorials on Consumers' Cooperation.

"Same to You!"

Looking over "The Cooperative Builder," we see many ads by cooperative organizations extending New Year's greetings. Here are some of the interesting things that caught our eye:

The Range Cooperative Federation minces no words; they are out "to abolish middlemen and their abominable profits."

Floodwood Cooperative Association invites members to come for their rebate (5%). "It has been saved as a sort of present that you have earned for yourself by supporting the Cooperative."

"Happy New Year to all cooperators throughout the world!" is the greeting of the Cooperative Trading Company of Waukegan. This is signed by the 66 employees, and part way down the list of names in small type we spy "Jack Liukku." The general manager of one of our largest and finest cooperative societies signs his name along with the rest as simply one of the employees.

This is Station WEBC, Superior. Watch for opening of new co-op store at Belknap and Tower Aves., about Feb. 1st.

Swedish Cooperators Here

A Bin Johannsen, Director of Cooperative Association of Waukegan. This is signed by the 66 employees, and part way down the list of names in small type we spy "Jack Liukku." The general manager of one of our largest and finest cooperative societies signs his name along with the rest as simply one of the employees.

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nished the capital, the plan being that Sunnyside will raise capital among its members and patrons to buy the store, thus releasing the original fund to be used in establishing another store elsewhere. The store is in charge of a man working with the Sunnyside management committee consisting of Leslie Woodcock of the Eastern Cooperative Wholesale. Miss Arnold of C.C.S. and W. Niemela of C.T.A. Mr. Laakso, an experienced store manager and cooperator, is manager. J. A. Jessup of C.C.S. is working with the Sunnyside cooperators on the propaganda job.

The Farmers Union State Exchange of Omaha, cooperative wholesale serving the state of Nebraska, has made a net profit or saving for its consumers every quarter for the last 10 years. 1933 sales exceeded 1932 by $50,000.

Commodity Exchange at Palo Alto

There are unemployed in California. In Palo Alto they consist of all kinds of people. A large proportion are ruined small shop keepers. A goodly percentage are artisans. These people have no money to begin business, but they did begin. The unemployed got the loan of an empty garage, a truck and the donation of electricity and water from the city. They took jobs of clearing wood lands. They trucked and sold the wood. Much of it they traded for commodities as though they were cash. They picked berries and fruit for a percentage of the crop. They got their market for their products as though they were dollars. They did work they could find and made a better education for their children.

Reducing the Pound of Flesh

Mrs. Minnie Larson of So. Dakota is suing to have the mortgage on her farm withdrawn. The Larson case is one of many that the Farmers Union has carried on without money. Cooperation has yet been reached.

She bases her suit partly on Supreme Court decisions of 1920 which allowed public corporations to break their contracts with governmental units because the value of the dollar had dropped to 60c. The Larson case has insurance and the state of Nebraska, has made a net profit or saving for its consumers every quarter for the last 10 years. 1933 sales exceeded 1932 by $50,000.

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She bases her suit partly on Supreme Court decisions of 1920 which allowed public corporations to break their contracts with governmental units because the value of the dollar had dropped to 60c. The Larson case has insurance, and consequently for her to be forced to pay $16,000 would be confiscation.
G. L. F. and Eastern States Farmers Exchange, made a record in 1932 which is excelled by few business enterprises, cooperative or private. The total business of the two was approximately their net income over $700,000. Seven wholesale associations in the middle west and south sold on the average $1,278,000 worth of supplies during the year and closed their books with an average net profit of $34,780. Ten associations in the same area had an average net worth of $162,871 at the end of 1932, which was 61% of their total liabilities.

Retail purchasing associations as a rule were able to operate in the black during 1932. Sixty-six locals, operating in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan, sold over 4 million dollars worth of supplies to their members and their total net income was $198,566. Thirteen of these associations showed a loss for the year, the largest being $1,991.66; fifty-three were able to make income and outgo balance. Seven independent local associations in New York made sales totaling $462,269, a decline of 21% from the previous year, and a total net income of $8,532. Two out of the seven showed a deficit. Thirty-one local gas and oil associations operating in Minnesota and Wisconsin sold supplies valued at $1,825,922 and made a total net profit of $198,515. None of these associations operated at a loss. As a group they were in the fortunate position at the end of the year of having $152,233 cash on hand with which to pay $134,311 of current liabilities. Their total net worth was $600,925 or 74.5% of all liabilities.

These illustrations show that by and large the purchasing associations are making progress. They are making progress for two reasons—first, because of savings they effect for their members; secondly, because they give the farmer fertilizer, seed and other supplies of dependable quality. They are not operating to make a profit but to secure for the member the kind of supplies he must have at the lowest price at which they can be obtained.

Some Do's and Don'ts

Naturally the depression has tested the purchasing associations severely and some "do's" and "don'ts" have been emphasized by experience during this period.

The most important is, sell for cash only. The majority of the associations have learned this lesson thoroughly. They have learned that the losses and high margins which adhere to a credit business will drive away trade more quickly than a cash policy. In addition they will wreck the association. Consequently associations are not allowing new members are refusing to extend credit except in emergencies and then only for a few days. It is recognized now that the association that has more than fifteen days' sales outstanding on its books is headed for trouble as in such a case some accounts receivable will be more than 30 days old.

Second, keep down operating costs. With some exceptions, due to services performed or products handled, overhead and distribution costs of a wholesale association should not exceed 5% of net sales. Cost of a retail association should not exceed 10% of sales.

Third, volume of business. All things considered $750,000 and $900,000 appear to be minimum figures for wholesale and retail associations respectively.

Fourth, keep down inventory. Retail associations should have sales at least 16 times their average inventory. Wholesale associations should turn over their inventory at least 12 times a year.

Fifth, keep down investments in fixed assets. As a minimum, annual sales should be 20 times the investment in fixed assets.

In the long run each association must develop its own operating standards because the conditions under which any two associations operate are never the same.

Present Trends

There is a tendency at present to set up wholesale purchasing associations as federations, with the overhead organization retaining some supervision over the management and record keeping of the locals. For many sections of the country this appears to be the best solution of the problem of local versus central control. While encouraging local initiative and responsibility, it provides a needed check on the operation of the local associations.

Some trend toward the consolidation of purchasing associations can also be noted. It is undoubtedly desirable to expand the territory served by wholesale purchasing associations beyond state lines. Some purchasing associations now operating in the south could be combined advantageously. In the middle west similar consolidations of purchasing associations could be made to advantage. Wholesale cooperatives in some instances are competing for business within the same state. It is of interest in this connection that associations handling petroleum products have formed a national purchasing organization.

In the east the territory occupied by the G. L. F. and Eastern States Farmers Exchange is now well defined and in each case includes all or part of several states. Development of the program of Southern States Cooperative, Inc., will also provide purchasing service by one cooperative over a region made up of three or four states.

There is a trend, particularly in the South and East, to the development of a combined marketing and purchasing service. This begins with the local community where the same organization handles supplies and also provides a grading, packing and marketing service for farm products. The plan contemplates that these products will be sold through commodity associations where the services of such associations are available and that the overhead organization will provide a marketing service for miscellaneous commodities and maintain a marketing department or subsidiary for that purpose.

Combining marketing and purchasing in local associations has many advantages when the volume of any product is comparatively small. Pro rata costs can be reduced and services offered to more farmers in the community. An overhead sales agency for miscellaneous products offers more difficulty and should be developed slowly.

The Cooperatives and the Strike

By Abraham Dobkin

Student at Commonwealth College, Meno, Ark.

In the hands of the Trade Unions there lies a powerful weapon against the ruling classes: the General Strike. The difficulty in the use of this weapon is that it cannot be handled effectively by the Trade Unions alone. The Cooperative movement is a necessary ally.

During the English General Strike of 1926, this became extremely apparent. In those ten holidays of labor, the importance of close cooperation between these two working-class elements was shown to be more than a theoretical ideal. Local strike boards issued permits to cooperative societies for the distribution of milk and other foods and to individuals to work at this task. This permit system was decided upon at the last moment and proved ineffective. In many communities, the boards acted unwisely. There was no adequate check on who received food and other necessities, and sufficient vigilance was not used to prevent "volunteers" and scabs from receiving bread. In some communities there were not enough permits issued, and in others too many. Cooperative shops held to their policy of non-discrimination and sold to all consumers instead of to strikers and sympathizers only.

The unloading of foodstuffs at docks
and railroads was in confusion. Agreements were entered into with the Government to provide for such unloading in some cases blacklegs and trade-unionists worked side by side. At other places, union officials refused to have even the smallest quantities of food or coal unloaded.

On the streets tieups were caused by inexperienced truck and omnibus drivers, and the transportation of food was unnecessarily delayed.

Theindustry was chaotic, unplanned and militated against the success of the strike. Although, in the main, only food and coal trains ran, private trading was not at a standstill, due to the promiscuous issuance of permits. Many private business men transported wares under the pretext of shipping or distributing food and building materials. The latter was considered a necessity and licensed accordingly.

Had the thing been properly worked out, it would have taken place, not necessarily during the few disturbing days before the event but at the Joint Councils of the Trade Unions and Co-ops, the leaders of the strike might not have capitulated so readily.

Would such tactics as the following be practical? We are assuming a General Strike in a country thoroughly organized both Trade Unions and Co-ops. The leaders of such a strike would realize that they are necessary to each other, that they must work together, if they are to establish the classless society which they aspire to.

Whether the co-ops are to work on a cash, credit, or outright donation basis will depend on the conditions of the workers, the unions, and the co-ops. There is no room here to consider the advisability of building up a special fund in the cooperatives for strikes, or to have a joint fund with the unions, but such preparation should be considered. At present, the English C. W. S. is capable of supplying the workers of England and Wales with all the food they need for a period of ninety days out of its surplus alone. Local co-ops could provide many more days of food, if necessary.

This is not a blue-print; it is merely a suggestion. Our main purpose is to point out the necessity of harmony and cooperation between the two groups. Mutual funds should be created, the members of the two groups should be the same people, organized both as consumers and as producers. The Co-operatives and the Trade Unions must realize that they are necessary to each other, that they must work together, if they are to establish the classless society through peaceful means.

** This from The Statesmen's Year Book, p. 16, and The People's Year Book, pp. 76, 81.**

The production of goods should be controlled by those who are to use the goods—this is the very essence of democracy.

### War Declared on Credit

By Esopus

The fourth of a series of yarns about a scoundrel, who is named in the title.

IV

FOR many years the tyrant Credit, head of a clear field, and he waxed strong and mighty, like Gargantua. His mother Profit, unlike most women, grew more and more gorgeous and seductive in the eyes of his father, the merchant Dollar. Their pride in their son was unbounded. He it was who had brought them together (the reader is referred to Tale No. 1) and he it was who rendered their union indissoluble.

The first bit of wormwood in the family brook was introduced at Rochdale in 1844, in this wise.

It seems that Credit took particular joy in bedeviling the people of Rochdale. He schooled them until they said "Charge it" as easily and naturally as a parrot says "Damn it." They even bought their mugs of beer at the tavern on credit. Thus he ensnared them.

But he overdid the matter. Some of the people of Rochdale actually put their heads together and evolved an ingenious plan to outwit him. They as consumers of goods would become their own merchants as it were, cooperating to serve their needs. With the entirety of this plan, the most ingenious and yet the simplest imaginable, we are not concerned here. Our interest lies in the fact that one of the cardinal principles of the plan was that ALL TRANSACTIONS BE CASH, and that credit be neither sought nor granted.

This war was declared and the first shot was fired. It struck Credit just below the left groin, and he took to his bed. His mother Profit, hovered fearfully over him, and his father the merchant, racked his brain and even consulted with his hated fellow-merchants to see what could be done to get the boy back on his feet.

Now the Rochdalians having sounded the call to arms, the people of neighboring towns, equally ground down by the tyrant, also raised their banners. The weapon which they sought was a new one, invented at Rochdale. It was apparently a little like an old-time catapult, and a little like a modern machine gun. But few knew anything about it, and consequently many were sceptical and laughed and haw-hawed whenever it was mentioned.

This new gun was called Cooperation, and the gunners were called Cooperators.

Laugh as one might at this odd new weapon, there was no doubt that it had badly messed up the left leg of Credit. Time passed and he got no better. Finally, in 1863, the Cooperators of all the towns including Rochdale got together to plan an alliance, and the news of what they planned being reported to Credit, it set him worrying, to the point that gangrene set in, and amputation was necessary.

Now it became evident that the climate of this section of the land of Exchange was becoming unhealthy for Credit, and so he journeyed to a province called America, and henceforth made his chief abode there, although he traveled widely.

How he was met there by a new enemy called The Chain: how he discovered and called to his aid a new weapon, there was no doubt that it heads together and evolved an ingenious motto, there was no doubt that it was a new one, invented at Rochdale. It was apparently a little like an old-time catapult, and a little like a modern machine gun. But few knew anything about it, and consequently many were sceptical and laughed and haw-hawed whenever it was mentioned. This new gun was called Cooperation, and the gunners were called Cooperators.

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This new gun was called Cooperation, and the gunners were called Cooperators.
If You Want Really Good Jam, Ladies—

"T" is a well-known fact that the quality of commercial jelly and jam is much higher relatively than that of other factory-produced foods because the housewife still retains a working practical knowledge of the home standards of ingredients and quality to which the store product must measure up. —Consumers' Research, General Bulletin, Oct. 1933.

That is, the jelly manufacturers are afraid that if their product is not good enough the housewife will fly in a huff and make some of her own. And that must never, never be.

COOPERATION

A PROSPEROUS FUTURE

The proposed Constitution and By-Laws of the Central States Cooperative Guild were adopted at the annual membership meeting January 11th.

As consumers' cooperative gains strength in its locality, it sets the standard of quality and price which its profit competitors have to meet. We hear price-cutters condemned. One would think they are the meanest of their pursuits. They are making the best jam possible and practicable, of their own product and so save themselves many backs on the strand and watching the fat green rollers of the Atlantic grunt and lather against the sands. In the eyes of all producers this is the unforgivable sin.

Again, in a good chapter entitled "The War between Maker and User," Pitkin points out that under our present system things are not done because people need to have them done, but because they yield a profit. Thus farming is our most essential industry, because it yields little or no profit to capital, languishes.

Why not, Neighbor Pitkin?

Cooperative Youth

New Year in Hubbardston

Here it is the New Year again. Let's all strive for bigger and better cooperation.

Furnish Hall of the Maynard Club gave us a talk on Cooperation in Sweden on Nov. 28. We should give him a big hand for giving us all the dope. Then on Dec. 12, we had the honor of hearing Alfred Baker Lewis, Controller of Boston and Georgia Cooperative Societies, who spoke on "The Cooperative Way."

Hubbardston Cooperative Club wishes every cooperator the happiest New Year.

The Mayor.

The Winter Home for the Old

The Winter Home for the Old has a new management. The old manager has been transferred to a new position in the national organization, and the new manager has taken charge. The Winter Home is a cooperative enterprise, and the new manager is a cooperative man. He is well-versed in the principles of cooperation, and he is determined to make the Winter Home a success.

Books

THE MODERN CORPORATION AND PRIVATE PROPERTY

A. A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, Macmillan's 395 pages, $3.75.

We have in this country a few large corporations, controlled by a few men. These corporations control enormous blocks of our industry, employing millions of people, and producing goods which are consumed by millions of consumers. These corporations are owned by millions of stockholders, but not controlled by them. This is the central striking fact brought out by Babbitts, (both of whom, by the way, are associated with the "New Deal").

Ownership no longer means control. In order to control, you have to own one of the grand moguls who, by methods described here, have gained the power of electing directors.

The old-fashioned company was controlled in the interest of stock-holders. Now the question arises, in whose interest will the modern corporation be controlled? The future, say the authors, will see the community bringing increasing pressure to bear on the grand moguls to force them to control in the interests of the community. That is all it is, we should say.

Here is a point of interest to cooperators: the modern giant corporation has just begun to grow. It has hardly cut its eye teeth yet, say Berle and Means. We are due to industrialize a lot more. More and more specialization is coming. Now then, in the opinion of these theorists, this may mean a great growth of cooperative societies, as Babbitts seem to think. A great many of them thrive, we have the record proves, in highly specialized economies. The Rockdale society was a fruit of the rural cooperative movement. Farmers' cooperation in America has fully specialized. It seems that not until men hear the chains actual clank around their ankles do they unite for mutual liberation.

THE CONSUMER, HIS NATURE AND HIS CHANGING HABITS


Most consumer studies, says Professor Pitkin of Columbia School of Journalism, are made by Philosophists with intellectual curiosity regarding the consumer arises from their desire to sell high-priced goods. There were times in the past when we feared the Professor was up to the same monkey business. The book has great value, however, since it calls attention to the all-importance of the consumer in the economic scheme. For example—The consumer is the key to the future of economies, both national and international. What people want, then, is the plan, and that makes up the mass of primary economic facts.

Here is an interest in loving, in sleeping, in sitting around and talking, in lying on their backs on the strand and watching the fat green

The Canadian Cooperator

Brenniston, Ontario, Canada

The organ of the Canadian Cooperative Movement, the membership of The Cooperative Union of Canada. Published monthly 25¢ per annum.

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WALGREEN'S WORKMEN'S FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY

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Member of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A. Under supervision of N. Y. State Insurance Department.
STUDY CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12, N. Y. C. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

HISTORICAL

- 38. Consumers Cooperation in the United States 1923, 8.00
- 48. Story of Toad Lane (By Stuart Chase), 4.00
- 24. The Coop. Movement, J. H. Dletrlch, 4.00
- 25. Cooperation Here and Abroad, H. T. Hughes, 7.00

TECHNICAL

- 4. How to Start and Run a Rochdale Cooperative Society, 14.00
- 6. Model Ex-Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society, 1.50
- 8. Credit Union Primer (By Em. and Robinson), 2.00
- 13. Mutual League for Cooperative Apartment House, 1.00

MISCELLANEOUS

- 16. Model Co-op State Law, 1.00
- 28. "When the Whistle Blew" (Story, by Bruce Calvert), 6.00
- 87. How a Consumers' Cooperative Movement Grows from Ordinary Households, 1.75
- 98. High or Transparency of League Emblem. Green and gold, 8 in. each, black and white, 2 in. each, 16.00
- 67. Stock certificates, engraved, with League emblem. Bound in books of 100, 200, or 250, 1.00
- 76. To Mothers .................................. 1.00

MONTHLY PUBLICATIONS

- Cooperative (Its bundle low, low, low!), Subscription, per year (foreign, $1.30), 1.60
- Bright Child, L. J.: Animal "Coop" Book—For Children, 3.00
- Chase and Schlink: Your Money's Worth, A Book for Consumers, 1.00

BOOKS

- The following books are recommended as containing the best discussion of the modern Cooperative Movement. They may be ordered through The League, postpaid on receipt of price.

- Blanc, Elia: Cooperative Movement in Russia, 1924, 1.50
- Hall, Prof. Fred: Handbook for Members of Cooperative Committees, II.
- Holyoke: Rochdale Pioneers 1918, 1.25
- Hook, H. M.: Cooperative Marketing of Farm Produce, 1.75
- Indian Cooperative, Children's story, 1.00
- Jesness, O. B.: Cooperative Marketing of Farm Products, 1.50
- Kress, A. J.: Capitalism, Cooperation, Communism, 1.25
- Life As We Have Known It. Life stories of English buildswomen. telling what they have done for themselves, their families, and society, 1.25
- Russian Credit, Lending, Saving and Credit in Russia, 1.00
- Waller, Paul: The Story Retold, 1.00
- Otho, Thomas: Pioneers, A Notion of Cooperatives, 1.00
- thermal, Andres: Cooperative Ideals and Problems, 1.00
- Owen, Robert: Autobiography, 1.00
- Peterson, L. E.: The Cooperative Republic, 1.00
- Potter, I. E.: Cooperative Movement in Great Britain 1891, 1.15
- Radford, Percy: The Story of the C. W. & I. Co-op. Society, 1.00
- Smith-Gordon & Stephen: Rural Reconstruction in Ireland, 1.00
- Smith-Gordon and Others: Industrial Reconstruction in Denmark, 1.00
- Smith-Gordon & Others: Cooperation in Many Lands, 1.00
- Steinbeck, A.: The Cooperative Movement, (In Yiddish), 1.00
- Wissman, J. P.: Cooperative Democracy, 1.00
- Wissman, J. P.: What Is Cooperation, 1.00
- Wissman, E. H.: Consumers' Cooperative Movement in Illinois 1920, 1.00
- Wissman, J. P., and H. J.: The Consumers' Cooperative Movement, 1.00
- Wissman, Catherm: Industrial Cooperation, 1.00
- Wortz, Leonard: Cooperation and the Future of Industry, 1.00
- Cooperation, Bound Volumes, 1910 to 1920 inclusive, each year, 1.00
- The People's Year Book, 1925, English, paper, 75 cents, cloth, 1.00
- Year Book of The Cooperative League, 1928, 1.00

The Cooperative Builder
The official organ of
Northern States Cooperative League
Central States Cooperative League
Central Cooperative Wholesale
An interesting and lively cooperative journal published semi-monthly at Superior, Wis.
Subscription rate $1.00 per year.

CENTRAL COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE
Superior, Wis.

Ravenna Print—Pittsburgh, Mass.
COOPERATION

An organ to spread the knowledge of the Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, in voluntary association, produce and distribute the things they need.

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Paying the Education Bill

Many cooperatives have a wrong idea regarding cooperative education. They look upon it as a nicething to do, something they ought to do, in order words as a worthy cultural activity, but not a business proposition.

This is the bunk. Cooperative education has the definite aim of increasing production; in the former case it is looked at as an operating cost; in the latter it will be seen to be considered from the point of view of advertising.

As to how much of the percentage of sales should be spent for education, the cost of trade advertising, as in the local press, handbills, etc., is not as a rule included. Such advertising is considered as an operating cost. Our contention is that all propaganda should be considered an operating cost and be budgeted as such in advance.

The former expenditure of money for education will probably be controlled by the Manager, the latter perhaps by the Education Committee. However, every advertisement of Co-op coffee, or Co-op oil, is also an advertisement of Co-operation, and the copy should make this clear.

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Defies Depression—Opens Store in Heart of Town—Cash Basis

(Continued from page 33)

blocks away is the plant of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, regional wholesale for the entire Head-of-the-Lakes territory. The Wholesale bakery also is near, insuring the freshest of baked goods.

The main office of the People's Society will be at the new location, with Manager Jalmar Nukala in charge. The old store at Fifth & Cummings Sts., will carry on as before, with Willie Polk in charge.

All employees of the society are union members, and the fitting of the new quarters was done entirely by union labor.

The new store, like the old, will be operated on a cash basis. Here is what the management says in a forceful statement: "Credit is a burden and an inevitable source of grief for a store, as well as for the individual consumer. Nor could we hope to manage their business or the new quarters were we to bribe or entice any persons to become customers of the Cooperative Store by offering to carry them on credit accounts. Nor could we honestly say that we are conducting a retail service with the maximum elimination of useless expense, were we to do so. We say to every patron, to every housewife and the head of every family, earnestly: Credit and debt for daily necessities is the ruination of your peace of mind, and a false momentary convenience that has already demoralized millions of families." The statement goes on by referring the consumer who must have credit to the members' Credit Union.

In addition to groceries, meats, baked goods, and oil and gas at the 5th Street service station, the People's handles general household supplies, hardware and paints, tires and Co-op batteries. It also distributes coal.

The Society has about 500 members and had total trade of $7,652.24 in 1932. It is in a strong financial position, showing current assets 4 times the current liabilities and a net worth of $10,521.79. In 1933 it turned its stock (all depts.) 30.29 times.

Naturally, such a daring expansion at this time provoked competitors, two of whom began to advertise "dividends" and "rebates on purchases." But what are such "rebates"? Merely markdowns in price. Markdowns from what? From any figure the dealer chooses to set! The co-op dividend, on the other hand, is a division of the entire net profit in proportion to purchases, thus converting the profit into savings to the consumers. Will any competitor dare to advertise that he wipes out his entire net profit by giving it back to his patrons?

The extension committee is going ahead with unceasing efforts. Already prodigious efforts have been put forth, especially by the executive group, or "Brain Trust," consisting of Chairman Ronn, Jalmar Nukala, Esther Hintikka, Helen Lanto, and T. A. Tenhune. Radio advertising is used, the 55 employes of the C. C. W. donating $500 from their coffee fund for this purpose.

The new store should be a resounding success and a strong force in cooperating Superior 100%.

Cooperation in Washington

By J. P. Warbasse

The large proportion of liberals, progressives, and radicals in the Government at the present time is not because of increase of intelligence on the part of the American public nor its political representatives, but is due to the collapse of the dominant capitalism. The unworkability of the profit system, the sterility of the minds of its vaunted leaders, and the fallacy of the profit motive as a way of economic life are so patent that the expressions of capitalism no longer command respect. The utterance of such sentiments as these is no longer frowned upon in high places. Cooperation may be talked of freely and its interests promoted as never before.

On the other hand is the National Recovery Administration. It is the agency of capitalism. It has been taken over by big business, the very thing that caused the economic crisis. And here big business, and little, are doing what they can to hamper Cooperation. Our time has been largely devoted to protecting the cooperative societies from the codes, and restoring to them the rights they enjoyed before the NRA went into operation. Our first job has been to get out of the way the provisions in the codes that were detrimental to cooperation. This has been pretty much accomplished.

When the President signed the Executive Order of October 23, 1933, he used the words "bona fide and genuine cooperatives." The Administrative Board of the Oil Code Authority has asked us for a definition of genuine cooperative and spurious cooperative and these definitions are now used as the authoritative interpretations.

Problems in the various codes have been quite generally solved or are on the way to solution. The last difficulty in the Fertilizer Code has been disposed of. The impractical notions about "slum clearance" and "municipal housing" are better understood in Washington than they were a month ago, and cooperative housing will be encouraged and financed if the plans are acceptable. The Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, under Robert D. Kohn, is ready and willing to finance cooperative housing. We have had several conferences with Mr. Kohn. He sees cooperative housing in a favorable light. Thus far only one acceptable plan for cooperative home construction has been presented, and that is the plan of the Laurel Hill Homes, organized by Mr. A. E. Kazan of New York.

Many codes provide that no new industries in their specific field can be started. Thus a group of farmers in the Tennessee Valley, with cheap electricity available, are prevented from organizing a refrigerating plant for the preservation of their strawberries. Should a farmers' cooperative wish to start a flour mill they could do so only by buying an existing mill. Mr. Houston Thompson, a friend of Cooperation, who closely follows Roosevelt, has this matter in hand; and we may be pretty sure he will solve the
President Signs Second Executive Order

COOPERATIVE societies have been disturbed by provisions in many codes which make it impossible for them to purchase as jobbers from manufacturers. Wholesale businessmen have also discriminated against them. These difficulties have arisen in the salt, fencing, coal, and other industries. Now these problems are solved by an Executive Order signed by the President.

Like the Executive Order of October 23, 1933, a long history has preceded this Order. It grew out of the need of solving the problems of the cooperatives. Either these Executive Orders had to be signed, or the cooperatives would have to have their own code. President Roosevelt’s sympathetic attitude toward the cooperatives made this very fortunate outcome possible. From the standpoint of the cooperatives, this is a great triumph. The patient persistence of Dr. Warbasse, constantly at the job, has again been rewarded by another victory for Cooperation.

Below follows the Executive Order which the President has signed.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

SUPPLEMENT TO AND AMPLIFICATION OF EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6355
OF OCTOBER 23, 1933

Whereas questions have arisen concerning the scope and meaning of Executive Order No. 6355, of October 23, 1933, defining the effect of certain provisions in codes of fair competition upon cooperative organizations;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of and pursuant to the authority vested in me under Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act approved June 16, 1933 (48 Stat. 195), it is ordered that said Executive Order No. 6355 be, and it is hereby, supplemented and amplified as follows:

1. No provision in any code of fair competition, agreement or license which has heretofore been or may hereafter be approved, prescribed, or issued pursuant to Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act, shall be construed or interpreted so as to prevent any such cooperative organization from being entitled to receive, and/or distribute to its members all patronage dividends, or otherwise the proceeds or benefits, directly or indirectly derived from any discount, commission, rebate, or dividend (a) paid or allowed pursuant to the requirements or provisions of any code of fair competition to other purchasers for purchases in wholesale or middleman quantities, or (b) paid or allowed pursuant to the requirements or provisions of any code of fair competition to other purchasers for purchases in wholesale or middleman quantities.

2. No such code of fair competition shall be construed or interpreted so as to prevent any such cooperative organization from being entitled to receive, and/or distribute to its members all patronage dividends, or otherwise the proceeds or benefits, directly or indirectly derived from any discount, commission, rebate, or dividend (a) paid or allowed to other purchasers for purchases in wholesale or middleman quantities, or (b) paid or allowed pursuant to the requirements or provisions of any code of fair competition to other purchasers for purchases in wholesale or middleman quantities.

3. The Administrator for Industrial Recovery is hereby authorized to determine, after such hearings and proceedings as he may deem necessary, whether, in any doubtful case, an organization is or is not a bona fide cooperative organization entitled to the benefits and protection of this order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The White House, February 17, 1934.
News of the Movement

Central Wholesale Has Good Report

A net gain in every month of 1933 is shown by the report of the Central Cooperative Wholesale of Superior. The total net was $13,132.86, as compared with $9,090.57 in 1932. Total sales did not reach the $1.5 millions aimed at, but were $1,383,290.26, a good edge on the $1.3 millions figure of $1,310,149.08. The best month was July, with sales of $149,670.07.

Of the sales, groceries and general merchandise accounted for $1,383,290.26, clothing $148,626.53, bakery products $67,223.61. There was a slight decrease in the bakery sales.

The gross gain percentage dropped, being 8.26% in 1933 as compared with 9.03% in 1932: but the expense percentage dropped even more, being 7.31% in 1933 and 8.34% in 1932.

These figures would have shown up even better if there had not been included a loss of $3,848.63 in the educational department. Needless to say the directors of the Wholesale are not worried about this kind of "loss."

Nebraska Union Over 14,000 Strong

The Nebraska Farmers Union at the end of 1933 had a membership figure of 14,218. At its recent assembly, the officers were elected. The Nebraska Cooperative Wholesale Association was one of the chief speakers. H. G. Keene was reelected president of the Union by acclamation.

Death of Shiplacoff

New York cooperatives were saddened by the death of Abraham Shiplacoff on Feb. 7. Mr. Shiplacoff was once manager of the Brownsville Cooperative Provision Supply. He was a member of the State Legislature during the War, being the first Socialist Assemblyman from New York City. In the Assembly he spoke out fearlessly against the War and was indicted by a grand jury on a charge of disloyalty, but was freed. He was much sought after as an organizer, speaker and writer.

Good Employees' Paper

"Employees’ News," published monthly by the workers of the Cooperative Trading Company, Waukegan, and read at their meeting, is the best written paper of its kind to come to our notice. The January number was 6 pages typewritten, stapled to a stiff paper backing convenient for bulletin boards. We especially liked an article by a Visionary Worker, the author dreams of Waukegan as a miniature cooperative commonwealth.

Waukegan Reports

The Cooperative Trading Company of Waukegan, Ill., closed the year 1933 with total sales of $534,478.32, or 11.95% less than the sales of 1932. Net gain for 1933 was $5,799.58. Total assets were $245,933.08, and the total liabilities were $67,347.53. The assets were about the same as at the end of 1932, minus certain deduction in depreciation of properties, but the liabilities were less by $18,358.47. The mortgage loans alone were reduced by $10,000.

The members numbered 2096 at the end of 1933, about the same as one year ago. The annual meeting was held on March 3rd.

The 9th annual congress of the Central States Cooperative League will be held in Chicago, April 8 and 9.

Thirty-one co-op store societies in the Lake Superior territory increased their membership in 1933 over 1932. Cooperatives Life Association of Superior, Wisconsin, heads the list with a $97,225.65 increase.

B. H. Gitchell, former president of Consumers Cooperative Services, New York City, is now NRA deputy administrator in charge of codes for the needle industries.

Cooperators Life Association of Minneapolis has over 350 applications for policies. A total of 500 is needed to start operations. Arne Halonen is secretary.

Midland Cooperative Oil Association started off the year with a 3-day drive to sell shares in the U. C. C. A. at $5 each so that the store may handle this increased volume of business.

Philadelphia cooperatives are working to utilize the benefits of the new Federal labor education program by organizing classes and providing teachers in Consumers’ Cooperation. The committee has requested a grant from the A. A. A. for basic consumers’ education and is ready to help direct and support the work of the Consumers County Council. It is our firm belief that in taking advantage of these opportunities we will give the cooperative movement into its own in Philadelphia.

Hosiery Workers Launch Housing Project

The most important project presented to the recent Conference on Cooperation in Philadelphia was the Non-Profit Housing project of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. Work will soon commence on a city block of modern workers’ apartments to house 285 families. The building will cost over a million dollars. The P. W. A. is helping to finance the project. The union is very anxious that a full line of cooperative services (groceries, meats, drugs, etc.) be ready for the tenants when the apartments are opened, and that the project be a real experiment in cooperative living.

The United Consumers Cooperative Association, Lewis E. Anthony, Pres., is continuing its remarkable growth. On Feb. 1st it celebrated its Third Anniversary. The cooperative movement of the U. S. may well be proud of this group who, working against tremendous obstacles, has built up a movement with a membership of 300 and a first-class grocery store at 4624 Woodland Ave. Their achievement is an inspiration to all of us. During the summer and fall two Cooperative Buying Clubs, in Kensington and Norwood, operated successfully through the U. C. C. A. store. However, the demand on the store was so great that this service had to be temporarily discontinued. The Continuation Committee of the Conference is now making a drive to sell shares in the U. C. C. A. at $5 each so that the store may handle this increased volume of business.

Eldredge Brewster,
Mergers for Busted Farmers
By Oscar Cooley

FARMING is a sick industry, so sick that every nation that has any farmers is hustling forward with the medicine kit before rigor mortis shall set in. But nations cannot go on pouring relief into the farmer’s soup bowl forever. As an industry and as a way of life, farming must be rejuvenated from within.

In COOPERATION of October, 1933, we proposed some ways by which farmers and homemakers may help themselves through cooperation. These ways assumed private ownership of land. Now we make bold to discuss cooperative ownership, throwing out some thoughts for our farmer readers and others to mull over and discuss with their neighbors over the fence.

Since the days of the barn-raising, the husking-bee and the meat ring, the American farmer has been a cooper-ator. The city worker or intellectual who accuses the farmer of going his own way might easily pass over the fact that the city man has built his city by working co-operatively in a day when the scales of exchange are tipped against him.

Others Merge—Why Not He?
The farmer is a small capitalist. What have other small capitalists done to get out of the red? They have merged, cutting down overhead, reducing operating expenses, increasing efficiency. Why should not the farmer do the same?

Let us imagine five farmers—Smith, Hansen, Maki, Tatro and Spivak—hers farms all adjoining. Each has approximately 200 acres. All are dairy farmers. In addition as cash crops, Smith and Hansen raise potatoes and canning corn, Spivak has a good-sized orchard, and Tatro and Maki raise some potatoes but more wheat and hay for the market. All have hogs to sell occasionally, as well as eggs and broilers. But it doesn’t matter much what they have to sell these days; it is a give-away. Milk hasn’t netted them over 2c a quart in two years.

Each has a house and barns. Each has a set of machinery, two pair of horses on the average or one pair and a tractor, and an automobile of a sort. They average one hired man apiece. By dint of hard work, all the family each is making a bare living. If they owned their farms and equipment, they could get by, but they don’t. Each is owing heavily for feed and machinery. Tatro is still paying for a horse that died on him last winter. The average mortgage is $3000. All are behind with their interest, and Smith and Spivak are old, porous affairs and are given away. Milk hasn’t netted them over 2c a quart in two years.

Then what is changed?

Merged Debts

With the mortgages have been scaled down 20% (many farm mortgages are being cut more than this), jumped together, and written off as one by the Federal Land Bank at a rate of interest from 1½ to 2½% lower than the individual farmers had formerly been paying. The five farmers will now cooperate in paying off a single mortgage. A great load of worry has been lifted off each of them. Mrs. Spivak now sings in her garden.

They will cooperate also in paying a single tax bill, including back taxes. Smith and Spivak hadn’t paid their taxes for two years and may be sold out by the county soon if something isn’t done. With the tax bill now being only $125, this will cut two big chunks out of The Five Farms and reduce the chances for success of all five families.

COOPERATION and textile or lamp-shade business, they would probably merge. Merge they do.

They form a cooperative corporation called The Five Farms, Inc. Each deeds his farm, buildings, stock and tools to this corporation. In return each receives shares in the corporation in proportion to the amount of property he has contributed. So far this sounds like any business merger.

But farming is not only a business, it is a way of life. It has human aspects not to be disregarded.

Thus, each of these pioneer cooperative farmers retains, on a lease from the cooperative, his home and a few acres of land around it, small tools, and small buildings such as a chicken house (with the chickens in it) and a pig or two. That is, each retains his individual home instead, to do with as he will. Life is a matter of striking a balance between the individual and the collective.

The horse does not give way to a donkey; the family life is not uprooted. Mrs. Spivak still has her flower garden and Grandpa Hansen still may putter around in his garden. The Makis still have their handwritten and the Tatros make their blood sausages. Every Sunday morning Mr. Smith takes the same old hollow-backed mare out of the same stall and hitchs her up for Mrs. Smith to drive to meeting. Then an auction is held. Each farm has a mower, and Hansen has two. The three beat are selected and the others sold. An unneeded binder goes the same way. The dearies being consolida-tated, a milking machine is dispensed with. So is one tractor, and four teams of horses (and the hay to feed them). A wood saw, two corn planters, a silo, a lot of hay hauling machinery and smaller tools make up a respectable auction. Looks like The Five Farms would need a safe.

But no, the cash isn’t held long. Fifty acres of potatoes are planned for, so a sprayer is bought. None of these farmers, alone, had enough potato acreage to afford either of these machines. A whole load of machinery went up for Mrs. Smith to drive to meeting. Then an auction is held. Each farm has a mower, and Hansen has two. The three beat are selected and the others sold. An unneeded binder goes the same way. The dearies being consolidated, a milking machine is dispensed with. So is one tractor, and four teams of horses (and the hay to feed them). A wood saw, two corn planters, a silo, a lot of hay hauling machinery and smaller tools make up a respectable auction. Looks like The Five Farms would need a safe.

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out his part of the water-course. There will be but one job of throbbing now, of silo-filling, of wood-sawing, with many hands to do it.

The efficiency program sits heavily on certain persons. Three of the five hired men are let go. This saves nearly $2000 per year. These farmers are in no position to provide jobs for men.

In the running of The Five Farms, Inc., each farmer has one vote, Rochdale style. Each wife has one vote, all, for this is a family affair. And many a farmer's wife is as good a farmer as he is.

One of their number, Smith, is elected manager. But all important policies, such as the production plan for the year, are passed on "by the membership.

Each member, including individuals of his family, is paid a wage for work done, either in cash or in kind. And the entire product, of course, belongs to the corporation. Out of "profits," a limited dividend on shares is paid, and the rest is pro-rated to the members according to their purchases, as in any consumers' cooperative.

Diversification of crops, which reduces risk both as to weather and as to markets, can be carried out more efficiently on this large acreage farm than on the five small ones. For in other type of stock, such as sheep, hogs, ducks and turkeys can be raised.

The new lands are all old now; the frontier has disappeared. Who will buy the well-springs of renewed hope and trust and confidence of the Americans if he were not as handsome as Bartholomew, as jovial as Roosevelt, and, in spite of his wooden leg acquired at the Battle of Rochdale, as strong as Schmelmer?

Yet they were just a little afraid of him. This fear irked Credit, for he knew that he must have the complete confidence of the Americans if he were to get his hand to the very bottom of their pockets.

Now Credit had a valet, named Big Banker, whom he paid royally to do many dirty jobs for him. And bacteriologist was Big's hobby. He mortured germs in a pestle and mortar, and gave them to guinea pigs. One day as he was helping Credit pull on his pantaloons, he said, "Master, I have isolated a germ which I think may be of use to you." "How so, Big?"

"When I inoculate a guinea pig with this germ, it appears to affect his brain so that he becomes perfectly docile and trusts me completely. He even walks into a bottomless pit, or puts his head into a trap, without fear. Now this bacterium, if planted in humans causes a psychopathic condition known to the doctors as Instalment-Psychosis. It is a form of insanity. The person affected shows it by his willingness, nay eager ness, to buy on credit, obliging himself to pay by instalments. He will buy an automobile, sewing machine, vacuum cleaner—almost anything, in fact—on the instalment plan. When this disease attacks him, he suddenly becomes conscious that he can buy without ready money."

"Ah, good!" said Credit, "bid this germ multiply."

Above all the individual farmer and his family should not be lost to view. It is their welfare that is sought, not business profits. For the success of every crop, they must "care," mightily, else efficiency will be lost, not gained.

Psychologically

Now let us go and call on the Smiths, the Hansens, the Makis, the Tatros and Spivaks. Let us see how they feel about The Five Farms, Inc. Smith waves his hand to the sweeping fields and says, "This is ours now, all ours. Nobody can take it away from us because we are so strong. Thirty-two of us in these five families—a 32-horse team—counting the colts." He laughs. There is new confidence and power in his seamy face.

Mrs. Hansen greets us next. Her voice is high-pitched and usually querulous, but today it is excited. "Oh, you heard about The Five Farms, did you? What do you think of it? Ain't it perfectly grand?"

Tatro's head is held high for the first time in months. "I reckon nothin' can stop us now. If Johnny has to go to guinea pigs, I'll go with him."

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Credit Wages War with Disease Germs

By Esopus

The fifth of a series of tales about one of the worst rascals the world has ever known, Credit—a series which might be extended to 1000 and 1 without exhausting the horrible details.

V

YOU ask me, how was Credit received by the Americans? Quite cordially, on the whole. For wasn't he as handsome as Bartholomew, as jovial as Roosevelt, and, in spite of his wooden leg acquired at the Battle of Rochdale, as strong as Schmelmer?

Yet they were just a little afraid of him. This fear irked Credit, for he knew that he must have the complete confidence of the Americans if he were to get his hand to the very bottom of their pockets.

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"Already," said Big Banker, "I have several trillion in a bottle."

"Clever fellow!" said Credit. "Now tell me more about this disease. Is it contagious?"

"Oh, very. It spreads like wildfire. For example, when Smith sees his neighbor ride home in a new automobile, he feels envious. If Jones can afford an automobile, I guess I can. The next time he is downtown, he sees in a dealer's window, 'You, too, can ride in the luxurious Hoppity-Hop.' Come in and learn all about our new payment plan.' He is then what the physicians term 'a good case.' Women are especially susceptible."

"Also," went on Big, "when Mr. Smith buys a car on instalments—mortgaging his future, albeit none too bright, with utter child-like faith—right away Johnny Smith gets the idea of buying a bicycle on the same instalment plan, and Susan Smith doesn't see why she can't buy a new party dress also on instalments. Thus the victims themselves develop the disease to its highest intensity."

"Methinks they are happy in so doing," said Credit.

In this and other ways, Credit, aided and abetted by Big Banker, lulled the fears of the Americans until he had them so deep in the dungeon of debt, publicly and privately, that they could scarcely see out. How the afore-mentioned Cooperators let in a ray of light, and how the fiendish Credit whispered in their ears that he was their friend, and how some in spite of his foul record even believed him, will be related to all patient readers.
International Cooperation

I. C. A. Rejects German Movement

The International Cooperative Alliance has decided against having the Nazified German cooperative movement as a member. First, the I. C. A. asked the new Reichsbund, or National German Union of consumers’ societies, if it could send a delegation to investigate and see if the German societies had given up their autonomy and their democracy to the extent that they could no longer qualify as true cooperatives. The Reichsbund said no, but it would be glad to have a chat with the I. C. A. president and secretary.

Whereupon the I. C. A. Executive passed this resolution:

"The Executive of the I. C. A., in considering the application of the Reichsbund for membership of the I. C. A., have also taken into consideration the conditions under which the cooperative movement in Germany at present functions, and they are not convinced that the fundamental conditions of cooperation, as laid down in the rules of the I. C. A., can be fulfilled. They are, therefore, unable to admit the Reichsbund to membership in the present circumstances."

International Women’s Day

March 8 is International Women’s Day and will be celebrated by the Cooperative Women’s Guilds everywhere. All guilds are urged to arrange a special program on that day and to try to draw every woman in the community to hear the story of cooperation. A speakers outline has been prepared for the committee of the Northern States Women’s Guild.

Suggestion for Cooperative Mock Trial

A mock trial, or “kangaroo court,” is good fun and may be made the basis for an entire evening’s entertainment of the Youth Club or other group. Our suggestion is that a number of cooperators be tried for failure to cooperate in various ways. Thus the common ways in which cooperators do fail to cooperate will be brought out.

In a mock trial much depends on the gravity of the judge and the wit of the opposing Attorney. Also the Witnesses add humor. The Judge, clad in a black robe, sits on a dais behind a desk on which is a ponderous book, the Court Docket. In trying to find the cases listed in the docket, His Honor gets all balled up and sternly rebukes the Clerk of the Court for not having the docket in order. The Judge is very despondent throughout. The Prosecuting Attorney has been appointed by the co-op society to prosecute the lax co-operators. All the culprits may have one Attorney for the Defense, or each may have one, depending on the amount of talent at hand.

Charge against First Prisoner: Failure to wipe feet before entering co-op store on rainy day.

Charge against Second: Voted against credit in co-op meeting and two weeks later wants to be trusted for 5-cent cigar.

Charge against Third: Has asked Manager three times if he wouldn’t please hire his (prisoner’s) son who isn’t smart enough either to stay in school or get another job.

Charge against Fourth: Buying pound of coffee at A O P. store.

Charge against Fifth: Flirting with bookkeeper while latter is trying to close books in time for auditor’s visit.

Many other charges, both serious and flippant, will suggest themselves. As usual, the affair should be both entertaining and instructive.

Random Observations from Washington

By J. P. Warbasse

In 1929 the farmers of the United States paid for 900,000 tons of “filler” in fertilizer. Filler is sand and dirt, put into the fertilizer as an adulterant. The farmer paid the same price for it as for the nitrates and other substances he needed for his soil. He also had to pay the freight on this 900,000 tons and break his back lifting it.

The Standard Oil Company spends millions on advertising. For this reason its costs rise above those of the independent dealers who do not advertise. The counsel of the national oil board has ruled that this advertising expense may be added to the costs of production and passed on to the consumer as necessary overhead. That means that the fish pay for the worms.

The next thing we may expect is that the poor fish will have to dig the bait. Defiling the landscape with signs at the consumer’s expense is worse than charging him to look at the scenery.

The average term of existence of a retail grocery is two and a half years. Eighty-five per cent fail in their first ten years. The average retail business has four employees and does a business of $30,000 a year. Cooperation need not strive very hard to make a better showing.

The consumer in the United States is an unintelligent buyer. A commodity labelled “virgin wool” appeals to him when shoddy would give him better service. The habit of having things delivered by the store, exchanging goods, charge accounts, and other expenses to the merchant are all borne by the consumer. The public wants advertised goods, called “standard” brands. This stuff is not standard at all. Scientific standard brands would serve the consumer better.

Member of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A. Under supervision of N. Y. State Insurance Department.
STUDY CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12, N. Y. C. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

HISTORICAL

22. Consumers Cooperation in the United States (illus.) ————— .60
46. Story of a True Man (By Stuart Chase) ——— .60
84. The Coop. Movement, J. E. Dietrich .05
25. Cooperation Here and Abroad, H. T. Hughes ——— .10

TECHNICAL

4. How to Start and Run a Rochdale Cooperative Society .25
6. Model By-Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society ———— .50
16. Credit Union Primer (By Haas) ———— .50
50. Model Lease for Cooperative Apartment House ———— .10

MISCELLANEOUS

10. Model Co-op State Law ———— .10
60. "When the Whistle Blows" (Story, by Bruce Calvert) ———— .60
67. How a Consumers’ Cooperative differs from Ordinary Business ———— .65
68. Buttons (League emblem), % inch diameter ———— .15
70. Sign or Transparency of League Emblems, Green and gold, 5 in. diameter ———— .50
72. Stock certificates, engraved, with League Emblem, Bound in books of 100, 200, or 500 ———— .25
78. To Mothers ———— .05
79. Farmers’ Cooperation, A Way Out: An address by L. S. Her ———— .05
84. Little Lessons on Cooperation ———— .05
85. The Birth of Credit Unions ———— .05
89. What Is Consumers’ Cooperative Business ———— .05
91. The Most Necessary Thing in Life ———— .05
94. You Sure You Are Getting Your Money’s Worth ———— .05
95. Two Helm to Every Counter ———— .05
97. Cooperative Youth: Songs ———— .35

BOOKS

2. What Cooperation means to a depression-stricken American ———— .75
3. What is the Cooperative League ———— .25

MONTHLY PUBLICATIONS

Cooperation—(In bundle lots, $7.50 per hundred) Subscription, per year (foreign, $1.25). $1.00
Review of International Cooperation (Pub. by the I. C. A.) ———— .15

The following books are recommended as containing the best discussion of the modern Cooperative Movement. They may be ordered through The League, postpaid on receipt of price.

Blanc, Elsie T.: Cooperative Movement in England, 1832 ———— .65
Brown, L. R.: "Animal Co-op" Book—For Children ———— .15
Chase and Ruhlkin: Your Money’s Worth, A Book for Consumers ———— .50
Flanagan, J. A.: Wholesale Cooperation In Scotland, 1869 ———— .30
Glendening, C.: Consumers’ Cooperative Societies, American edition and notes, 1923 ———— .60
Hull, Prof. Fred: Handbook for Members of Cooperative Organizations ———— .40
McDermott, B. C.: Rochdale Pioneers 1860 ———— .25
Nicholson, Isidore: Our Story ———— .25
Odhe, Thoresten: Finland, A Nation of Cooperatives ———— .50
Oncken, A.: Capitalism, Cooperation, Communism, 1932 ———— .50
Owen, Robert: Autobiography ———— .25
Potter, E.: Cooperative Movement in Great Britain 1844 ———— .15
Richardson, E. C.: The Cooperative Movement in Ireland, 1840 ———— .50
Sekery, C. E.: Co-operative Movement in Illinois 1866 ———— .25
Smith-Gordon and O’Brien: Cooperation in the United States, 1833 ———— .60
Snodgrass, J. P.: What Is Cooperation, 1927 ———— .35
Stein, A.: The Cooperative Movement, 1833 ———— .75
Stern, L. J.: Cooperation, Bound Volumes, 1913 to 1923 Inclusive, each year ———— .75

Our Magna Charta

To a world plagued with dictators, we offer the most democratic body of precepts for economic organization ever developed. The Rochdale principles and practices:

1. Membership open to all consumers.
2. One member, one vote.
3. Limited rate of interest on capital.
4. Cash, no credit.
5. Dealings at market prices, the surplus being distributed to members according to patronage.
6. Open books, records and transactions.
7. No proxy voting.
8. Regular appropriation for education.
10. Gradual expansion into every field of economic activity until the consumers supply all of their needs.

In every cooperative establishment, these principles printed in large type should be displayed where all can see.

The Cooperative Builder

The official organ of
Northern States Cooperative League
Central States Cooperative League

Cooperative Wholesale
Superior, Wis.

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COOPERATION

Organ of the Co-operative Movement in the

Cooperators Cooperative United States

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In every cooperative establishment, these principles printed in large type should be displayed where all can see.
A School-boy Could Have Foreseen This

No better technical analysis of NRA results has been given than the March 4 report of the Consumers' Advisory Board. Logically and forcefully the Board shows that the aim of the NRA is to increase employment and consumer purchasing power, that this aim is being frustrated by disproportions in price increases, and that it will continue to be so frustrated as long as the determination of prices is in the hands of code authorities controlled by industrial representatives, that is, by profit business men who stand to gain by price increases.

President Roosevelt, if he has the interest of the consumers at heart, as he has so often declared, will correct this situation by giving the consumers not only representation but controlling representation on all code authorities. Otherwise the NRA, by force of economic events, will be worse than a failure.

Out of the Mouths of Infants

Enormous profits by milk distributing companies during the depression are being revealed by government auditors. Net profits for the last five years of the Philadelphia companies averaged 30.76%; Chicago 23.84%; Boston 22.45%; St. Louis 14.64%. If the New Deal were to quit tomorrow, it would have justified itself by the publication in the daily press of these exorbitant profits on a daily necessity.

Publishing of Salaries

It takes the Federal Trade Commission backed by the authority of Congress to force the publication of the indefensible salaries of big business potentates. But it is a first principle of cooperatives, laid down by the Rochdale Pioneers, to maintain "open books." They have no outlandish salaries to hide. Cooperative leaders are helpless unless they have the confidence of the rank and file. To win and hold that confidence, nothing is so effective as complete openness and frankness about all transactions, salaries, liabilities and assets.

To cooperate means to participate, and you can not participate in a business which is partially hidden from you.

The profit business man has to quit his mystery tactics before he can qualify as a cooperative executive.

Maybe We Were Wrong

In the Editor's article, "Mergers for Busted Farmers," in last month's issue, it was stated that cooperative purchasing raises the buying power of the farmer but does not hoist it way up to the comparatively high level of his pre-war buying power. Cooperation is a gradual thing. It raises the consumer up a peg, but he is down so very, very low at present that cooperation can not immediately raise him up to where he ought to be.

However, perhaps we erred on the side of pessimism. We hope so. I. H. Hull, president of National Cooperatives, Inc., in an address at the meeting of the Union Oil Company, related the story of cooperative buying of fertilizer in Iowa and said, according to the "Cooperative Consumer," "We have bought our fertilizer at a parity price... Today in our state a given amount of fertilizer will buy more than when the Union Oil Company could purchase at a parity price.

We would be the last to play down the benefits of cooperative purchasing, which are very great, especially in farmers' needs. However, there are people today, in both city and country, who are so badly off that to propose cooperative purchasing to them as an immediate remedy for their distress would be not only futile but dishonest.

The important fact is that the principles of consumer's cooperation are adapted to the present situation and to every other economic emergency in which people may find themselves.

Recently launched cooperative papers to come to our office are "Cooperative Consumer" published by the Union Oil Company of No. Kansas City, Mo., and "The Extension Bulletin" published by the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to promote the producers' cooperatives among the farmers and fishermen, and consumers' cooperatives among all.

"The Pacific Cooperative" is an attractive and informing magazine published by the California Cooperative League. There are many consumers cooperative enterprises of various types on the Pacific Coast, but no integrated movement. It should be good ground for both stores and oil associations on the Pacific Coast. We look to the League group there to lead.

Arthur Jackson of Philadelphia has been appointed by the TVA to take charge of cooperatives in the Tennessee Valley. New communities are being built in this valley, and it is fitting that Cooperation, which will be new to these seamounts, be introduced here. Success to Mr. Jackson and his helpers.

According to a study made in 1922, the cost of credit extended by farm supply stores in New York was 13.21% of total credit sales. If looked upon as interest, this is a pretty high rate to pay for the privilege of saying "Charge it." But in Nova Scotia, says "The Extension Bulletin," farmers last year paid from 36% to 186% for the privilege of buying fertilizer on time.

In cooperative Denmark, 45.7% of all butter exports are by the producers' cooperatives; in cooperative U. S. A. 35% of the total amount of butter made in cooperative creameries. Let's not get an inferiority complex whenever Denmark is mentioned.
Cooperation—War—Fascism

We deplore the attack upon the Austrian Socialists, many of whom are also cooperative members. Their cause is our cause, so far as it is the cause of democracy and of justice to the underdog working people everywhere.

But we do not hesitate to condemn the means which they took to defend themselves, that is, armed warfare. First, for the practical reason that the odds against them were so great that they could not hope to win, and second, because we are against all war as evil, unsocial and barbarous.

There are other means of defense and offense more effective than war. Gandhi has shown the world something of the technique of passive resistance, non-cooperation, and civil disobedience. People long ago learned the power of the peaceful strike. And the cooperative movement in particular demonstrates the effectiveness of the boycott, a cooperative society being a group which has seceded from and is permanently boycotting the profit system.

Last month, we raised the question, what should be the stand of cooperatives in case of war? We propose that they take the mass whatsoever in war, we should have peace.

Violence vs. Gradualism

The Austrian Socialists, it seems to the writer, made a major mistake when they first organized their Schutzbund, or private army. No state can permit a private army within its borders; sooner or later such a private army must be dissolved, if not peacefully, then by force. The very existence of the Schutzbund invited the tragic development of February.

Some say that the recent disaster proves the inadequacy of the policy of gradualism. On the contrary it seems to us to be folly of armed revolution. By their policy of gradualism, the Austrian consumers were demonstrating what cooperation can do. In time this demonstration would have won over the mass of the people, and then the guns of a Schutzbund would have been unnecessary and the guns of a Heimwehr as useless as sticks. The cooperative societies have shown us so many fine examples of what cooperation can do. In time this demonstration would have won over the mass of the people, and then the guns of a Schutzbund would have been unnecessary and the guns of a Heimwehr as useless as sticks. The cooperative societies have shown us so many fine examples of what cooperation can do.

The tactics of Fascism are violence and war, in which all is fair. Consequently it begins by sweeping away constitutions. Then it proceeds to tie the people by posting as the champion of "pure" race, patriotic tradition, and "old-fashioned" religion. This is unadulterated rot. Fascism has nothing whatever to do with race, patriotism or religion. These are mere sheep's clothing to hide the wolf. The demagogic mercenarism of profit business have a cruel hand to play with the workers.

Behind the scenes they are engaged in destroying the cooperatives, the trade unions, the workers' parties, and stamping out every vestige of democracy with a reign of terror.

Fascism is financed by big business to hold out sops to little business, so as to get enough popular support to crush troublesome, rank and file democracy.

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What of Fascism?

But, one may say, how can cooperation protect itself from Fascism? Look at Germany, look at Italy.

This is a serious question, to which we do not pretend to have a glib answer. It is a question for every cooperator who cares for anything more than his savings return to think soberly about.

What is Fascism? It is a violent manifestation of Capitalism. It is Greed with a knife in its mouth. There is no doubt about this now that we have seen Fascism in three major countries crushing the cooperatives, the trade unions, the workers' parties, and stamping out every vestige of democracy with a reign of terror.

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The disease that is killing Fascism is dying and Fascism is its last desperate effort to rescue itself by force. To save himself a dying man will take any measures, however extreme or fantastic.
Fascist Lords Attack Co-ops

In England the cooperative movement, being savagely attacked by Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere, publishers of the Daily Mail and Daily Express, who are taking up the cause of the private trader, whose existence, Beaverbrook says, "is menaced by the growth of the cooperative stores." Rothermere, under a headline, "Hur- ray for the Black Shirts"—as if we would not recognize him for a Fascist without that—states, "It is imperative that any further extension of cooperative retail societies should be restricted by law."

Beaverbrook on one day contends that the co-ops are a menace because they undersell the private traders, and on the next sends out agents to buy in stores of the London Society and prove that the co-ops charge more than the private trader and so are enemies of the consumer. The fact is that milord is worried by the co-ops, by a more efficient method of doing business, are steadily taking customers and trade away from the private shops.

He also calls himself "an apostle of high wages." This is a joke when we consider that over 85% of co-op employees are unionized, while, according to the Ministry of Labor, in private trade only the following percentages are unionized:

- Retail grocery trade 2 to 4%
- Wholesale and retail meat trade 12 to 25%
- Dry-goods and allied trades 3 to 10%
- Catering and refreshments 5%

Some of the private traders, notably the milk, dry goods, and newspaper distributors, are recognizing and attacking Beaverbrook as a mountebank. He, meanwhile, has become a member of the London Cooperative Society!
products, and protection of the consumers from fraudulent and harmful competition. A new body, the Consumer Standards Board, was established for the purpose of safeguarding the consumer. The Standards Board has been successful in the protection of the consumer from fraudulent and harmful competition. It has also been successful in the protection of the consumer from fraudulent and harmful competition. The Consumers' Code of 1933 was a measure aimed at protecting the consumer from fraudulent and harmful competition. The Code was successful in the protection of the consumer from fraudulent and harmful competition. The Code was eventually amended and strengthened in 1934, and it continues to operate today.

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ness. These are businesses run for the purpose of supplying their members directly with commodities and services. And by means of these organizations, the members are learning how to carry on business to supply their needs without being at the mercy of profit business or without turning to the State to serve them.

The Cooperative League, whose function it is to federate the cooperatives into a national union, already embraces 1500 of these associations, with 400,000 members and an annual business turnover of $100,000,000. This organization in turn is a member of the International Cooperative Alliance, which consists of the national societies of 40 countries, with a total of over 100,000,000 members in over 250,000 societies. This does not include the societies of Italy and Germany which have been dismissed from the Alliance until they shall be able to free themselves from fascist control.

The United States is one of the backward countries in cooperative organization. Great Britain has 7,000,000 members in its 1,300 cooperative societies. Their total capital amounts to £15,000,000. Their total sales in 1933 were over £200,000,000. The net surplus saving ("profit") was £26,000,000.

The Cooperative Movement is notably substantial in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland, and Switzerland. In these countries are found wholesale and manufacturing businesses owned by the consumers which are often the largest business of their kind. Already in many districts in these countries most of the business is carried on by cooperative societies. And this means every kind of business. Whether it is in Stockholm or Luzern that one looks for the finest distributive stores, he finds the shops of the cooperatives answer to this description.

It is difficult to find people in the United States who are aware that the largest flour mills, that the biggest bakeries, the largest tea production, and the best run coal mines in the British Empire are owned by cooperative consumers' societies. Few know of the banking, insurance, hospitals, electric power and light plants, on a large scale carried on by the organized consumers in many countries of the world. The significant facts of cooperation seem to escape the minds that are now groping for solutions of their problems. In the presence of highly successful cooperative housing in New York, reformers who are dealing with the housing problem turn to the politicians and landlords to administer housing for the people. But there stand the cooperative houses, occupied by their owners who were once at the mercy of the landlords of the tenements.

However, quietly and steadily, the Cooperative Movement goes on. The people who do learn of it and who understand it put their hand to its service. And I have never known an understanding cooperator to turn away from its cause.

**SIX WEEKS WITH EUROPEAN COOPERATIVES**


**ITINERARY**—Gothenburg, Stockholm, Helsinki, Leningrad, Moscow, Copenhagen, London, Manchester, Glasgow.

**SPECIAL ATTRACTION in London:** Congress of International Cooperative Alliance and Exhibit of Cooperative Manufactures in the Crystal Palace. Otherwise the places to be visited speak for themselves.

**COST**—Tentatively figured at $375–400. Rate includes third class passage, meals, tips in hotels for standard service; transfer of baggage and group members from station to hotel and vice versa. Rail journeys are third class and sleepers are not included except for the night journey from Leningrad to Helsinki.

**THE Cooperative Association of Uruguay, organized only a year ago, has 9 different sections. One is responsible for the distribution of milk, meat and bread. Another is a medical section with surgeries in Montevideo and two other towns and claims on the services of 48 doctors and 12 dentists. Other services are motor-car repairs, nursing, physical culture, house planning, social and recreational, and legal services. An educational section has 1600 students and deals in many subjects, including cooperation. The society has 5000 members.

It appears that the cooperators of Uruguay see cooperation, not as a mere grocery store or oil station affair, but as an all-around program of economic and social reconstruction.

Looking over our many and diverse cooperative enterprises in the United States—stores, oil associations, apartments, banks, insurance companies, credit unions, buying clubs, creameries, burial associations, restaurants, and others—it seems that we have many black beans, many red beans, many white beans—but where is the bean porridge?

In any community a cooperative oil association is a fine thing, but it is only a beginning. Obviously, co-op gasoline stations spread their wings, oil association is a fine thing, but it is only a beginning. Obviously, co-op gasoline stations spread their wings, oil stations, or at least a gasoline pump on the premises, but have any oil associations bought food stores? We should rejoice to hear of it. Man does not live by oil alone.

Cooperative stores, more than any other type, have shown a capacity to expand into other services, such as milk, bakery, restaurant, coal, feed, farm supplies, social and educational activities. Perhaps the oil associations also will spread their wings, but they have not done so to date.

Many co-op stores have added gas stations, or at least a gasoline pump on the premises, but have any oil associations built food stores? We should rejoice to hear of it. Man does not live by gas alone.

The reason why the oil associations have stuck to oil is that they are composed of farmers who are conscious of buying gasoline through their association to meet their needs as producers. They are not conscious of their general consumer needs and do not think of their oil association as a general
consumers cooperative, at least not to the extent that the members of a cooperative store society do.

Perhaps now that oil associations are starting, one (notably the Minneapolis Cooperative Oil Association), the oil movement will broaden its horizons.

The credit union is another type of cooperative with which many groups begin. It may begin very small, and is easy to run. But if a group of cooperators stop with the achievement of a credit union, of what significance is their cooperation? Very little. They have helped themselves in saving and in borrowing money. And they have added to their education. But those are the limits of their cooperative movement.

Credit cooperation is an admirable way for a group to begin, but it should not stop there, as it does with a majority of the credit unions. A few go on into group buying, such as the Lowe's Groves (N. C.), which in six years purchased $250,000 worth of supplies, at an estimated saving to the members of $30,000. We wish this were typical of credit unions, not exceptional.

We are inclined to estimate the value of any cooperative enterprise, not on the cash saving which the members reap, but on its capacity for expansion into other fields of consumer-need-supply. In this respect the cooperative store rates high. It is an ideal nucleus around which to build an all-around cooperative program.

It is our belief, however, that such a program will be built around any cooperative which is made up of really zealous cooperators.

O. C.

News and Comment

Union Oil Company Members Not Hungry for Dividends

The Union Oil Company Cooperative finished the year 1933 with a considerable increase in surplus savings over the year before. It has always paid savings—returns. The management at the end of 1933 saw that the association could pay the members 20% on the gross business. The auditors recommended paying a 15% return. When the directors met to prepare their recommendations for the stockholders meeting, after going over the matter thoroughly they decided that not more than 12% be paid, and accordingly made this recommendation to the stockholders. The matter was discussed for some two hours by the stockholders at their meeting. The stockholders seemed to be more concerned about leaving the money in the business for future expansion and development than they were in paying it out in cash to themselves.

A delegate representing one of the western states made a statement substantially as follows: "A few years ago in a meeting of this kind, most of

the stockholders would have taken the position that we should pay out every dollar possible, and I am greatly surprised now that the stockholders are taking the position that the savings we have made in the past year would be worth more to us in the treasury of the company and used for expansion and development of additional facilities than it will be if distributed to the member companies. Judging from the statements, which have been made here today, it is no longer a question of 'how much can we pay out', but rather a question of 'how can we best use the surplus savings we have made'."

Another delegate, representing a company which was not a member, who had been sent by his association to investigate, made this statement: "Myself and three others are at the "window looking in". The thing that we are the most interested in, is whether or not you are going to 'milk the cow dry' by paying out all of your surplus, whether you are going to leave a substantial amount in the company to build up your reserve for expansion of your facilities. We believe the latter course is the course which should be pursued, and we are not interested in becoming affiliated with you unless you pursue that course."

At the conclusion of the discussion the stockholders voted a savings return of 15%, but in the same resolution gave the directors the authority to withhold the payment for an indefinite time and to pay the return only when in the judgment of the directors the best interests of the company would justify such payment. Substantial reserves were also set aside by action of the stockholders. The present reserves now equal 93% of the capital stock.

• "Our Codes"

Taking advantage of all the current talk about codes, the Central Cooperative Wholesale is using an advertisement headed "Our Codes" and consisting of three small designs; first, CO-OP, the cooperative brand trademark; second, the trade union label, third, the Blue Eagle.

A large poster of this design appears in the new store of the Peoples' society, Superior.

• New Society in New York

A "Peoples Cooperative Society" has been formed in New York City, with headquarters at 7 East 15th St. There are three branches, in Morning side Heights, Greenwich Village, and south Bronx. Laundry collection service is offered. The society employs 28 full-time workers and others part-time.

• Fitchburg's Institute

Energetic Kenneth Pohlmann writes us that the success of the first term of the Fitchburg Cooperative Institute has "surpassed expectations." The second or winter term started January 22. This is the only example we know in America of a general educational project sponsored by a cooperative society. Six instructors offer 15 courses ranging from Psychology through Science and Modern Drama to Cooperation. Each meets one evening a week for 12 weeks. A registration fee of $1, plus $1.50 for each course, is charged. Eino Friberg teams up with Pohlmann in the directorship. There is an Advisory Board of 5 interested citizens. Classes meet in the rooms of the United Cooperative Society.

But, some will say, why not stick to teaching Cooperation? No, Fitchburg has the right idea. First, because general, cultural education is necessary to develop the capacity to cooperate. A recent survey by the Dept. of Agriculture showed strikingly that the farmers who cooperate most are the farmers who best educate. Second, because such a project can be a real service to the community which is bound to react favorably to the co-op.

The Institute now has 35 students, from all walks of life. Many of them are learning of the cooperative move-
ment for the first time through this school. This is also true of some of the instructors.

**Successful Cooperation**

At the annual meeting of the Peoples’ Cooperative Society of Superior, Wis., which is aggressively expanding, total sales in 1933 of $77,061.14, an increase of about 6% over 1932, were announced. Net gain was $1,474.15 and a savings return of approximately 2% was voted. The number of the directors was increased from 9 to 11.

A resolution of the meeting directed the managers to purchase, as far as possible, from the Central Cooperative Wholesale.

The new store, described in our March issue, is already on a self-sustaining basis. Patronage has increased steadily. People of Superior who have known nothing of Cooperation are now learning about it through this bold expansion of the Peoples’ Society.

**Hubbardston Digs Out of the Snow**

Spring has come once again after all the snow of last winter. Hubbardston Co-operative Company, which is aggressive and the coordinator of the community, is planning a full season of activities. We have been fortunate in getting new members lately. At present we have 27 members, which is a good showing. We hope to get more members, which will make us a more successful cooperative.

**Held by Bandits**

The following letter from a student of co-operation was recently received by Professor Colston Warren, director of the Cooperative League Corresponding School:

Dear Doctor Warren:

I am really sorry in writing to you so late. I entered the C. L. C. School in Oct, 1930. But hardly a month after I was arrested for running away from the bandits in the city where I was, in Finland. The bandits came to my house to pick me up and I remained in their hands for several months. When I was at last released, they were too sick. The typhoid fever attacked me and I was obliged to stay in the hospital for another several months. The period of convalescence lasted almost a whole year and I really recovered my health only this year.

I begin my studies in Co-operation soon as I have force and leisure enough. I read Dr. Warbasse book several years ago. And in reading it again I get the meaning more clearly and the profit is more real. I read twice your lessons before I write the answer. In asking you to pardon me generously for my delay which is against my wish, I beg you to correct my mistakes and give me some advice in the studying of Co-operation.

Woo Khong,

**Academic Questions**

Many letters like the following show a growing interest—

March 20, 1934

To the Editor:

For some years I have been carrying on an investigation of the vegetable cooperative in the State of Wyoming, preliminary to writing a thesis on the subject. I have been interested in cooperative material on consumers cooperation and am desirous of bringing my material up to date. If you can suggest organizations or persons interested in the movement, who could inform me as to the progress of organizations, I shall greatly appreciate the assistance. To what extent do you consider Mutual Building and Loan Associations a form of cooperation? Are there not a number of Mutual telephone companies which are purely cooperative and of the consumer type?

A new party in town which was organized by us and goes by the name of the Cooperative Party, is going to the annual meeting of the Cooperative Party, which is not only a great, but a good one. We have been fortunate in getting new members lately. At present we have 27 members, which is a good showing. We hope to get more members, which will make us a more successful cooperative.

Dr. Warbasse’s books and articles have been of great assistance to me. I hope you will be able to help me. I am very much obliged to you for your letters and hope to hear from you again.

M. J. McCourt

**Planning Field Trips**

The Editor recently accompanied a party of Grambling College students on a visit to two negro colleges in Arkansas. We talked with individual students and instructors, sat in classes, and held discussions on social and economic problems of the day, ate in the dining-hall, went to assembly and listened to spiritually and wonderfully sung, and sang some works’ songs in return. It was a stimulating and enjoyable experience.

We learned what these negro students were thinking about, especially reference to economic problems. We found them liberal, even radical, in their views. And we had reason to believe that they were stimulated by our views, especially on the equality and united action of negro and white workers. Encouraged by this experience, Commonwealth will probably send other student groups on similar trips to fellow institutions.

Again we were impressed by the value of field trips both as an educational method and as a way of spreading ideas. We suggest the following types of field trips for cooperative groups:

1. A Youth League may make a trip to nearby colleges or schools to find out what is being taught in socialist science classes, and present the cooperative idea. Go prepared to give and take. Be ready to sing co-op songs, and maybe give a skit if desired. First, write the Dean or President for an invitation; usually they will cooperate in such an educational purpose.

As to cost, the Commonwealth trip took people 2 colleges about $50 miles away, for 2 days, for about $30. Reducing the group to 5 would have cut the cost in half.

2. A Youth League’s Women’s Guild or other groups interested in a trip to a special point of interest, such as a liberal forum, an unemployed league, a prison (an interesting place to go when you don’t have to), a legislative session, or a municipally owned light plant. Such trips add to one’s education, sometimes give a chance to propagandize in neighboring towns, and give to members making them feel that their league or guild is alive and has something doing.

3. The obvious co-op field trip is to visit other cooperative enterprises. The Central Co-operative Wholesale gets in member societies to send groups to visit the plant in Superior. These trips are popular. Societies should also visit him himself, make exchange visits, give exchange parties, plays, dances, or other entertainments. That is more of which can be learned from one another, not to mention the pleasure of social contacts with other cooperators. Such visits also make for more mutual action. When a live co-op group goes to visit one that is a comparatively state, who knows what inspiration may be the result? When a group of worker-cooperators go to visit a group of banker-cooperators, both will find themselves in school.

How long since your group has been visiting? Fill up with co-op gas and let’s go.

**Silver-Tongued Orator Is Seldom Efficient**

In re whether a candidate for an elective position in a Cooperative society should make an active campaign, I should say that what is most needed in such an office is efficiency.

The silver-tongued orator, or the clever publicity man seldom possesses this quality; the tongue-tied man may or may not. The efficient man, however, seldom is a talker. He is a doer.

A campaign connotes the forensic. The talker will overcome the efficient but silent doer. Enthusiasm will accomplish what is not desirable.

What will make for intelligent voting? Intelligence, exercised in voting. The voter will have to supply it, and if he has it not, it is not much that can be done about it.

Yours for intelligent, efficient cooperation,

William Ryan, Attorney,
West New Brighton, N. Y.

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Brantford, Ontario,
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CENTRAL COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE

Superior, Wis.

Halvadge Print—Fitchburg, Mass.
What Should Cooperatives Do With Their Savings?

The profits or savings in Consumers' Cooperatives belong to their members. They are the owners. Their purchases make the profits possible. What shall they do with them?

A natural first answer would be to pay them back at once into their own pockets on the basis of their purchases. But experience has demonstrated that it is wise to consider that there will be lean as well as fat years and that it is well to provide sufficient reserves for protection in times of declining price levels.

The goal of a Cooperative Democracy also requires the setting aside of reserves for the expansion of each Cooperative Association as rapidly as good judgment deems wise.

From one standpoint this would seem to answer the question as to what Cooperatives should do with their savings: set up reserves for protection, set up reserves for expansion and pay the balance back to themselves.

But experience has also proven that cooperative businesses do not survive and grow without constant educational work within their membership. The members must be kept close in touch with Cooperative principles and practice. Education is insurance of steady and growing trade.

Still further, the educational problem before Cooperatives is how soon do they want to bring into being a complete Cooperative Democracy. The "Promised Land" is on ahead—how soon do we want to really live in it?

Anything short of it is a constant handicap to ourselves and our children. Cooperative education must be viewed as a missionary movement. We help ourselves as we help others.

The Cooperative League can help to advance the Consumers' Cooperative Movement, which is the simple expedient of cooperation and mutual aid. Mr. Bowen stands ready to do his part and to give his best energies to this end.

J. P. W.
THE FOUR PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Individualistic capitalism has largely served its time in the progress of the human race, as did serfdom and slavery before it. It has so centralized wealth that, whereas formerly the richest 2% of the people owned 55% of the wealth, now the richest 2% own 80% of our wealth. Interest payments were still 96.8% of what they were in 1929, while wages dropped to 39.8%, according to a report by the National Bureau of Economic Research. In a great agricultural state like Iowa, farm tenancy has been increasing at almost 1% per year since 1900—then 30% were tenants, now nearly 60%.

Four general solutions are being attempted today to remedy the above conditions: first, Regulated Capitalism; second, Corporatism or Fascism; third, State Communism; and fourth, Consumers' Cooperation.

We in America should, undoubtedly, begin by determining definitely just what we want as a nation and then carefully analyze each of these four proposed systems to determine which will more nearly give us what we want.

We must determine whether we want to continue Political Democracy or adopt Political Dictatorship. The establishment of democratic political government was one of the great forward movements in history. Political Democracy is America's great contribution to the world—America's Dream, it is called. Surely in America we need not give up our hard-won heritage of one hundred and fifty years of political, religious and educational freedom in trying to gain economic freedom.

Next we must weigh carefully and decide whether we want Economic Democracy or Economic Dictatorship—an economic system whereby we will have ownership by the few and limited production, or ownership by the many and unlimited production. The key problem is ownership. The amount of food and goods we produce and the degree of widespread distribution depend upon the distribution of ownership of the means of production and distribution. Shall we, in America, adopt Economic Democracy, or ownership by the many, as well as Political, Religious and Educational Democracy?

Now let us analyze each of the four proposed systems in the light of the above. Will our present Economic Democracy and adopt Economic Democracy, and see which of the four proposed systems will give us what we want.

The first of the four proposed systems is the one with which America is now experimenting—that of Regulated Capitalism. Under this system will we be able to retain Political Democracy and achieve Economic Democracy?

What does Regulated Capitalism as we are now practicing it mean? Under Regulated Capitalism we are abandoning rugged individualism and adopting paternalistic protection. Government crutches are being supplied to banks, business, farming and labor. The purpose is said to be to establish so-called balanced abundance. Harold Laski says we are attempting to do with our economic system what is impossible from its very nature. It was built to make profits for the few; we are trying to make it produce service for the many.

We will eventually realize that there are two diametrically opposed and inherent contradictions in Capitalism under Power Production.

Thus we cannot have Political Democracy under Power-Production Capitalism. Power-Production Capitalism is Economic Dictatorship, or ownership and control by the State. The indefinite continuance of Political Democracy alongside Economic Dictatorship is impossible. While we are now attempting to retain Political Democracy, we cannot do so indefinitely if we continue Economic Dictatorship. Eventually we must either adopt a system of Economic Democracy or give up Political Democracy.

Again, we cannot have Economic Democracy under Power-Production Capitalism. Economic Democracy, or ownership by the many, is possible only under conditions of Hand-Production Capitalism—or by returning to the "lowered standards of an earlier era." Under hand-production each man can own his own means of production. But power-production inevitably produces ownership by the few under Capitalism. Either we must give up power-production or ownership by the many if we retain Capitalism. In other words, under Capitalism we must accept hand-production and scarcity if we want ownership by the many, or we must accept ownership by the few if we want power-production and plenty. We cannot have both power-production and ownership by the many under Capitalism. Individualistic Capitalism has not only served its day but Regulated Capitalism cannot give us the good life for all. Capitalism is an organization of producers for a day of hand-production and scarcity—our problem now is consumption in a day of power-production and plenty, and requires a new economic organization of consumers.

Italy and Germany are experimenting with Corporatism or Fascism. This system is Capitalism to the extreme degree with Political Dictatorship. It is denied that the people are capable of ruling themselves. Faith is placed in "the superiority of an individual representing absolute wisdom." Political Democracy as well as religious and educational freedom are abandoned, and economic autonomy is reinforced by governmental authority. Power-production is limited by the requirement of private profits. Corporatism gives neither political, religious, educational or economic freedom to the many, and is not the solution for Democratic America.

Russia has adopted Communism. Its essence is Political Dictatorship by a minority instead of Political Democracy. It accepts the leadership of a supposedly super-minority. Ownership is by the State. Unlimited power production is the purpose. While the purpose it the economic welfare of all, the method does not produce either political, religious or educational Democracy, nor does it produce Economic Democracy, or voluntary ownership and control by the many. Democratic freedom is sacrificed for economic justice. It is not Democratic America's way out.

Most discussions today are about these three systems of State-Controlled Capitalism, Corporatism and Communism, as though there were no other solution being developed on any large scale in the world. Yet there is a fourth highly developed, standardized and established system—Consumers' Cooperation. It is the most proved by long experience in such diverse areas as Great Britain, Scandinavia, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, etc. It does not require State control. It builds new retail units one by one, which in time take over industries and place the ownership and control in the hands of consumers. It substitutes consumer ownership for production-finance ownership. It is the only voluntary democratic economic system. It challenges Capitalism, Corporatism and Communism.

Consumers' Cooperation alone gives us the two things we want. It retains and reinforces Political Democracy and permits religious and educational freedom to the final degree. It completes the long struggle for freedom by adding Economic Democracy, through voluntary ownership by the many and unlimited power production.

America is beginning to learn and to follow this Peaceful Planned Road of Plenty for ALL. Individualistic capitalisism is ending. Paternalistic protection, either of the left as in Russia, the right as in Italy and Germany, or the center as in America, will never satisfy our desires for freedom. Voluntary Consumers' Cooperation offers us a way out that is in keeping with our democratic traditions and institutions.
WHY CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION IS NECESSARY

The first business method used was that of barter. It was a direct exchange of food for food or goods by the two parties involved. In time the two original raw material producing classes turned over to middle-men the functions of transporting, trading, manufacturing and financing.

Each middle-man was originally expected to receive only a fair share of food and goods for the functions he performed. But these middle-men eventually learned that, since all the food and goods had to pass through their hands as through a bottle neck, they were able to gain control and take toll beyond their fair shares. They hid this toll-taking in secret excessive salaries and covered up fabulous earnings by watering stocks. Others were attracted by the greater ease and earnings of middle-men over producers and so started an enormous number of unnecessary duplicated production and distribution facilities.

At length the middle-men took far more than they could consume while producers in factories, offices and on farms received proportionately less and less. This process was further covered up by the devices of currency and credit which were only intended to measure the amount of food and goods produced and facilitate their distribution, but which made it all the easier for middle-men to gain control of the tokens which represented the actual products. So we now have food and goods in abundance for everyone, but a few hold the tokens which give them the ownership of the stored up food and goods which they cannot use since they are already surfeited, while the many receive so few tokens that they cannot buy back the abundance they have produced and the still greater abundance they are able to produce, and must live in poverty and fear.

Dr. Arthur E. Holt describes the process clearly when he says that the traders have bargained across two counters, over one for labor and over the other for farm produce, to the ruin of both. Over 2,500 years ago Plato prophesied, “Ruin follows when the trader rules.” We have found it all too true.

The first real signs of collapse came before the world war, but they were covered up by shipping to other countries the surplus our present system could not distribute at home and by extending credit in the form of public war loans and private peace loans. Installment selling was adopted in the domestic market and the future pay of millions mortgaged to enable them to get from the piled up surplus what they could not pay cash for out of the earnings they received. Thus the final collapse was postponed for some 20 years but the end inevitably came.

We have reduced production with millions in want of even the simple necessities of food, clothing and shelter. Everyone should have, as George W. Russell says, “a feeling of shame that any should be poor in the national household.” The horror of it! Private capitalism is not beautiful. It is not free. It is not just. It is not even efficient. It has failed to keep on producing in increasing quantities. Professor George S. Counts says, “It no longer works.”

We cannot distribute at home the food and goods we produce and facilitate their distribution, but which made it all the easier for middle-men to gain control and take toll beyond their fair shares. They hid this toll-taking in secret excessive salaries and covered up fabulous earnings by watering stocks. Others were attracted by the greater ease and earnings of middle-men over producers and so started an enormous number of unnecessary duplicated production and distribution facilities.

We are now trying to prime the pump of private profits by public loans. We are organizing still further by occupations into banking, business, labor and farming groups. But toolless workers and landless tenants cannot control what they do not own, no matter what kind of political regulation or vocational organization they have. We must face squarely the elimination of the ownership and control of the tools of production and distribution by a few middle-men.

Temporary help can be given in leveling up low incomes by establishing national minimum wages and maximum hours and in leveling down high incomes by taxation, but this is not a permanent cure. We are at the end of an era and in the process of a change as great as any of the three great changes in history that have preceded: the first, from barbarism to slavery; the second, from slavery to serfdom: and the third, from serfdom to wage sweating, which is the outstanding characteristic of the system called capitalism. The change now in process is from capitalism to Consumers’ Cooperation.

Farmers have grasped the meaning of this situation and are organizing rapidly. They are now buying cooperatively their farm and home supplies of nearly every kind, such as fertilizer, seed, feed, grain, oil, machinery, coal, lumber, hardware, groceries, clothing, etc. Farmers have also organized to market cooperatively practically every kind of food products they raise, such as grain, livestock, vegetables, fruits, milk, cotton, etc. They are bringing their products to the edge of the city and then selling them with the profit of the city-man’s toll only. With this cooperative buying of farm supplies and cooperative selling of farm products; but then they must turn these products into the hands of private-profit processor-distributor middle-men who take toll from farm producers in lower prices and from city consumers in higher prices.

There is one real solution. City consumers must organize into consumers’ cooperatives to buy direct from farm cooperatives and eliminate the excessive middle-men’s tolls that are crushing both city and farm workers.

City workers have now organized cooperative clubs, stores, oil stations, dairies, cafes, apartments, bakeries, etc. All these different kinds of cooperatives are in existence in America today. However, as yet, there is not the same great activity in cooperative organization in the city as there is among farmers. But there are signs of rapidly increasing interest as the pressure of the depression continues and particularly now that we are beginning to be disillusioned about the results of paternalistic protection. We are abandoning so-called paternalistic protection; but already the evidence is piling up that prices and profits rise faster than payrolls, with the result that every day more and more Americans are turning to Consumers’ Cooperation. Cooperation seeks true individualism. As Professor Kress states, “Cooperation does not aim to subjugate the individual to the masses but to make individuality possible for the masses.”

Neither farm nor city consumers can solve their problems separately. Farmers can buy their supplies and sell their products cooperatively but they will go broke or live in poverty because they cannot control the price they get. Factory and office workers can organize into labor unions but must still live on a low scale because they do not control the prices of what they buy. Farm, factory and office workers must unite and form Consumers’ Cooperatives to eliminate the toll-taking private-profit middle-men. This is the only way economic justice and freedom can be gained.
WHAT CONSUMERS' COOPERATION DOES

It is not necessary to theorize about the results of Consumers' Cooperation. It has 90 years of successful experience behind it.

Consumers' Cooperation is the Economic System necessary to match the 20th Century Age of Automatic Power Production. It is a democratic economic system based on "cooperation for use" and not "competition for profit." It is the Economy of Abundance instead of Scarcity. These are some of its proven Principles and Practices—which really make "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" possible for ALL.

Consumers' Cooperation means Consumers' Ownership and Control. Inasmuch as consumers furnish the market, which is the most essential thing in an economy of abundance, organized consumers must have the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution so that they can regulate production to their needs of consumption, can supply themselves with pure products without adulteration, and do so without competitive wastes in the processes of production and distribution.

Consumers' Cooperation is Economic Democracy. Consumers, who are everybody, become the owners. Voting is by person and not by property,—one person, one vote. Proxy voting is eliminated—members attend meetings and be active. Membership is open to everyone. We now have management control largely in industry, not even stockholder control. Under a cooperative system consumers control and the management executes their will.

Consumers' Cooperatives Distribute Profits Justly. So-called profits, which in cooperatives are really overcharges or savings, are paid back to the consumer-member-owners on the basis of purchases, as patronage refunds. Those who produce the profits get them in proportion to the contribution they make by their purchases, John T. W. Mitchell, the great leader of the C.W.S., says, "Those who pay the profits should get them back."

Consumers' Cooperation results in Security—not Speculation. Capital is hired at the lowest cost. A minimum rate of interest is paid. There are no excessive earnings for investors so there is no waterstock of stock to cover them up. Stock cannot be sold at more than par value. Consumers' cooperatives require no governmental stock market security regulation because there is no speculation in cooperative stocks.

Consumers' Cooperation Increases the Income of Every Consumer-Member. A 10% patronage refund on regular retail prices means one ninth more food, goods and services.

Consumers' Cooperatives Pay Fair Salaries. They are large enough to secure trained experts for managing large scale industry, but not excessive, as under the present management control of corporate policies and payrolls.

Consumers' Cooperatives Abolish Secrecy. Whatever cannot survive in the open in a democracy is wrong. Balance Sheets, Profit and Loss Statements and every other figure and fact are open to consumer-member-owners in a cooperative. It is the business of all.

Consumers' Cooperatives Strive for Cash Business, not Credit. Credit was said by one of the men who organized the first Rochdale Cooperative in England to be "The invention of the Devil." The only real reasons for credit are to secure trained experts for managing large scale industry, but not excessive, as under the present management control of corporate policies and payrolls.

Consumers' Cooperatives Produce Pure Food and Goods, not shoddy products nor poison for profit. There is no reason for adulteration when consumers own their own business and buy for themselves. Deception is the result of the attempt to make more private profit for a few owners. Under cooperation the truth can be told in advertising and over the counter.

Consumers' Cooperation Prevents Waste and Produces True Economy. Duplicated milk wagons, delivery trucks, and all the wastes of competitive factories and distribution systems organized as a result of the urge for private profits are eliminated under cooperation. These wasted hours of working time can be saved and used for real culture and recreation and not for fighting one another like barbarians—even though today men use gloved hands to grab the most.

Consumers' Cooperatives Promote Peace. They are the necessary economic foundation to prevent war, which is caused by competition for markets to dispose of the surpluses that capitalism cannot distribute among the workers who produce the food and goods. Cooperatives remove the barriers to trade.

Consumers' Cooperative Ownership and Control of Industry is the Key that we must adopt to open the door of Plenty for All. It will distribute the piled up surpluses which automatic power driven machinery has produced.

Consumers' Cooperative Organization Gives the People Ownership, which Workers' Organizations do not. We have thought of ourselves as producers and organized into occupational groups. "For a century and a half," says Professor Fairchild, who wrote the book "Profits or Prosperity," "we have been trained to think of ourselves as producers instead of as consumers—one of the most remarkable instances of inverted logic on a large scale that mankind has ever displayed." Organizing as producers is, as Mrs. Webb says, organizing the servant side of our lives, while organizing as consumers is organizing as masters of our lives. George W. Russell, that when we organize as producers and not as consumers we are like an army that gives back to the enemy all it has won at the end of each week. Organizing as producers only is "fighting with one hand behind our backs." Organizing as consumers into Cooperatives will give us ownership and real power. The dollar we spend is more powerful than the dollar we get.

Consumers' Cooperative Organization Gives Us Democratic Liberty with Economic Justice which Political State Organizations Do Not. Political State organizations suppress liberty—they are compulsory. Consumers' Cooperation gives us economic democracy—it is voluntary. While we are getting economic justice we must also have democratic freedom.

Consumers' Cooperation will Complete the Struggle for Liberty and Justice for ALL. We have deceived ourselves into thinking that religious, educational and political liberty were really possible without economic liberty and justice. Now we know they are not. Consumers' Cooperation finally fulfills liberty and justice for ALL. It gives every consumer equality in the control of business. It is democracy in our economic life. We have finished with competitive individualism; we will not go back to "the vomit of private capitalism" as brought to light by the Senate investigations. Nor is paternalistic protection, with bureaucratic political State control the way to liberty and justice. True liberty and justice in our economic lives can only be found in the voluntary cooperative ownership of industry by consumers. Arouse Democracy in America! Build faster the necessary consumers' cooperative units of a democratic economic system.
HOW CONSUMERS' COOPERATION GROWS

The history of real Consumers’ Cooperation dates from 1844. There had been Cooperatives organized before but not until then were the final principles formulated and adopted which formed the foundations of its successful growth.

The story of the start of Consumers’ Cooperation, as of any great Movement, is a simple one. The organizers of the first association were 28 poor weavers of Rochdale, England. After a year of effort they had saved a pound apiece. With this amount they bought a small stock of groceries. They were laughed at, of course, but they persisted. They had vision and practical common sense. They called themselves by the prophetic name of the Equitable Pioneers. They adopted the three basic principles, (1) One member one vote; (2) Minimum interest on capital; (3) Refund on purchases; which have so appealed to the hearts and minds of men and women everywhere that the Consumers’ Cooperative Movement has now grown from its small beginnings to a membership of over 70 million in over 40 countries.

From the example of the first Rochdale store sprang others and after twenty years their combined purchases were so great that they formed a wholesale. Then the demand for certain products became so large as to warrant owning factories. Now the Cooperative Wholesale Society owns about 150 factories, has a wholesale department which does a business of 82 million pounds, a banking department with an annual turnover of over 600 million pounds, and an insurance society with a premium income of over five million pounds. Over 6,700,000 families, or over half the families in Great Britain belong to Cooperative Associations. Their retail business in 1933 amounted to 300 million pounds.

The Scandinavian countries have proved to be fruitful ground for the growth of the Movement. Denmark is an outstanding example of both Cooperative Buying and Marketing. In Sweden they can see “through to the end” as they express it. Taking over trusts is simple there with their large member-owned factories. Now the Cooperative Wholesale Society owns about 150 factories, has a wholesale department which does a business of 82 million pounds, a banking department with an annual turnover of over 600 million pounds, and an insurance society with a premium income of over five million pounds. Over 6,700,000 families, or over half the families in Great Britain belong to Cooperative Associations. Their retail business in 1933 amounted to 300 million pounds.

Consumers’ Cooperatives have grown during the depression as they grew during the war. They feed on need. Consumers’ cooperation grows gradually. Fire and auto insurance have proved to be live fields for cooperative progress. More recently cooperative credit unions or cooperative savings and loan banks are being organized in large numbers. We are beginning to learn, as older countries have, that cooperative finance is the real foundation of cooperative growth.

Consumers’ Cooperatives have grown during the depression as they grew during the war. They feed on need. Consumers’ cooperation grows gradually. It builds quietly unit by unit. It replaces commercial business and keeps the wheels going while it rebuilds the economic structure of society. It does not require bullets or ballots to grow. It demands no violent revolution. The Ship of State on which we all ride need not be wrecked. The framework of our government is democratic. It will permit Utopia but not secure it. We, the people must do that for ourselves. The power rests with us. The collapse of the old system of capitalistic autocracy has greatly increased our opportunity to build a Cooperative Democracy. The method is by organizing and developing retail cooperatives in each neighborhood, and from them growing into wholesaling and manufacturing. Will you do your part, as a citizen, in the necessary economic rebuilding of America?
ORGANIZE A CONSUMERS’ COOPERATIVE

Everyone has his or her part to do in building the New America of Peace and Plenty for ALL. Everyone can do definite work right in his own neighborhood.

What must be done is to transform your neighborhood store, oil station, etc., into a Consumers’ Cooperative. What is necessary is for someone in every neighborhood with initiative and idealism to start studying the Consumers’ Cooperative Movement—then to call a meeting of friends among farmers, office or factory workers and get into action. There is every reason for prompt action everywhere. If we are ever to have a Cooperative Democracy we must begin in every neighborhood and build retail units of all kinds. If we are to hold to majority evolution in America and not be led into a revolution with minority control, the majority must act instead of simply talk; they must start at home building retail units, instead of depending upon voting and paternalistic protection with private-profit banking-business actually in power behind the political screen pulling the strings for plays by political puppets.

Society provides higher education for some of its young people, who should be leaders, not followers. Instead of asking for a job or going idle in a time like this, they should take the lead and organize groups into Consumers’ Cooperatives. It’s already beginning to be done. Make a job for yourself by organizing a Cooperative and at the same time have the great joy of being an active factor in the rebuilding of the world on a cooperative basis. President Franklin of the University of Wisconsin, is reported to have said to a recent graduating class, “Don’t let anything keep you out of the Cooperative Movement. Then don’t let your interest in the one cooperative you are a member of blind you to the larger interests of the cooperative movement as a whole.”

What we must do is to break down class lines and the cleavage between the country and city. Neither can live alone. Workers, whether farm, office or factory, should unite in Consumers’ Cooperatives and rub shoulders and build a new society. Farmers may organize into marketing cooperatives but unless they also organize buying cooperatives, they cannot control the prices of the things they purchase. Office and factory workers can organize labor unions but they cannot control the prices they are charged unless they also organize Consumers’ Cooperatives through which to buy.

Why should farmers pay private profits anywhere on feed, seed or fertilizers? Eastern farmers who belong to the Eastern States Farmers Exchange, Springfield, Massachusetts; the Cooperative Grange League Federation Exchange, Ithaca, New York; or the Southern States Cooperative, Richmond, Virginia, do not. Why pay private profits on gas, oil, twine, machinery, building supplies, etc.? Farmers belonging to the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan; Cooperative Trading Company, Waukegan, Illinois; and Cloquet Cooperative Society, of Cloquet, Minnesota, average over 25 years of successful experience. The fact that many of these associations were formed by foreign born citizens is a challenge to American born men and women to learn to cooperate as consumers.

In New York City, Consumers’ Cooperative Services, Inc., is the largest example of a chain of Cooperative Cafeterias, Amalgamated Apartments the largest of a number of Cooperative Apartment Houses, and Workmen’s Furniture Fire Insurance Society an example of Cooperative Fire Insurance.

What has already been done can be repeated elsewhere. America is now under similar pressure to that which caused the great development of cooperatives in other countries. The need is now definitely here. It is only a matter of desire, thought and action which are now evidenced in a rapid expansion.

A Co-op Club may be the necessary precedent of a Store, Oil Station, Milk Route, etc., in order to do two things—first, to educate the members in cooperative principles and practice, and, second, to build up enough business with little overhead to form the nucleus of a volume to make the initial start of a store practicable.

A few people can start. Adopt a few simple rules—the Rochdale principles of one person one vote, minimum interest on capital, and patronage refunds on purchases. Start on a cash basis. Many clubs require cash with the order and thus reduce the initial capital required. Appoint organizing, buying, research, educational, and recreational committees. Then get into touch with wholesale sources of supply or also make contracts for club members’ refunds from retailers by pooling purchases.

A Consumers’ Co-op Club can start small and grow big. This has been the beginning of some of the largest cooperatives in the world. Do not leave it to others to start in your neighborhood. You are responsible for building your unit of the Cooperative Democracy. This is the “immediate practical way in which you can clear your own little corner of creation.” Ernest Poisson says that no great social change has ever taken place in human history until the units of the new social order have been built within the framework of the old. If you cannot start a full fledged Cooperative Retail Organization at once, a Consumers’ Co-op Club is a way to lay the foundation for a Co-op Store, Oil Station and Milk Route, which are the primary retail units necessary for a new Economic Democracy.
STUDY CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION

America is beginning to use the words “Consumer” and “Cooperation” in our daily press and conversation. But Americans generally do not yet know what these words really mean when joined together to describe an Economic System. The silence which the minority beneficiaries of capitalism have imposed upon the press, pulpit, and platform is proving to be a vast and widespread ignorance of Consumers’ Cooperation getting to the people. Only “the truth will make us free,” but neither preachers, professors, nor politicians, who are our spokesmen, nor our writers of articles and books, have taught us the simple facts about the economic system of Consumers’ Cooperation. But as is said, “When leaders fail, the people point the way;” and farmers, office and factory workers are learning the principles of Consumers’ Cooperation and putting them into practice in new Cooperative Purchasing Associations which they are organizing every day.

Cooperative Associations do not succeed best unless a good proportion of the members really understand cooperation. This means knowledge of the history, principles and methods. False cooperation springs up where the people do not understand. Only those who know cooperative principles can build a sound Cooperative Association. Constant education is necessary.

The literature of Consumers’ Cooperation is large. There are general histories, discussions of principles and practice, descriptions of its growth in different countries. A suggested list of some of the best books, Pamphlets and Magazines follows. Others can be found in the bibliography in the magazine COOPERATION.

CONSUMERS’ COOPERATIVE BOOKS

Cooperative Democracy, Dr. J. P. Warbasse (1927) .......... $1.50
The standard work in America by the President of the Cooperative League.

Cooperative Movement in Great Britain, Beatrice Potter (1921) .......... $1.10
The first classic on the significance of consumers’ cooperative ownership and control as compared with employee ownership. Still standard.

The Consumers’ Cooperative Movement, Beatrice and Sidney Webb (1921) .......... $1.35
A book on how most of the progressive work of the cooperative in the United States is written by a cooperative writer and officer and later Director of the Postoffice.

Consumers’ Cooperative Societies, Charles Cide (1927) .......... $1.50
The standard Continental work by one of the great leaders of cooperative thought.

John T. W. Mitchell, Percy Redfern (1924) .......... $1.00
A portrait of the man who forged out the philosophy of consumers’ cooperation. Should be distributed in large numbers.

Rochdale Pioneers, George W. Holyoake (1892) .......... $1.10
Early history by one of the original Owenites who is called the “peer of cooperative propagandists.”

Finland, A Nation of Cooperators, Thorsten Ode (1931) .......... $1.50
A late story of the wonderful development of Consumers’ Cooperation in Finland.

Cooperative Ideals and Problems, Anders Orne (1926) .......... $1.35
A book on Sweden by a cooperative writer and officer and later Director of the Postoffice.

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CONSUMERS’ COOPERATIVE MAGAZINE

COOPERATION—167 West 12th Street, New York City, New York .......... $1.00
The Official Magazine of the Consumers’ Cooperative Movement with National and International News. Published by The Cooperative League, which is affiliated with The International Cooperative Alliance.

START A CONSUMERS’ CO-OP CLUB

It’s high time everyone in America learned rapidly what it means to be a consumer and to cooperate. The old order is breaking down fast. “The crumbling order of selfish greed must be replaced by a cooperative order for human need. There is a wide-spread growth of Consumers’ Co-op Clubs and an intense interest in consumers’ problems. What is needed is a lot of “Co-op Clubs” in every locality, made up of both young and old, who want to know the truth and who will act when they learn. Organize such a group. Urge the study and practice of Consumers’ Cooperation. The Cooperative League can supply you with a Consumers’ Co-op Club Course, with study outlines covering six lessons, which are most interesting and valuable. The six lessons are as follows:

1. Economic History—from Barbarism to Slavery to Serfdom to Wage Slavery to Consumers’ Cooperation.

2. Proposed Ways Out—Constitutional Capitalism, State Communism, State Corporatism (Fascism) and Consumers’ Cooperation.

3. Early History and Principles of Consumers’ Cooperation.

4. Consumers’ Cooperation in Practice Today—among 70 million consumer-member-owners in over 40 countries.


6. How to Start and Run a Consumers’ Cooperative

No person should fail to know about the principles and practice of Consumers’ Cooperation. Consumers’ Cooperative Ownership is the foundation of the New Day beyond the New Deal—the New Freedom for ALL.
LEADERS, SPEAK DEFINITELY—LEAD OUT!

Leaders speak of a "New Social Order," and of a "Cooperative Commonwealth" or of a "Cooperative Democracy," Mostly they talk in generalities. You should definitely point out just what Consumers' Cooperation really means, so that all will understand and act.

Preachers! Great preachers like Charles Kingsley in England and Sonne in Denmark were pioneers in the development of Consumers' Cooperatives. Today Kagawa of Japan is saying specifically that the Kingdom of God means the practical economic application of the principles they preach.

Professors! Great professors like Hanne Gebhard of Finland and Charles Gid of France were in the forefront of consumers' cooperative leadership in their countries. When will American educational leaders really teach the facts about the principles and practice of the democratic economic movement of Consumers' Cooperation?

Politicians! You who have a sincere desire to help bring about economic justice under political democracy, will you lend your support to the only movement which will bring economic justice to the people and preserve our democratic institutions?

Technicians! Yours has been the creative genius which has made abundant possible. You have harnessed the energy of nature and made it the servant of man. You have overcome one of man's greatest enemies, disease. Will you accept the challenge and now help to build a democratic economic system that will give widespread distribution of the products of your efforts by promoting Consumers' Cooperation?

Business Men! Those of you who have social vision and a real desire to serve, will you help build the new Cooperative Democracy by devoting your business ability to the practical problems of Consumers' Cooperation? Will you organize your private-profit business into a public-service Consumers' Cooperative, and manage it for the consumer-owners?

Farmers! The people living in the towns and cities could consume the food you produce if only they could buy it. You could consume vastly more of the goods you can produce. Will you work with them in organizing Consumers' Cooperatives everywhere and eliminate toll-taking, private profit middle-men?

Labor Leaders! Your members are hard pressed by unemployment, low pay and rising prices. Of what value is an increase in wages if retail prices increase in greater proportion? You will not have served the interests of your members to the fullest degree possible until you have done everything necessary so that they are able to buy a good living with the higher wages you are fighting to secure. Promote Consumers' Cooperatives as well as Labor Unions in order to enable workers to take over the ownership of industry, become economically free, and enjoy the plenty they have produced.

It is necessary for every progressive American to study through for himself the cause of our failure for all to have plenty in the midst of abundance, and then to call upon American leaders to cease being cat's-paws to the capitalistic order. Consumers' Cooperation, which means Economic Democracy, challenges every leader in America. If present leaders do not respond to the challenge, others must rise from the people. If we in America are to continue the orderly process of evolution under Political Democracy, our leaders must point the way toward Economic Democracy. The challenge of Democratic Consumers' Cooperation is at your door. Every servant of the people should speak definitely and lead out in organizing along the evolutionary and peaceful way of planned progress and plenty for all as demonstrated by the Consumers' Cooperative Movement. Speak out and lead America towards Economic Democracy.

JOIN THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE

The Cooperative League is the official United States Organization of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement. It is affiliated with the International Cooperative Alliance. The League is a federation of District Leagues and of Consumers' Cooperative Associations.

It was organized in 1915 and has carried on the work for nearly 20 years of holding up the standards of Consumers' Cooperation when America was off on a war and a speculative spree. Now America is becoming consumer-conscious and turning to Cooperation as the Way Out. It is supported by Wholesale and Retail Cooperative Associations, Individual Cooperators and Social-minded Citizens. Everyone should join in order to develop the Movement faster in America and prevent minority dictatorship.

The work of the League is four-fold: First: Promoting the Consumers' Cooperative Movement; first, directly through its monthly magazine COOPERATION, by publishing literature and by interviews, correspondence and addresses; and secondly, indirectly by enlisting the support of the other groups into which we are organized, such as the churches, schools, political organizations, labor unions, farm organizations, professional associations, etc. Cooperators must blazon forth their belief.

Second: Organizing Consumers' Cooperative Retail Units and Wholesale. A constant campaign is carried on to build the Cooperative Democracy by organizing Consumers' Co-op Clubs, Stores, Oil Stations, etc. More active advance organizing work can be done as funds are available.

Third: Assistance to Member Cooperative Associations in the form of Business and Legal Advice, Auditing, Insurance and Wholesale Buying Service and Educational Programs and Institutes.

Fourth: Protecting the Consumers' Cooperative Movement from attacks by capitalistic business whether direct or indirect through governmental codes, interpretations, etc.

The President of the Cooperative League is Dr. J. P. Warbasse, who is also a member of the Central Committee of the International Cooperative Alliance and of the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration. The Directors are Officers in Wholesale and Retail Consumers' Cooperative Associations who have proved their ability by successful practical leadership of their own Cooperative Organizations.

The Cooperative League has three Regional Divisions with headquarters in the following cities: Eastern States Cooperative League, New York City; Central States Cooperative League, Bloomington, Illinois; Northern States Cooperative League, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Every citizen in America whether already a member of a Consumers' Cooperative or as yet only interested in a general way in the building of a new social order, and who wants to do more than merely read, talk and vote about it, should be a member of the Cooperative League. Who will be a member of the Cooperative League.

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WHAT AN OPPORTUNITY!

The great leader of the Swedish Cooperative Wholesale who was recently in America made two significant statements. The first was that, "in Sweden we can see our way through to a Cooperative Democracy." Referring to America, he said, "What an opportunity!" And so it is. A land blessed with the greatest abundance of natural resources. A people with genius for mechanical invention. Now we have only to learn to work together to eliminate waste in manufacturing and distribution and to distribute our food and goods justly for everyone to be surfeited with plenty.

This is the fourth great step in economic history. Each new economic order has always been preceded by a change in the technique of production. First, mankind invented hand weapons which enabled some men to conquer others and resulted in the economic order of slavery. Then we developed hand tools and serfdom followed. Next machines brought capitalism with wage sweating which replaced serfdom. Each time as men progressed into a new economic order and threw off their former masters they at first thought themselves free, only to find they were in a "new but larger prison house" and still crushed by want and war.

Now we have made another great step in the technique of production by inventing automatic power machinery. Fred Henderson says that mechanical inventions before were an extension of man's arms, but automatic power is a substitution for man's arms. Accordingly we must develop a new economic order to fit automatic power production. Then we shall all have plenty and at last be "free indeed."

New thinking is growing rapidly. New waves of thought are sweeping over us with great speed. First, came technocracy which taught us that we had reached the Age of Plenty and left the Age of Scarcity and must develop a New Economic System to fit Automatic Power Production. Then we began to think about money and are in the process of trying to develop an accurate measure of production and exchange. Then came the codes which are leading us to organize into the different occupations in which we are engaged. Now we begin to hear the word consumer more and more and are urged to cooperate.

Real cooperation by consumers means the organization of Consumers' Cooperatives on a national scale. Power can only be secured by cooperative ownership. Any other organization of consumers is largely conversation without power for real action.

As consumers you are all powerful. Where you spend your money means the control of business. Every trust is afraid you will stop buying or buy elsewhere. You have the power in your own hands to take over any industry. The process is simple—all you have to do is to set up your own consumers' cooperative retail store and oil station and transfer your trade from private-profit business to your own cooperative association. Then your local association joins with others into a wholesale and your wholesale starts manufacturing and the job is done. It's the way to own every trust—America is then yours—an America owned by all of us—not just by a few. Justice Brandeis compares capitalism and cooperation in this way, "The essence of the trust is a combination of the capitalist, by the capitalist for the capitalist. The essence of the cooperative system is association of the people, by the people for the people."

Consumers' Cooperation is the Democratic Economic Order. It is America's Answer. We have reached the point where no real recovery can be made in any other way. Start action today right where you are in organizing a Cooperative. Accept your personal responsibility as a citizen in a democratic country to build your local retail store, oil station or other unit of the New Cooperative Democracy.
THIS IS SELF-HELP THROUGH MUTUAL AID

While we are now in the general psychological stage of Paternalistic Protection in America, there are signs of groups in cities and towns who are thinking their way through to Consumers' Cooperation. Two recent communications we have received read:

Akron, Ohio—"Conditions have been bad here and several of us have just recently decided to get together and try to do something for ourselves."

Grand Island, Neb.—"We have opened up a little grocery store for the members of our society. So far we have been able to make the little money the men have to spend for groceries go 10% farther." Signed, The Self-Help Society.

Self-Help through Mutual Aid is America's Answer. When groups start helping themselves as Consumers' Cooperatives instead of depending upon the government, we shall begin the building of Economic Democracy in America.
EDITORIAL

Sow the Seed

Suppose that Cooperators could say to everyone in America tomorrow, "Consumers' Cooperation is the Answer." What a great transformation would start everywhere. But that isn't the way it can be done. We've got to do the job of education more gradually.

But we can do it more rapidly than we have, Literature is the seed. The new pamphlet, "America's Answer--Consumers' Cooperation" is intended to be the primary general piece of literature for widespread distribution. Order a quantity and sow them among your members and friends.

Cooperators Should Insist That Schools Teach Facts about Consumers' Cooperation

Cooperative education carried on directly by Cooperative Associations among their own members is slow but sure. It builds solidly among increasingly larger local groups the necessary information and inspiration about the Consumers' Cooperative Movement. There are many cooperative associations as yet which are practicing cooperative education, and the management of consumers' income. Students attending this college next fall will learn the truth about Cooperation.

We won't see to it that your school also teaches the facts about Consumers' Cooperation next year. Take this upon yourself as one of your duties in "cleaning your own little corner of creation."

Power Production and Private Ownership are Incompatible

Perhaps the clearest analysis of the necessity of a new economic order as a result of the coming of power production is contained in a little book by Fred Henderson of England entitled, "The Economic Consequences of Power Production."

Why do we have to build a new economic order? Why must that new economic order be a collective one? What is the basic reason society must now go through the throes of one of the greatest changes in the world's history? What has really happened to us that such a great change is now required?

Our economic system is the same, in general, as we have had for all the years of our history. Once it seemed to work very efficiently. Why doesn't it now work well? In the 19th century everyone had a job. Wealth was increasing gradually for most of the people. But now millions cannot get jobs and their resources are constantly decreasing. What is the primary reason for this?

The answers are many but the basic reason is clearly presented. It is this: Power production has produced poverty. "What?" you say, "Poverty? No, it has produced plenty!"

But think it through. It isn't our economic system that has changed—it's our production system. Power production has replaced hand production. We could go back to hand production and redistribute the tools among all the people again and have jobs for everyone. We could make our old economic system work pretty well again, if we are willing to accept hand production.

Power production has centralized production: it requires collective action. It demands collective ownership, a new economic system, whereby the people as a whole will own the means of production and distribution. Our only question to decide, if we want to retain power production, is what form of collective ownership do we want? Power production has produced poverty—yes, but only because of the fact that when power production was tending towards collective ownership we did not attempt to change our economic system towards collective ownership. Power production can produce plenty instead of poverty just as soon as we all recognize the necessity of a new collective economic system to match collective power production and start building such a system everywhere.

Cooperators are the ones who can and must teach America the necessity of a collective economic order to match collective power production and the exact kind of a collective economic order which we in democratic America should adopt.

How Much of the $3,500,000 Should Be Used for General Education?

Three and a half million dollars is a large amount of money. It is the amount, according to the government, which cooperative oil stations saved their members last year.

Suppose we start to divide it up. The immediate needs of the member owners is one consideration. Reserves for future expansion and protection are another. But let's think from the standpoint of the world which we live in, as a whole. America is going to move out in some direction in a definite way. Those who wish to preserve their present advantages will spend millions to do so. From constitutionally controlled capitalistic experience it will lead on to dictatorship if they feel they need and can do so. But we cooperators don't want to go that way.

Yet by day as we talk to individuals and groups we are all the more impressed with the almost total lack of any knowledge of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement among most Americans. How are they going to be taught? And taught they must be rapidly by the millions if we are to forestall the coming of a minority dictatorship and advance instead towards a Cooperative Democracy.

Cooperators should begin to think in the broad terms of the Cooperative America we so badly want. To prevent being led into dictatorship, and to lead out actively toward the kind of a cooperative world we want to live in, calls for a larger share of cooperative savings being used for widespread cooperative education. The Cooperative League has definite plans for more rapid promotion of the Movement as fast as the funds for additional writers, speakers and literature are available.
With Vision the People Survive

By J. P. Warbasse

In the Constitution of our Government, in the utterances of our founders, and in the whole history of the United States as a political system, there is no trace of any economic ideal excepting that of competition for profit getting. The shrewdest business men were to have the big winnings. Wealth was to be developed in their hands; and the idea that could come nearest to a humane thought was that, if there was much wealth at the top, some of it would trickle down among the people. The race was to the swift. As to the hiniest, the devil took them. On this basis, this country was built, made its fortunes, waged its wars, and suffered at periodic intervals its moments of doubt.

The French writer said, "The United States is the only country that has gone from each to the other without passing through a stage of civilization," had reference to the price we paid for our utter devotion to profit getting as both a means and an object of life. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, the Anti-Trust Act of 1890, and the Clayton Anti-Monopoly Act of 1914, was there any government interference with the right of every business to get from the public all it could take. A hundred years of ruthlessness in business built traditions which the impatient souls said the same thing. They are giving a daily demonstration of the consumers' ability to supply their needs in the marts of trade.

Those who think the democratically organized people can not function effectively in their own interest should not blink the fact of this growing demonstration of success, which will last a hundred years. The natural mistake made by those who are unaware of the cooperative facts is to draw their analogy from political experience. Political democracy, in the society of profit business, does not succeed.

Economic democracy exists in the consumers' cooperative societies. It is the system of business that makes the home and the place where things are produced, rather than the place where things are consumed. Cooperatives not only keep the common goods supplied where hasty methods have failed. If the people of the United States wanted themselves to own the coal mines and the railroads and the rail lines, houses and villages, streets and parks, fire departments, banking and insurance, recreations, hospitals and clinics have all been acquired by the cooperative movement is so hardy that the attempts to destroy it made by the Communists in Russia, the Fascists in Italy, the Nazis in Germany, and the Dollfuss-ards in Austria, have failed. Its permanence is so great that it eludes all agencies. And now the economists, the leaders of ethical thought, and the teachers are awakened to its facts.

But our economic situation has become so serious that people have grown impatient. They want something done and done fast. They are insistent upon immediate relief. At a recent meeting to discuss a way out, the majority of the people in the audience dismissed co-operation as too slow. "Before we can act," said the speaker, "we must catch the idea that the Government should pour out its wealth to employ the needy and feed the hungry. It is the same old idea that prevailed in Rome over a thousand years ago; and solved no problem. In Rochdale, England, ninety years ago the impatient souls said the same thing. Like those of today, they wanted something to be done quickly to their distress. They said, "The Government is too slow." But the Rochdale cooperative pioneers went on and started a little business with $140. It has spread out to the very corner of the world. In England alone its capital has grown to $500,000,000 and its institutions are the largest in the land. The impatient consumers looked at the great flour mills of the capitalists and said, "Cooperation is too slow, we must get these mills by some quick method." The quick method has had ninety years to win the flour mills for the people, but it has not yet succeeded. The impatient consumers, despite the dire predictions of the economics professors of Oxford and Cambridge, went on their way. Now they own the largest flour mill in the empire—not larger than any mills of ninety years ago but larger than any other mills of today. The Swedish cooperatives accomplished the same result in one fourth the time. When the impatient Swiss had spent thirty years trying to get a bill passed by the Parliament to nationalize the meat business, the Swiss Cooperative Union in the course of one year decided to make itself the owner of the beef trust, and in three years made itself the owner of the beef trust. Cooperatives do not try the slow method; it is the fast method. The impatient, who think they know a quicker way, come and have their little hour and pass away.

The best run coal mines in Great Britain, the largest bakeries in hundreds of cities, factories, mills, steamship lines, houses and villages, streets and parks, fire departments, banking and insurance, recreations, hospitals and clinics have all been acquired by the cooperative method. It is not the method that is too slow; it is the method that is too fast. It is the method in which the emphasis is not on the speed, but on the content. It is the method that says, "What we want is the solution of our distress, not the solution of our distress by force."

Cooperation is a practical consumerism. It is the system of business that makes the home and the place where things are consumed and enjoyed, rather than the place where things are produced. The object of its efforts. Mills and railroad dynamos and the zeal for production are the result of the profit motive. The Marxian philosophy, unconscious of the consumers' power to organize, has promoted interest in labor and wages as the great aim. The result is splendid smoke stacks and squalid homes.

The success won by the cooperative movement is not a precarious success. It has been won by competition against profit business and the political state. The millions of people who carry on cooperative business are in this movement because it gives them advantages which the other methods of business do not supply. Cooperation grows not by edicts, force, or the whims of electoral majorities, but only by demonstrating its superiority to the consumers who need to be served. The cooperative movement is so hardy that the attempt to destroy it made by the Communists in Russia, the Fascists in Italy, the Nazis in Germany, and the Dollfuss-ards in Austria, have failed. Its permanence is so great that it eludes all agencies. And now the economists, the leaders of ethical thought, and the teachers are awakened to its facts.

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The House Cooperation Built

By Gordon H. Ward

The House Cooperation Built is the largest and most modern farmers' supply store building in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Erected in the summer of 1932, it is indeed the result of cooperative effort. It was built by the Rockingham Cooperative Farm Bureau out of funds accumulated from the annual membership dues paid by the members and from the earnings of ten years of cooperative buying and marketing. Every penny of the cost was paid in cash.

This cooperative had built up its capital funds to nearly $100,000, principally through a plan worked out by G. F. Holsinger, the first president of the organization and now president of the Virginia Farm Bureau Federation. The farmers signed up for membership covering a three-year period and paid a $5 membership fee at the beginning of each of the three fiscal years covered by the membership. The money thus paid to the organization for membership dues is placed in the capital fund and each member is given a certificate that he has paid in each year. When the Farm Bureau was started in 1921 the manager was employed only five days per month. He collected orders from the members sufficient to purchase a car load of feed, fertilizer or other staple commodities.

The members had to pay for these when they placed their order, or at least before they unloaded their purchases from the car. The total volume of business handled during the first year of operation amounted to only $5,700, which included two cars of livestock marketed for the members.

The members soon found that this car-door type of service was not satisfactory, so they decided to rent a warehouse in which they could have a stock of supplies available for them at all times. By this time they had accumulated sufficient capital from the membership dues to purchase an inventory of supplies. This necessitated engaging the manager on a full-time basis. They were fortunate in having a member who had had considerable experience in a country store and this man, C. V. Smith, has been the manager ever since. The Farm Bureau has always operated on a strictly cash basis, which has eliminated losses from uncollectable accounts.

During the first years of operation the Rockingham Cooperative Farm Bureau purchased feeds, fertilizers, cement, hardware, roofing, fencing, hardware, coal, coal bins were built to provide more space for properly displaying a balanced ration for dairy cows, hogs, and poultry. This milling and feed mixing operation increased the membership and volume of business so that the operating expenses per unit will be reduced. The plan of operation has been to charge the members only a narrow margin above the cost of the goods so that the farmers get their patronage dividends when they purchase their supplies. The annual earnings have gone into the reserve fund.

The growth in membership and financial strength has been accompanied by a rapid expansion in the services rendered the members by their cooperative. When the Farm Bureau was started in 1921 the manager was employed only five days per month. He collected orders from the members sufficient to purchase a car load of feed, fertilizer or other staple commodities.

As the membership in the northwestern part of the county increased, the farmers there asked for a branch warehouse. One was therefore established in Timberville in August, 1924, and during the first year one man in that warehouse handled $50,000 of business. The expansion of the business also required an addition to the main warehouse in Harrisonburg. As the membership in the southwestern section of the county grew, it was necessary to establish another branch in Bridgewater in August, 1927. During the first year this branch did $71,000 of business, which was handled by one man. In order to provide space for handling the full line of staple groceries and work clothing at this time, a further addition was put on the main warehouse. In 1931, the membership in the eastern part of the county had reached 200, which has demonstrated a sufficient number of patrons to support a branch house. A branch was therefore opened in Elkton.

The growth in membership and volume of business in 1930 convinced the directors that there was not sufficient space at the site of their main warehouse to provide the necessary warehouse space to properly serve the members. They therefore purchased a plot of ground 160 feet wide running 335 feet along the railroad. As the depression deepened in 1931, the market for the corn and wheat produced by the members declined so that it was very difficult to sell these grains at anywhere near the cost of production. In order to provide a market for this grain the cooperative installed equipment to grind the grain and mix it with other feed ingredients into a balanced ration for dairy cows, hogs, and poultry.

This milling and feed mixing operation taxed their warehouse space to capacity. In 1932, the prices of building materials had dropped to low levels and the cooperative found it necessary to establish another branch warehouse. A branch was therefore opened in Bridgewater in the fall of 1931. The building of fireproof brick and concrete construction, 50 by 150 feet, completed in the fall of 1932 and provided space for properly displaying a balanced ration for dairy cows, hogs, and poultry.

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Central States Cooperative League Congress Draws Record Attendance

By A. W. Warinner

The Eighth Annual Congress of the Central States Cooperative League, held in Chicago Sunday and Monday, April 8th and 9th, drew by far the largest attendance that has ever been present at a League Congress. The 47 regular delegates, 47 fraternal delegates and the 50 or more unattached individuals in attendance left no doubt in anyone's mind of the growing interest in Cooperation as a solution of the world's economic problems.

The first session of the Congress opened at 10:40 a.m. Sunday, at Kaplan's, 707 West North Street. The address of welcome was delivered by Josel A. Novak, president of the Workmen's Cooperative Mercantile Association, the spacious hotel of this year's Congress. The Secretary then read letters and telegrams of greeting from other cooperative organizations, including The Cooperative Council of the U. S. A., the Central Cooperative Wholesale and the Eastern States Cooperative League. This was followed by the address of the President, Edwin C. Palmer. Two-minute reports by regular and fraternal delegates occupied the balance of the morning session.

The afternoon session on Sunday was devoted to a discussion of such live subjects as "The Economist Discovers the Consumer," "Cooperatives and the NRA," "Bringing the Urban and Agricultural Consumers' Movements Closer Together," and general educational activities, with especial stress on summer schools. Every delegate present stressed the necessity of taking immediate advantage of the opportunity afforded the Cooperative Movement to grow and expand by the present economic conditions of the country and the fact that even the economists have finally discovered the consumers and are beginning to realize that any adequate scheme for economic recovery must give the consumers first consideration.

The plans for forming the Chicago Cooperative Council were approved by the Congress. H. von S. Dailey's
appointment as Chicago representative of the League was confirmed and plans were made to open a Chicago office of the League in the near future. Plans were also made for continuing the Monday evening broadcasts over WFCI throughout the year.

Math Ogrin, of North Chicago, J. L. Redlich, of Gary, John Konecny of Chicago and Jacob J. Novak, of North Chicago were elected directors to fill the four vacancies on the Board. The outgoing year's officers for the ensuing year are Edward Carlson, Waukegan, Ill., President; J. J. Novak, North Chicago, Ill., Vice-President; John Konecny, Chicago, Ill., Treasurer and A. W. Warner, Bloomington, Ill., Secretary.

The dinner and supper served the delegates and visitors by the ladies of the Waukegan Merchants' cantile Association, Sunday and the entertainment and dance Sunday evening were bright spots in the entertainment program which everyone enjoyed. All in all the Congress was an outstanding success, and much praise is due the local cooperators for the fine hospitality and entertainment provided for the delegates and visitors to the Congress.

Indiana Enlarges Training School Program to Include 40 Counties

By Anthony Lehner

In the summer of 1933 the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n. ventured into a new and heretofore untried field. It established, with the splendid assistance of the Central States Cooperative League, a series of one week's Training Schools in which it taught the farm leaders and homemakers of tomorrow the fundamentals of a cooperative philosophy.

It was a modest and unpretentious beginning. Six weeks brought together groups of 20—40 young men and women, (about 170 in all) most of whom went back home into their respective counties and townships and instituted a program of search for and study of the truth with regard to present day economics. It taught them to think. And because it taught them to think and act cooperatively, to point the way to permanent economic recovery through the teaching of the fundamentals of a cooperative philosophy.


District League Summer Schools

The Central States Cooperative League has now made definite plans for two summer schools this year; one, the regular school and the other offering an advanced course. Both will be held at Druce Lake Camp, eight miles west of Waukegan, Illinois, which is an ideal place for a summer school. It is completely equipped with dormitories, dining hall, kitchen, assembly hall, swimming pool, baseball diamond, tennis courts, a lake with boats, etc.

The regular summer school is planned to open Monday, August 20, and close Friday morning, August 26. The advanced school, which will probably be designated as the Central States Summer School, is planned to open Sunday evening, August 26, and close Saturday evening, September 1.

A prospectus for each school will be ready within the next two or three weeks and can be secured by writing the Central States Cooperative League, Bloomington, Illinois.

Two one-week summer schools of Cooperation are being run this month by the Northern States Cooperative League. One at Maple Plain, near Minneapolis, Minn., June 17 to 23; and the other at Moose Lake, Minn., June 24 to 30. At Moose Lake the League has the collaboration of the Carlton County Cooperative Federation.

In the fall, the League expects to conduct jointly with the Central Cooperative Wholesale an 8-week Cooperative Training School for managers and other employees, at Superior, Wis., resuming a major educational effort that was omitted last year.

The Eastern States Cooperative League will hold its annual summer institute at Brookwood, Kotonah, N. Y., from July 19th to 21st. Particulars and reservations may be obtained on request.

Cooperators in Action

A Red Letter Day in Dillonvale

Sunday April 22nd was a great day for cooperation in Dillonvale, Ohio. Joseph Blaha, manager of the New Cooperative Company, and Joseph Pavlovic, Jr., had arranged for a real Cooperative drive to reach non-members and to entertain their members. The day opened with an hour's radio entertainment over WWVA at Wheeling. The Cooperative band furnished the music and talks were made by A. W. Warmund, secretary of the Central States Cooperative League, who was in Dillonvale conducting a ten day cooperative school, and E. R. Bowen, General Secretary of The Cooperative League. The afternoon was given over to a similar program at the Cooperative hall in Dillonvale. The band was dressed in new suits of Cooperative League colors. The program of classical music was played as only Bohemian musicians can play. Culture and Cooperation go hand in hand as this 26-year-old group of cooperative stores so well prove. These miners are fighting with both hands—through Cooperation as well as through Trade Unions.

Ohio Boosts Local Co-ops

The Ohio Farm Bureau is in process of changing its cooperative set-up in the direction of granting more local control. County Cooperative Associ-
Many Co-ops Report Gains

The Farmers Union State Exchange of Nebraska had total sales in the first quarter of 1934 of $392,569.50, an increase over the first quarter of 1933 of $172,395.06. The gross margin increased from 9.2% last year to 9.9% this year, and the net from 1% to 4.04%. The Exchange is going ahead with the erection of its new $90,000 building in Omaha.

In April, with the spring season still incomplete, the Eastern States Farmers Exchange reported fertilizer sales of 10,173 tons, or 100% more than in the first half of 1933. The Exchange's feed mill at Buffalo, running day and night, grinds out 50 tons of feed each 24 hours. The Exchange gained 6500 members in 1933, now having a total of 48,500. It handled 125% more tonnage in 1933 than in 1932.

Many cooperative stores in the north central states report large increases this spring. Sales of the Farmers' Cooperative Sampo of Menahga, Minn., were about 65% higher in March than in the same month of 1932. The increase at Bruce Crossing, Mich., was 50% and at Ely, Minn., 75%. New branch stores have recently been opened by both Menahga and Ely.

Sales of the Central Wholesale Supply of Superior, Wis., in January and February increased 62% and 68% respectively over the corresponding months of 1933.

Cowden on Important Oil Committee

Howard A. Cowden, president of the Illinois Farm Supply Company, is one of the largest cooperative oil wholesalers in the country. It is made up of 50 county units, which did a total business of $6,000,000 in 1933 and for the third consecutive year paid a savings return of over half a million dollars. Average return to patrons was 14 cents of each dollar of purchases. Illinois Farm Supply runs a fleet of over 400 tank trucks and has 146 bulk plants. More trucks and plants are being added in 1934 and prospects are bright, according to L. R. Marchant, manager.

Consumers Cooperative Services Ends Fourteenth Year Successfully

Cooperation in cities is not so widespread in America as in smaller towns but the Consumers Cooperative Services is a fourteen-year-old demonstration of its success. The story of how the plan of cafeteria operation was developed further in his progressive city of Milwaukee, he expressed in a significant way the difficulty, by saying that its promoters had thought in terms of the capitalistic psychology of making more sales instead of the cooperative principle of collective purchasing. The difference is vital to the success of a cooperative.

Consumers Get Back 14c on the $

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The Danes Cooperate as Consumers, Too

One thinks of Danish cooperation as being largely a producers' movement, but the fact is that 1760 consumers' societies embrace 319,000 members, representing a third of the population of Denmark.
In Every City and Town—A Coop Club

A GAIN we bring up the question which is receiving foremost attention from thinking cooperators in America: How is Consumers' Cooperation to be propagated in the cities?

By comparison, cooperation on the farm can almost be left to itself; it is growing lustily and naturally, like corn in Iowa. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of Cooperation in the cities and towns. The urban cooperatives are few and comparatively static in growth.

But this is no cause for discouragement. Millions of middle and working class people in the cities are ripe to cooperate if they only knew how. Their environment—capitalist industrialism—has got the better of them for the moment, but they are eager to get free. They will welcome Cooperation as the sword to cut the Gordian knot that they have formed their co-ops with emphasis on consumer-consciousness, is being broadly initiated by Cooperative consumers, they proceed to act.

Meanwhile they continue to meet regularly and study how to push their cooperation further. Each interested individual, whether he is to act.

The Consumers' Guide of May 7, 1934, has three articles about Cooperative Marketing. And there's a final one on Consumers' Cooperation under the striking heading, "Lubricating your way to a lower cost of living." Cooperators who do not yet receive this publication should write to the Consumers' Counsel of the AAA to be put on the subscription list.

The Canadian Cooperator
Brantford, Ontario,
Canada

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Published monthly
75c per annum

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STUDY CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12, N. Y. C. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

HISTORICAL

38. Consumers' Cooperation, in the United States (dt. 1925) .15 6.00
39. Story of Toad Lane (By Stuart Winn) .65 4.00
44. The Coop. Movement, H. J. Dietrich .65 4.00
45. Cooperation Here and Abroad, H. F. Hughes .10 7.00
46. Consumers' Cooperative Methods, P. W. Walkhouse, 1924 .10 6.00
47. America's Answer—Consumers' Cooperative, R. E. Brown .10 6.00

TECHNICAL

4. How to Start and Run a Rochdale Cooperative Society .26 10.00
6. The Rochdale System, by a Rochdale Cooperative Society .26 2.50
29. Credit Union Primer (By Ham and Robinson) .50
31. Model Leases for Cooperative Apartment Houses .16

MISCELLANEOUS

15. Model Co-op State Law .10
30. "The Whistle Blown" (story, by Bruce Calvert) .06
38. How a Consumers' Cooperative Differs from Ordinary Business .35 .75
62. Buttons (League emblem), 4 fancy, 2 in diameter .02 15.00
60. Sign or Transparency of League (in English) (8 inches square) .05

67. Black velvet badges, engraved, with League Emblem, worn in books of 100, 200, or 250 pages .02 15.00
68. To Mothers .02 1.00
70. "Women's Cooperation, A Way Out: An address by L. S. Hertel) .05
72. Little Loans: In Cooperation .02 1.00
74. The History of Credit .02 1.00
75. What is the Cooperative Store .02 1.00
77. What is Consumers' Cooperation .02 1.00
79. What is the Most Necessary Thing in Life .02 1.00
81. Are You Sure You Are Getting Your Money's Worth .02 1.00
83. There Are Two Sides to Every Counter .02 1.00

COOPERATION

41. Cooperative Youth Songs .15
42. Consumers' Credit, and Producer's Credit, Hall, I. O. of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. .15
43. What Cooperation means to a Depression-stricken Ann (By L. B. Chase) .03 2.00
44. What is the Cooperative League .03 2.00

MONTHLY PUBLICATIONS

Cooperation—(In bundle lots, $7.50 per hundred)
Subscription, per year (foreign, $1.50)
Review of International Cooperation (Publ. by the I.C.A.) .10 1.50

BOOKS

The following books are recommended as containing the best discussion of the modern Cooperative Movement. They may be ordered through The League, postpaid on receipt of price.

80. What is Consumers' Cooperation, 1827. .75
82. "What Cooperation means to a Depression-stricken Ann (By L. S. Chase) .10 3.00
83. "What is the Cooperative League .03 2.00
84. "What is the Cooperative Store .02 1.00
85. "When the Whistle Blown" (story, by Bruce Calvert) .05
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102. "To Mothers .02 1.00

First Call for Cooperative Congress

Tentative plans are being laid for the Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League this fall. Present discussions suggest the time around the middle of October and the place as the Central West.

Looking ahead and visioning the possibilities in a Congress of all Cooperative Purchasing Associations in the United States brings a real inspiration. We are in the midst of compiling a complete mailing list of all Wholesale Cooperative Purchasing Organizations in every State. Large and small the number is truly amazing. Already we know that there are over fifty such associations. To say that they should have a common meeting place in a Cooperative Congress is, under the conditions of today, hardly to be questioned.

Now is the time to begin planning definitely to attend the Congress. A tentative program will soon be prepared. Suggestions are in order and are welcome. What subjects should be covered and what speakers should be invited to speak? Let us know what you think.

Preliminary invitations to attend will soon be sent to all Cooperative Purchasing Organizations in the whole United States. Further news bulletins will follow and every effort made to bring together the whole Consumers' Cooperative Movement. Whether already members of the League or not, every one will be invited. Present members are urged to assist in inducing non-members to attend.

The whole Cooperative Purchasing or Consumers' Cooperative Movement must have its own special meeting place and there discuss its common problems and opportunities. We must make plans to capitalize the growing consciousness that the final answer for America is not Political Protection but Consumers' Cooperation.
We were recently told by a New England farm leader that the first time he ever ate oleo was when he was in New England and realized it was the most butter. Farmers must soon see that they can alone solve their own problems by helping organize their city customers into consumer cooperatives to deal direct with their marketing cooperatives and eliminate the toll taking middleman. They then can have all of their own milk, cream and butter they want and their city customers can too.

We're finally backing up on the retail price fixing provisions of the codes. First it was milk and now the service industries with others to follow. Fortunately we're learning fast. But why did we have to experiment? Great Britain proved by 500 years of trial and error that it was a foolish thing to attempt to regulate retail prices by a political organization.

The Brookings Institute brings Technology up to date with another investigation. This time we are told that our present productive capacity could give America twice as much as we are producing. Then why don't we start the wheels rolling? It's because our present producer-finance-political organization is inefficient. Political management direct for the purpose of conducting the business for which those who are chosen are best fitted? Those business everyone wants which everyone wants and which are uniform like water, electricity, etc., should be owned by the public but the public should direct and control it as a business and not indirectly as a political organization.

In that case public ownership would be efficient but it would also be owned and controlled by the consumers as a whole and really another form of consumers' cooperation or public cooperative ownership.

But while there are some forms of business which cover certain areas in which all the people living in those areas want the same form of services, in general most businesses do not manufacture goods which all the people in a given area want. How should such factories be owned? Well there is a simple alternative to producer ownership, factory ownership and public ownership. It is not experimental. It has 90 years of successful proven experience behind it. It starts at the retail outlets. The people who live around a store, oil station, etc., join together and buy shares and own it cooperatively as consumers. Then such associations join together in a larger area and form a wholesale and then, when the demand for any one product is sufficient, the wholesale starts a factory to produce that product and the factory is cooperatively owned by the consumers to supply their needs. They create the demand, the factory supplies it. The money is as follows:

The idea of the workers owning the factory is like changing to a modern automobile after having used an old horse and buggy.
**The Coming Fascism**

By J. P. Warbasse

**PROFITISM is doomed. Fascism is the final desperate attempt to keep alive the expiring profit method of business. This is by the use of force, by the destruction of the last relic of democracy, and by the creation of a non-parliamentary dictatorship. Regardless of the established standards of political and social justice, fascism violates the rights of all individuals and transgresses the tenets of all institutions which do not sustain the profit motive. In order to win adherents, it appeals to mass prejudice by asserting its uncompromising devotion to the preservation of the national interests, and by proclaiming itself as a defensive measure. It calls upon the people to unite to abolish factions and discontented parties, to make their nation great by the solidarity of its people, and to fight against all other forces capable of winning adherents away from its standards.**

These people who resist encroachment upon their established privileges and rights against ruthless and cruel methods. The unyielding are destroyed.

Fascism appears before the profit system collapses and loses control of the property, the credit, and the armed strength of the government. By the use of existing parliamentary means, with the addition, it captures the weakened government and the control of the economic affairs of the national Back of it all, as fascism sets up its dictatorship, stands big business, and the armament trust that financed fascism was promoted by big business, and attempted to destroy communism. As fascism grows out of the injustices sponsored by the great by the solidarity of its people, and to fight against all other forces capable of winning adherents away from its standards.

In Germany, it was not only big business but the international bankers and the armament trust that financed the fascist movement. German fascism was promoted also by the iniquitous Versailles Treaty and by the restless ness and discontent of youth which grew out of the injustices sponsored by that treaty.

The situation in Great Britain illustrates this trend toward fascism. As keen as the British are for their parliamentary government, there is still more powerful invisible government which the nation maintains. The property-owning class and the business interests are growing anxious and concerned for the safety of things as they are. Their recent attacks upon the co-operative societies, their zeal for military expansion, and their promotion of reactionary legislation are all significant. A well organized and financed fascist movement is rapidly developing under Sir Oswald Mosley’s leadership. He has frankly asserted that the co-operative movement must be stopped. He has organized his thousands of followers along military lines. He parades his army of black shirts through the streets. His minions are drilled in offensive tactics. His female supporters are taught jiu-jitsu. From his barracks he issues his military orders. He commands armored cars and airplanes. He sends his companies into the corners of England to create disorder, to break up meetings, and to break open heads. This occurs when people are assembled in the interest of non-profit business or to take measures to protect themselves from the oppressions of profitism.

Opposition to this rapidly growing British fascism consists itself in appeal to the British Government to curb this menace to British liberties. The British take their government seriously. They are destined to a terrible disillusionment. When the crisis comes, and the Government has to take sides with fascism or democracy, it will be found casting its lot with Mosley. The Prime Minister and the King will be found just where Victor Emmanuel and Hindenburg are found. It is a false hope for cooperators to look to the British Government for the protection of their constitutional rights; that is not the policy of the British Government, and never has been. Its support is for the dominant propertied class.

In the United States our approach to fascism is through the National Recovery Administration. It will serve for a while, but we may expect the time to come when a more rigorous form will appear. The NRA might easily be converted into a dictatorship. Already it is in the air.

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**The Petroleum Institute holds meetings to plan stopping the cooperatives. The various State Petroleum Committees resort to coercive measures to hamper cooperative societies. I have in my files NRA documents signed by these administrative bodies, containing threats, false statements, and suggestions of coercion.**

In New England the big oil corporations refuse to supply cooperatives with petroleum products and insist that they are illegal businesses, all in defiance of the provisions of the NRA. Members of the bodies established by the Petroleum Code are now frankly talking of coercive measures to put the cooperatives out of business. They are excited, vehement, and on the verge of hysterical outbreak. This was evidenced at the recent hearing of the cooperatives before the Petroleum Administration. The oil men ceased to reason and to employ the usual parliamentary methods; they defined the Government and frankly stated that, in the interest of their profits, they would...
How Cooperation Saves Chicks Which Profit

Hatching Lost

By Thad Macy

Hatchery Dept., Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Inc.

Cooperative hatcheries are teaching our Indiana people that quality protection can best be obtained through cooperative production, in which the control is in the hands of the chick buyers, that is, the consumers, rather than the hatchery men or the producers of the hatching eggs.

Here in Indiana some 600 hatcheries are operated under all sorts of policies by some 600 different people, primarily for their own profit. These hatchery men have been in competition with each other, and quite a few of them have been trying to take business away from their competitors by using all sorts of schemes to reduce their costs of production rather than to improve the quality. Such hatchery men have established a very low standard of baby chick, as well as a low price; and it has been difficult for baby chick buy-

ers to buy chicks that would be free from disease.

Dr. A. J. C., Indiana State Veterinarian, in speaking on the conditions of the hatching industry, points out that, in the territory where studies have been made, 33 1/3% of all chicks hatched die during the first three weeks, and that practically all of this loss was due to Pullorum (B.W. D.). Dr. L. P. Doyle of Purdue says that a high proportion of the better flocks in Indiana are afflicted with Paralysis.

The cooperative-minded poultrymen in Indiana finally decided to see what could be accomplished through the operation of cooperative hatcheries. In 1934 four hatcheries were started under the supervision of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Inc. The hatchery at Indianapolis kept an accurate record of the number of chicks that died during the first three weeks of their lives. At the end of the 1933 season, we found that our 326 customers had lost, during the first three weeks of the chicks' lives, an average of only 1 1/4% of the chicks they had purchased. So far during 1934, our average customer has lost less than this. These are the facts shipped to us by him. Compare this with the average loss of at least 25% of all chicks hatched!

This outstanding record was accomplished through a combination of proper blood-testing and proper hatchery operation. The Farm Bureau hired the best veterinarians available for blood-testing work and used only the methods of blood-testing that are recognized as being the most accurate, and then, to preserve the value of this test, they denied themselves any extra profit by refusing to do custom hatch for the general public in the incubator rooms.

All of these hatcheries and all of the flocks are under the supervision of the Indiana Live Stock Sanitary Board. Up until the time we started, only four Indiana flocks had been declared free of Paralysis Disease. However, at the end of our first year's operation, we ourselves had five Pullorum-free flocks and were able to start the first Indiana Pullorum-free hatchery.

These outstanding results were accomplished because our policies were developed entirely for the protection of the baby chick buyers and not for the immediate profit of flock owners or hatchery operators.

We have also developed a cooperative plan for the control of Paralysis in poultry. Dr. Doyle states that the average loss from this disease runs all the way from 10% up to 70% each year.

Here is the plan: First, we work with the most cooperative-minded flock owners; then, we describe carefully the symptoms of the disease and show the flock owner pictures of birds that are afflicted. If he declares that he has never seen anything similar to this in his flock, we then inspect the flock; and, if we find no signs of it, we risk the flock and begin buying hatching eggs from it, and strictly supervise the introduction of new blood. However, we keep an accurate record in the hatchery of those flocks from which this flock go; and we explain to the chick buyer that this disease can be spread in some other way than through the hatching eggs and urge the chick buyer to keep the chicks separated from all other poultry and contaminated surroundings, and to report to us if Paralysis appears at any time later in the life of the chicks, so that we can trace back through our records and eliminate the parent flock responsible for the trouble.

In starting our hatchery at Indianapolis in 1933, we were forced to discard over 80% of the flocks we inspected because of symptoms of this disease alone. However, the reports from our 1933 customers indicate that we were almost always correct in our original diagnosis. Only a very few of our original flocks have had to be discarded because their chicks developed this disease.

We are confining our work to only three breeds of chickens. It is our desire to standardize the breeds of poultry. At present, our average Indiana community is supporting fifteen to twenty different breeds of chickens; and we believe that, if we can encourage these communities to standardize on a very limited number of breeds, the re-
sulting uniform poultry products could be more satisfactorily marketed through cooperative channels.

It is our plan to have key trap-nested breeding flocks owned by our cooperative association, rather than by individuals; because the ownership of such flocks will involve quite a bit of financial and labor investment, and the owners would be very proud and jealous of them. If these flocks were owned by private capital, their owners might be very hesitant to report any faults or flaws that might appear. If lameness developed in some of the birds, they would be very likely to imagine that this was of no importance and refrain from reporting such early symptoms of Paralysis and quite a bit of damage might be done; whereas, if these key breeding flocks are owned by the entire cooperative group, no single individual would lose much and such faults would, therefore, be more quickly reported.

The success of our program so far is reflected in the demand for our product. In 1934, we have expanded until we have a total hatchery capacity of 389,000 eggs (over 24 tons); and, in spite of the fact that 1934 has been one of the poorest hatchery years known, we have had extreme difficulty in meeting the demand.

When we started, only 6 of the 60 hatcheries were cooperating with the Indiana Live Stock Sanitary Board by using their plan to control Pullorum; but, as soon as the stand was quite a few other hatcheries woke up and climbed on the band wagon; and now at least 60 are attempting to operate under their plan. It seems that whenever a cooperative establishes any worthwhile improvement, the old line industry will try to copy the improvement and cash in on the publicity that the cooperative furnishes.

A Challenge to the Leaders of America

THE challenge of any movement in the advancement of civilization is to the leaders of every period; to those individuals who hold the confidence of the people.

In a period of widespread economic distress such as we are now experiencing, the crying need is for leadership which points the true way out. The pressure for action and leadership is intense today, because of the astounding paradox of poverty and misery amid abundance. Whereas in previous emergencies the cry of the distressed has been for some one to find a remedy for real scarcity or physical disaster, today the millions who are at present to the bulging warehouse houses, the crops being plowed under and destroyed, and power machinery which would ease the burdens of their lives standing idle and rusting from disuse. The challenge of the led to their leaders is not the usual plea for succor by the unfortunate. No observing person can fail to detect a growing demand for something more than min-
the only sustained motive for efficient production under private capitalist ownership. The essence of this problem of production is distribution through Consumers' Cooperatives.

The organization of Consumers' Cooperatives represents a practical program upon which leaders of all faiths and political points of view may unite. It is a program of action which can be utilized independently by the smallest group in the most remote section. But the movement will not carry itself. Intelligent and energetic leadership must carry the burden of organization.

If the present leaders do not respond, then we must expect the confusion and distress which attends the struggle of the masses of people must and will be served. Will the leaders of American thought and action accept the challenge of cooperative action? On this vital question of the ownership and operation of industry by and for the consumer, the masses of people must and will be served. Will the leaders of American thought and action accept the challenge to lead forward to economic democracy by advocating and assisting in organizing Consumers' Cooperatives?

Midland Makes Progress

The 1933 gross business of the Midland Cooperative Oil Association, which was reported at the annual meeting on June 11-12 as $1,073,566.57, represented a gain over the preceding year of 21.4%. In the first four months of 1934, the dollar volume jumped 126% ahead of the same period of 1933.

Important changes in the Midland were made at the annual meeting, which had a ni-dropping attendance including delegates from 60 member associations in Minnesota and Wisconsin.

The name was changed to "Midland Cooperative Wholesale, Inc." This was done to distinguish the Midland as a wholesale unit from the retail cooperatives, and also to allow for future expansion in other lines than oil.

The articles of incorporation were amended to make the Midland a stock corporation. Previously it had been a membership organization. This change is to strengthen the financial set-up. What are now certificates of indebtedness will be converted into preferred stock under the new set-up.

A new district, in Wisconsin, was recognized through the election of a director, E. P. Karau, of the Wisconsin Cooperative Institute with 56 students in attendance. A. E. Kazan and A. E. Kazan were reelected.

President of the Eastern States Cooperative League held at West Quincy, on June 2nd, was reflected by the fact that 32 societies were represented as compared with 19 at last year's convention.

The first session convened on Sunday morning with Meyer Robinson, President of the Eastern States Cooperative League, in the chair. An address of welcome in which he expressed a hope that the convention would bring to light better ways of joint action was delivered by Frank Aaltonen, Manager of the United Cooperative Society of Quincy.

The outstanding feature of the brief reports by the delegates was the optimistic viewpoint stimulated by increases in membership, sales, and branch expansion experienced by all in the past year.

In addition to the gratifying report that the Eastern Cooperative Wholesale had successfully avoided the red flag in supplying a wide variety of commodities, Leslie Woodcock, Manager of the Wholesale, outlined two propositions for expansion. The first of these is an endeavor to take advantage of the experience of the Mid-Western societies in distributing petroleum products cooperatively and endeavoring to organize the field in New England. The second is the addition of a field man to the staff in order to facilitate the organization of new cooperatives and to handle the numerous requests already received for such aid.

The opening address of the afternoon session was made by E. R. Bow- en, Secretary of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A. Taking as his theme Cooperation as the way out for America, he pointed out that capitalism has failed in its final claim—the ability to produce. He graphically traced the submergence of the consumer asMidland's ownership was developed further and further. With Economic Autocracy and Political Democracy proved as incomparable, the threat of fascism becomes dangerously real. Mr. Bowen challenged the Cooperative Movement to awaken American consumers to the cooperative solution of our difficulties.

Three significant developments seem to emerge from the mass of facts and figures reported by the delegates. First of these is a shift in cooperative interest, in which the foreign language groups have succeeded in bringing in other nationalities to the extent of 50% of their trade. The increased interest on the part of American-born persons was felt to be a most encouraging sign. The second development is the policy of the established societies to give hitherto managerial and financial aid to any groups of 100 persons signifying their intention to organize a Cooperative Society. The third new departure was revealed in the report of Kenneth Pohlmann of Fitchburg. Plans for a Junior College in Fitchburg threatened to fall through and several Cooperators stepped into the breach. The result was the organization of a Cooperative Institute with 56 students and 7 qualified professors teaching a variety of courses from English to Cooperative Theory. Plans for the coming year are still more ambitious.

The delegates elected M. Rubinson, M. E. Arnold, F. Aaltonen, W. Perna, T. Kurn, and directors of the Eastern States Cooperative League with terms expiring in 1936. J. Suomi, who had been elected to continue the term of S. Osborn, was re-elected Secretary of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A. Taking as his theme Cooperation as the way out for America, he pointed out that capitalism has failed in its final
After adopting a resolution expressing the gratitude of the delegates for the splendid hospitality of the United Co-operative Society of Quincy and the excellent dinner served by the Cooperatives, the convention adjourned leaving everyone impressed with the renewed energy demonstrated by the delegates and hopeful for the prospects of the coming year.

Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative

TWO days spent at the offices of the Ohio Farm Bureau in Columbus in contact with leaders in all of its departments is too short to make all the personal acquaintanceships one would wish to gather more than a fraction of the cooperative inspiration and information possible, but still long enough to become filled with admiration for the great progress in practical cooperation already made there and for the many visions of the future of cooperation.

Cooperative marketing preceded cooperative purchasing as is usual with farm organizations, but Ohio farmers now realize very keenly that they are consumers as well as producers and are organizing accordingly.

Dr. A. E. C. Lang, Agricultural Economist of the Massachusetts State College, speaks of Murray D. Lincoln, Executive Secretary of the Ohio Farm Bureau as "one of my boys" and is rightfully proud of his progress. Mr. Lincoln tells of having a phone call one day when in school suggesting that he investigate a new position in Connecticut to be that of Agricultural Agent. There he had his first experience with cooperative buying. His instructions were to "find out what the farmers wanted." They wanted to buy fertilizer cooperatively, so he helped them do it. From there he went to Myron T. Herrick's bank in Cleveland as Agricultural representative of the bank, which led to an association with "Uncle" George L. Cooley, the former Secretary of Agriculture of Ohio, also an ardent cooperator.

Within the short space of eight years the Farm Bureau Mutual Automobile Insurance Company has developed to the place where it has assets of over three million dollars. It now covers six other states as well as Ohio. The Sales Manager, L. J. Bennett, was met as far away as Burlington, Vermont, out on business in that state, which they have under contract with the Vermont Farm Bureau.

Under the aggressive leadership of Silas Vance, the Ohio Farm Bureau Service Company is now rapidly developing a state-wide cooperative oil program. Mr. Vance is "selling" his members hard on the advantages of their hook-up with the National Cooperatives, Inc., through the Ohio Farm Bureau News, of which James R. Moore is Editor. Mr. Moore is putting a Cooperative Buying or Consumers' Cooperation "right out in front" in recent issues of this interesting publication.

It is not possible to include the names of all those in this progressive organization and their story, but sufficient to say that it appeared that every one was a cooperative buying enthusiast. Cooperative education is a real part of their program. All employees have attended a cooperative school during the past year. Other plans are being formulated for a much wider program for reaching the membership and for training leaders. Arrangements are made with two colleges for alternating work and study periods for a limited number of students.

Leaders Generate Enthusiasm

Dr. A. E. C. Lang, Agricultural Economist of the Massachusetts State College, speaks of Murray D. Lincoln, Executive Secretary of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, the president of which is Perry L. Green, former Secretary of Agriculture of Ohio, also an ardent cooperator.

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Learning Cooperation

Central States Cooperative League Announces School and Institute

Attractive folders announcing the Fifth Annual Summer School of Cooperation, also the First Annual Institute of Cooperation are now being mailed out by the Central States Cooperative League. This year an Institute offering an advanced course is being held in addition to the regular Summer School. The Summer School opens Monday morning August 20th, and the Institute Sunday evening August 26th.

Both will be held this year at Druce Lake Camp, near Waukegan, Ill. The camp has a kitchen and a dining hall, dormitories, an assembly hall, swimming pool, tennis courts, athletic field, boating and everything else for the vacationer.

The charge for tuition, meals and room for the Summer School will be $10, for the Institute $12.

Splendid programs as well as a real vacation are offered to those who attend. Write the Central States Cooperative League, Bloomington, Ill., for announcements and programs.

A Big Number

The June 16 issue of "The Cooperative Builder" was a humdinger—24 pages. For size this stacks up well alongside "The New York Times," and for content, far above. Many societies ordered bulk quantities for distribution to members. Art Katka, who was recently hired by the Central Cooperative Wholesale as fieldman, aided and abetted this distribution of a real educational newspaper.

Subscribe to Cooperation

Every Manager and Director and as many members as possible of every Cooperative Association in America should be a subscriber to COOPERATION, in addition to the publication issued by his or her own wholesale. It's the official journal of the National Movement with International News. It is needed by every official to keep in touch with the greatest movement of all time.

"Look Out—The Co-ops Are Coming!"

An article by Oscar Cooley in Advertising and Selling under the title of "Look Out—The Co-ops Are Coming!" suggests that business prepare for the oncoming change to Consumers' Cooperation that is rapidly on the way. The article has provoked an editorial in The Christian Science Monitor which says, "...Both the article and the editorial are significant— one in a business journal and the other in a religious paper."

America's Answer—Consumers' Cooperation—now reprinted in pamphlet form—many orders being received

"America's Answer — Consumers' Cooperation" which is now reprinted in pamphlet form is evidently filling a real need for a comprehensive, condensed summary of the whole Consumers' Cooperative Movement judging by the orders being received. Quantity orders from 10 to 5000 have been placed by individuals and retail and wholesale cooperatives.

"Most convincing, up-to-date and forceful piece of cooperative literature we have ever read" is one of the many expressions in the letters received. Order a quantity for your friends and members. 25 copies 7c each; 100 copies 6c each; 1000 copies 5c each.

Two Unusual Cooperative Articles Worth Reading

Quite significant evidence of the growing realization that the final way out is democratic economic consumers' cooperation was to see two splendid articles on this subject appearing in liberal journals in the same week. You will surely wish to read them in full.

"Consumers, Organize!" is the title of the consumers' cooperative article by H. M. Kallen in The Christian Century of June 27th. It is an unusual article to appear in a prominent independent religious journal. It has in it such stimulating statements as these, "We are born consumers and only become producers. As consumers the interests of each of us are harmonious with the interests of all our fellow citizens. We become producers because we are forced to. The defense of the consumer cannot be left to the state. The consumer must defend himself by taking care in person of his interests as consumer. Any existing society such as a church or a trades union or a fraternal order can constitute itself a consumers' cooperative. It need not wait on revolution or on building socialism in order to bring benefits to its members. It brings them immediately with organization and they increase day by day and step by step and bit by bit. It is high time that the consumers' cooperative movement receive the encouragement of wider support."

Sydney R. Elliott, Editor of Reynolds Illustrated, which is described as the only democratically owned and controlled newspaper in Great Britain, describes "A British Bulwark Against Fascism" in the June 27th issue of The Nation. It is one of the best articles in recent years in an American Magazine telling the story of the British Cooperative Movement. The concluding sentence thrilled me with its prophetic suggestion. "Ten years hence Consumers' Cooperation in Britain may celebrate with its centenary the achievement of economic democracy at the center of a world empire."

After reading this article you may also wish to order one or both of the two pamphlets published by the Cooperative Wholesale Society, Ltd.— "Told in Brief" which is a historical story, and "The C.W.S. of Today," which is a current description of this great organization. Order from the League Office—price 10c each.

The Canadian Cooperator

Brampton, Ontario, Canada

The organ of the Canadian Cooperative Movement, owned and conducted under the auspices of The Cooperative Union of Canada.

Published monthly 75c per annum.

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Central States Cooperative League
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STUDY CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12, N. Y. C. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

EDUCATIONAL PAMPHLETS

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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Model By-Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society</td>
<td>Hough, E. M.</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Model Bye-Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society</td>
<td>Hough, E. M.</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Credit Union Primer (By Ham and Robinson)</td>
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<td>Model Lease for Cooperative Apartment House</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Model Co-op State Law</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>“When the Whirls Blow” (Story, by Bruce Calvert)</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>How a Cooperative Differs from Ordinary Business</td>
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<td>Butter (League emblem), 1/4 inch diameter</td>
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<td>Sign or Transparency of League Emblem: Green and gold, 8 in.</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>To Mothers</td>
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<td>Little Lessons in Cooperation</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>The Most Necessary Thing in Life</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>What Cooperation means to a deppression-sick America</td>
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MONTHLY MAGAZINES

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<td>Cooperation—(In bundle lots, $1.50 per hundred)</td>
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<td>E. T. Hughes</td>
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<td>C. E. Chase and Schlink: Your Money’s Worth</td>
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<td>J. A. Whitehead: Whiteside Cooperation in Rochdale</td>
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<td>A. J. Kress: Consumers’ Cooperative Societies, American edition and notes, 1932</td>
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<td>F. Prof.: Handbook for Members of Cooperative Committees</td>
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<td>Holyoke: Rochdale Pioneers</td>
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<td>Hough, E.: Consumers’ Cooperative Movement in Great Britain</td>
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<td>J. H. Cooper: Marketing of Farm Products</td>
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<td>A. J.: Capitolism, Cooperation Committees</td>
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STUDY CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION

Plan Now to Attend the Cooperative League Congress

By a strong majority vote the place of the Cooperative League Congress has now been set as Chicago and the dates as October 18, 19 and 20. Now let's every one help make it the greatest get-together of the Cooperative Purchasing Movement ever held in this country.

It is suggested that the first day of the Congress be devoted to education in Consumers' Cooperation. There have been many significant developments in educational programs during the last two years. Cooperatives that have not adopted such programs need to learn from the lips of those who have as to their success. Many forms of educational activities are now increasingly possible; since consumer interest is growing with increasing economic pressure.

The second day can well be devoted to commercial cooperative discussions. It is planned that those who discuss each subject will also act as committees which will meet prior to the regular sessions of the day and thereby enable those who are particularly interested in any one development to meet those who are most active in that line as well as to further formulate a presentation of the subject before the Congress as a whole.

The last day might be given over to the laying of future plans for a broader program and better financing of the work of The League, the election of Directors, Officers, etc.

All this should form a real foundation for a significant meeting which will be far more than just a chance for speakers to talk with an audience to listen, but will definitely produce results, not only in increased inspiration, but in useful information and practical organization.

Consumers' Cooperative members and friends, on to Chicago October 18, 19 and 20th!
An organ to spread the knowledge of the Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, in voluntary association, purchase and produce for their own use the things they need.

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EDITORIALS

Perhaps the Swiss have an improvement on the cooperative slogan "Self-help through mutual aid." They say "Self-help through mutual action." At least, it seems to the writer more of an effective suggestion than "aid." The great need in America is mutual consumer action.

Competition sets "every man's hand against his brother." Consumers' Co-operation joins every man's hand with his brother's for united self-help. There are no race, creed, political or vocational class lines in the Consumers' Co-operative Movement.

Reading about Consumers' Co-operation without actually doing something actively to educate others and to help organize cooperative associations will, in the end, drug one into inaction. You cannot know the truth and do nothing about it and grow.

Fifteen hundred college graduates recently assembled at a "Choosing a Career" conference to hear business and banking leaders tell "How They Succeeded," while these leaders are unable to operate the economic system which they at present control in such a way as to provide jobs for those to whom they spoke. A demonstration of personal success and social failure.

The education of America to the growing adoption of Consumers' Co-operation must come through the "passing of the torch" on by those who have already learned of the movement to others now in economic darkness. Missionary zeal is constantly needed. How can a cooperator who holds the truth fail in a time like this when freedom is again at stake and dictatorships threaten democracy, to be aggressively active in promoting the one great voluntary democratic non-class economic movement of Consumers' Co-operation which will free the world forever of war and poverty and bring us all into a world of peace and plenty?

Horace Mann's final message was this, "I beseech you to treasure up in your hearts these my parting words: Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity." Probably the greatest victory of all time, as peace after war, and after the regeneration of the world is to help develop a Consumers' Cooperative retail organization in his own home community and thereby "clear his own little corner of creation."

An illustration of the inability of consumers to protect themselves by "pressure" applied to the present capitalistic system is a news item relating to a man and wife picking a shoe shop in New York City that sold the lady a pair of shoes, but is reported to have refused to do anything about the matter when she discovered that the shoes did not fit. Mr. and Mrs. Consumer vented their indignation by walking to and fro in front of the shoe shop, exhibiting placards telling the passersby the details of their dispute. They were given an opportunity to "tell it to the Judge," and were fined that amount plus court costs for two days in jail. It is to be hoped that in the end they will learn that "they cannot control what they do not own," and that the real way to get the shoe service they want is to organize a cooperative shoe store, instead of by making a futile protest about the sins of the present capitalistic system.

Clarence Darrow says that we have "bowed down before the Baal of Steel." 'Busting' the steel trust didn't succeed. Political regulation of the steel trust doesn't succeed. Taking over the steel trust by organizing retail cooperatives, then wholesale, then starting cooperative production, is the one way for the people to gain ownership. "Jersey Milk Price Is Increased One Cent — 75% of Increase Will Go to the Producer and the Remainder to the Consumers' Cooperative Associations." The only reason is that consumers generally have not yet developed sufficient confidence in themselves to organize and become their own cooperative distributors.

R. G. Tugwell, Under-Secretary of Agriculture, speaking of processing and distributing businesses, urges that "the consumer who refuses to pay his price for defying society's rules..." is to "be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity." Probably the greatest victory of all time, as peace after war, and after the regeneration of the world is to help develop a Consumers' Cooperative retail organization in his own home community and thereby "clear his own little corner of creation."

A Consumers' Cooperative shoe store is to organize themselves as consumers that the one real way to gain justice and achieve their desire through cooperation. They are not yet developed sufficient confidence in themselves to organize and become their own cooperative distributors. One of the Rochdale Pioneers is said to have declared that "credit is the invention of the devil" and it may easily prove to be true if unwisely used. True cooperation is self help.

Dillinger is dead. Public enemy No. 1 of yesterday is gone. He has paid the price for defying society's rules. But Samuel Chotzinoff says "It seems to me that Dillingers will be more common among us, in one form or another, so long as private property exists." He attributes Dillinger's depredations not to personal pathology, "He was not a killer in the "pressure" sense of the word," he says. "His depredations were motivated by the simple and universal desire for the accumulation of property and his murders were the inevitable outcome of interference with this desire." He then includes in the same class "a goodly number of persons who, as captains of industry, display an extraordinary inking to the lives of their human obstacles. If these most often stopped short of murder, it was only because they could achieve their desire through the use of the less sensational political and economic weapons at hand."

Our flare for the sensational is for the moment satisfied. But now let us highly resolve again that we will rebuild this world into a Cooperative Economic Democracy where our sons and daughters of to-day will be able to borrow it readily should induce them to organize and become their own cooperative distributors. The greatest problem before cooperators in America is how to teach workers how to gain justice. They must organize themselves as consumers and take over the ownership of the means of production and distribution and then employ themselves.
The Consumers Should Move Forward

By J. P. Warbasse

In Great Britain, early in its cooperative development, many societies had a number of stores. The numbers have increased so that some societies have several hundred stores in a single city. The federation of cooperative societies to form wholesales resulted in consolidating multitudes of multiple stores into a combination of national chains. The first chain stores were established by the cooperative societies of Great Britain. This development was long before the formation of capitalistic chain stores. The chain store is of distinctly cooperative origin.

In the United States the development of the profit chain store has been one of the striking phenomena of our business methods. In some business circles it is called "cooperative." These stores follow after their fashion, the cooperative method. The independent storekeeper is being squeezed out of business by the chains, but he is making a last effort to save his business by adopting the method of federation first practiced by the cooperatives. This is the natural trend. Profit stores now attempt a limited imitation of several cooperative methods. They not only form chains, but many of them pay a "dividend" or rebate to their consumer patrons. This development of profit business is one of the expedients resorted to with the view of keeping alive the profit business. Consumers together. Their buying power is vastly increased. It is said that the new organization will be called the Food Distribution Association. This is true in some cases. They are joined by a combination of他们都 within a single great organization, and is failing to yield profits. Their termination need not be sought by means of government ownership; the cooperatively organized combinations may themselves "buy the business" and give it back to the former owners.

The consumers, who thus keep on year after year building out profit business, would do as they have done throughout the years and sell them back to the manufacturer and the retailer and obtain the profit. And the fate of big business. Little business expands, and the retailer amount to twenty-five per cent, then every four years the consumers have bought out the business and given it back to the former owners.

The consumers should move forward. Consumers' ownership is passing to profit business. But it does not apply to cooperative business. Cooperation does not make profits; it makes savings. And the law of savings is utterly different from that of profits.

This is a way to solve this chain store problem. Consumers' ownership would change its motive and place it beyond the reach of the law of diminishing returns. When the chain store business is largely gathered within a single great organization, and is failing to yield profits, its continuation need not be sought by means of government ownership; the cooperatively organized combinations may themselves "buy the business" and give it back to the former owners. They furnish the money that keeps it alive. They supply the funds which replace everything that they take from the chain store, and to that they add an extra amount called the profit. If the profits of the manufacturer, the wholesaler, and the retailer amount to twenty-five per cent, then every four years the consumers have bought out the business and given it back to the former owners.

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must grow from something small to something big. No proof is at hand to encourage any other assumption. All attempts to begin big have failed. All of this we know. But we know also that bigness was not the reason for the previous failures. The reason was lack of education of the members, lack of efficiency, and neglect of cooperative principles.

No cooperative principle prescribes the size of a cooperative society. When a society is so big as to militate against democracy of control then it must be subdivided into local groups of members who can meet and know one another and discuss their problems in an intimate way. These local groups in turn send representatives to a central meeting.

It cannot be said that the consumers have not the ability to prepare themselves for big business. They have already passed through the stage of small business into big business. They have been occupied in business for nearly a hundred years, and that business has now grown big.

The established cooperative movement of every country stands ready to give its support to any one effort of the consumers to serve themselves cooperatively. This is something profit business neither can or would do for its kind. Cooperation helps cooperators to succeed.

How Consumers' Cooperation Adjusts Supply to Demand and Increases Demand

Extracts from an address given by I. H. Hull, General Manager of Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n, Inc., and President of National Cooperatives, Inc., at the American Institute of Cooperation, Madison, Wisconsin—July 12, 1934.

Our discussion will have to do with a plan which, without further control, automatically fits production to consumption, and which at the same time, systematically and effectively tackles the far more important job of increasing demand by building up the ability to pay.

Our operations have proved that just as far as we buy cooperatively, just so far the surplus problem is solved, and supply and demand are put in balance. For several years we have bought and produced our lubricating oil requirements cooperatively. These organized consumers know accurately what their requirements are, and they contract accordingly. The refinery then adjusts his production to a certain demand.

The Tennessee Corporation, large manufacturers of commercial fertilizer, have never had any other way of selling except through the cooperatives. They have no sales organization. Their distribution has become so stabilized that they know what to plan for. Contrast this situation with that existing among other companies, where half a dozen factories each build up an inventory, each expecting to exploit a given field, each later to be disappointed because competitors had taken part of the business they had planned to get. Some day when consumers of agricultural products are completely organized, they will go to organized producers and buy future supplies, and fit supply to demand in the same way.

Let's also see what can be done by cooperative buying to increase demand by putting more money into the pockets of the consumer.

First, cooperative buying has been able to eliminate much of the profligate waste which resulted from free competition in business. They tell us that the petroleum industry in 1931 spent $455,000,000 for operating filling stations that were not needed. Under free competition other persons had to divide their business among all competitors, it was necessary to support five times as many stations as needed. Where a community such as Greeley, Colo., puts in its own filling station and properly supports it, that community can save three-fourths of the cost of dispensing gasoline. As a result, Greeley, Colo., for seven years has returned to its members in the community, more than twenty cents of every dollar that those members have spent for petroleum products. That station is now doing the business that would ordinarily be done by half a dozen stations and the savings are divided. That distributed money adds to the buying power of the community.

In Indianapolis, because of the wasteful system of distribution all last winter, 3½c hogs reared in the form of pork chops for 28c a pound. Milk which nets the farmer about 3c a quart delivers to my home for 12c a quart. I pay six milk drivers going down my street though I patronize only one. I wish urban consumers would understand some cooperative buying and see what might be done to eliminate waste. The 28c price of pork chops reduces consumption and destroys the market demand for hogs. The market for farm products needs as direct a route as possible to the ultimate consumer. If organized buying of farm products could effect savings such as organized buying of gasoline effected at Greeley, Colo., then the elimination of waste would greatly increase consumer demand and the increased demand could have only one effect, namely, to strengthen the farm markets.

But there is another way in which cooperative buying builds demand. The term "demand" as economists seem to use it means want plus buying power in the same individual. Our old system of business has built up lots of buying power and it has built up lots of wants, but it has so divorced the two that the folks who want, can't buy and vice versa. It doesn't help the demand for wheat and pork for one man to have a buying power of $7½ billion dollars, while ten million families want bread and pork they cannot buy. The old system of business has failed to bring about the balance of wants and distribution of buying power. That seven and a half billion dollar buying power adds almost nothing to the nation's demand for goods. If it were owned by the 6,000,000 farmers of the U. S., it would mean an added buying power of $1,300 to each and every farmer. Nearly everyone today has wants of at least that amount.

Cooperative buying distributes earnings among the large group of people who constitute the potential demand for goods. Competitive profit business has resulted in an inordinate concentration of wealth which has had the effect of strangling the buying power of the great mass of people where most of the wants are. Cooperative buying is the natural answer.

Cooperative buying solves all these mysteries. It fits supply to demand. It reduces waste and increases demand all because it starts with the foundation of all economic life, human wants. Being controlled by the people who have the wants and recognizing that wants are mere torture until acquired, it instantly sets into motion those processes which result in bringing about a better standard of living for that great group of people who constitute the market for most of the world's goods.

Economically, buyer control of distribution is well nigh without flaw. Practically, there is much to do. We are not yet fit for democratic control of business. Our educational program must be developed before we can go far, but with all of the difficulty of development, it is no more difficult, and certainly it is far less uncertain than other proposed recovery plans.
Why Co-op Milk

One of the most acute problems of the urban consumer is milk. It is the most necessary of food products and the most perishable and susceptible to contamination. All of the natural difficulties involved in assuring an adequate and sanitary supply of milk to our cities have been complicated by the practices of the large milk distributing concerns which have increased the "spread" between the price to the farmer and the retail price to the consumer to a point where large numbers of consumers cannot buy enough for their needs and the farmer cannot remain solvent on his income from his product. In addition, the quality of much of our milk is below any reasonable standard and the methods of handling it are such that its food value is seriously impaired. How, in this enlightened age, can such a situation exist? What events have brought us to a point where producers and consumers both suffer while middlemen grow rich?

The First Stage—Direct Distribution by the Producer. Originally in small communities the farmer delivered his milk directly to the consumer, an ideal arrangement in small communities.

The Second Stage—The Advent of the Independent Distributor. As the demand for milk increased, the farmers increased their herds, the farmer himself could not tend his cattle and deliver his milk, and a division of labor became necessary. The farmer had the advantage of employing a man to distribute his milk or of withdrawing from the distribution field. In most cases the farmer chose to bring his milk to a city to be distributed by another person or company. As sanitary standards became more stringent and pasteurization was required, the distributor in most cases assumed this function, although a higher quality product would have been assured by pasteurization at or near the farm.

The Third Stage—Growth of Marketing and Distributing Organizations.

First the producers organized into marketing cooperatives by which they were able to maintain some control over prices and quality. When the distributors were unorganized, the organized producers exercised considerable control over the milk market. But, in time, the distributors organized for monopolistic control to protect their interests. Being large corporations with important political and banking connections, they were able to influence legislation favorable to their position, to dominate the producers' marketing cooperatives, and by extensive propaganda to deceive the consumers. As a result, milk distributors have been able to pay large salaries to executives and large dividends on watered stock during a period when both consumers and producers, the only important parties to be considered, are suffering acutely. The quality of the milk is poor in many cases; the farmer receives too little to live on; the consumer must pay so much he can't buy all he needs.

What are the Alternatives—What is the Final Answer?

1. Governmental Regulation—Since we are not yet organized as consumers economically as well as we are as citizens politically, we have been compelled to turn to governmental regulation to attempt to alleviate the difficulties of the present situation. Attempts thus far have been experimental and not particularly effective. As to distributors: it has been fixed, but costs of production have not, with the result that feed costs have increased as well as milk prices. Whether government action can produce and maintain a fair spread between the two is still uncertain. As to distributors: public opinion would seem to be the government's principal possible means of preventing excessive salaries and huge profits and watered stocks. How effective it will be is uncertain. As to labor—the bargaining power of milk drivers and others will be increased only by still more definite control by the government over payment of wages.
Madison, Wis., Turns from Political Regulation to Consumers' Cooperation

Perhaps there has been no city in the United States where the philosophy of Political Regulation of Industry and Finance has been more definitely prescribed as the solution of our economic ills than in the city of Madison, Wis. This fact was discussed energetically there long before it became apparent to most people that neither a producers' nor a financial organization of society could longer function in the interests of all the people without some form of social control. The remedy proposed was political regulation of railroads, insurance companies, banks, industry, etc. Generally speaking, the majority of the people of America are still in this stage of thinking. But to progressive thinkers the failure of political regulation to attain the result in the operation of monopolistic organizations in the people's interests is clearly apparent.

It is accordingly of more than ordinary interest to find that in the city which has been the center of political regulatory thinking that a definite start has now been made toward the economic organization of consumers into cooperatives. The Madison Consumers' Cooperative, Inc., is already a reality and functioning in the distribution of milk. It deals directly with a producers' milk marketing cooperative. It is operating a small pasteurizing plant and is already using two delivery trucks.

A local consumers' cooperative oil station is under way in a definite form. A sufficient number of members have signed up and enough stock has been paid for to make it possible to enter into a lease for a location and to make contracts for equipment. It is probable that by the time this issue reaches our subscribers the station will be in operation.

Thus the proof grows of the increasing development of America's thinking from Producer to Financial and on through to a Consumers Economic Organization.

Cooperation in Action

Off to Europe and the I. C. A. Congress

Our first Cooperative Tour, which it is hoped will be an annual affair, began on July 28th when the S. S. California sailed with Messrs. Hull, Fledgern, Eustis and Partridge and Mrs. Eustis and Miss Hottenson on board. Their first stop will be in Denmark, then Sweden, Finland, Russia and back to Great Britain to the International Cooperative Alliance Congress in London which meets Sept. 4 to 7th. Dr. Warburg sailed later direct for England. Prof. H. M. Kallen will return to London from Geneva. His first Cooperative Tour, which it is hoped will be an annual affair, began on July 28th when the S. S. California sailed with Messrs. Hull, Fledgern, Eustis and Partridge and Mrs. Eustis and Miss Hottenson on board. Their first stop will be in Denmark, then Sweden, Finland, Russia and back to Great Britain to the International Cooperative Alliance Congress in London which meets Sept. 4 to 7th. Dr. Warburg sailed later direct for England. Prof. H. M. Kallen will return to London from Geneva.

We shall have detailed first hand reports from them at our own Congress in Chicago in October and shall be greatly interested in knowing how Cooperation is really faring under Communism and Fascism and its probability of preventing dictatorships in Great Britain, Scandinavia and other politically democratic European countries.

Japanese Cooperators Pay League Visit

Two unusual visitors at The Cooperative League office were Mr. Makato Tsuji, Secretary of the Central Union and Mr. Masakazu Saji, Manager of the Central Bank of Cooperative Societies of Japan. Both were charming and keen gentlemen.

In Japan the Cooperative Purchasing, Marketing and Banking Movements are all federated into one Cooperative Union. The movement there is still largely agricultural. The principal commodities purchased cooperatively are fertilizer, feed and heavy oil for lighting purposes. Raw silk, rice and cereals are marketed cooperatively. The Cooperative Union has 100 employees with six branches: organizing and educational, research, auditing, cooperative college, publishing and general managing.

We have heard so much about the activities of Kagawa in applying ethics to economics in that country that we were tempted to ask more specifically about him and the reply was that, while the people did not understand so well what he preached, they did understand what he practiced. Perhaps our ethical leaders in America might get a suggestion from this fact.

Capitalists Praise Cooperation

Cooperators will find an article entitled "Sweden—A Nation of Marked Economic Stability" which appeared in the New York Trust Company both gratifying and amusing. When profit business goes out of its way to record the social benefits of a movement that seeks to eliminate profit business—that's news! Mentioning "the marked success of certain experiments in social planning and cooperative organization" the article goes on to recount the relatively fast recovery of Sweden as compared with other countries. Cooperation shares the laurels for Sweden's remarkable stability with the existence of state monopolies and a managed currency. "The Cooperative Union is acknowledged to be in a strong position and to contribute notably to the economic stability of the country; total sales, in 1933, amounting to 152,480,000 kronor in 1932."

An editorial in the June 13th issue of the Illinois Union Farmer is of interest for the same reason. It recounts the tale of a hostile business man who was forced to study Cooperation because of its effect on his business. Having looked into the matter he stated that he found its principles perfectly sound and couldn't understand why farmers and consumers generally didn't organize to run their own businesses. They agree with him most heartily and the only answer seems to be that those of us who have arrived at this conclusion must make a still greater effort to show the light to our neighbors.

Human Nature Still Bad In Cooperative Cafe

(From New York Evening Post)

At the Consumers' Cooperative Cafe, way downtown on Thames Street, they make quite a thing out of saying good-by to free competition. It's really awfully cheap, the food is of the very best, and the people who work there seem transported with the joy of being in such a forward-looking movement.

In the midst of bright-colored decorations in red, blue, grass green and yellow they have nursery-like pictures on the walls with the legend, large lettered, "WE ARE COOPERATORS." You know? But at the side of these idealistic sentiments comes a grim reminder that old human nature is still at work even there. "Watch your coat," warns another sign. "We are not responsible for personal property."

Conflict Consolidates Cooperation

An article in a recent issue of the cooperative consumer reports the organization of a National Cooperative Council in Holland for the mutual protection of agricultural and consumer cooperatives against the attacks of private traders. Six Cooperative Unions are affiliated with the Council for issuing general propaganda and general fostering of cooperative principles. Until recently relations between these two groups were not of the best. The significance of this union should not be wasted on American Cooperators. Now is the time for the American movement to consolidate the gains it has made in both fields.
Co-op Tires Repeat

Although it is harder to show consumers a saving through the use of quality goods than through average goods at lower prices, it is essential that Cooperators succeed in this educational task. Quality is equally as important as economy, and should be a constant goal of Cooperative enterprise. The report of the Peetz Consumers Oil Company of Colorado is encouraging as a recognition of the standards being maintained in the production of Co-op tires. Manager Williams has received a renewal of the Logan County contract for tires and tubes as a result of the service given by the last order under trying conditions.

Increased Interest in Consumers' Cooperation at New England and American Institutes of Cooperative

The growing interest in Cooperative Purchasing, as it is generally known among farmers, or Consumers Cooperation as it is more commonly spoken of among business people, was clearly evidenced at the New England Institute of Cooperation held in June at Burlington, Vt., and at the American Institute of Cooperation at Madison, Wis., in July. Both of these Institutes are more largely the meeting place of those interested in the Cooperative Marketing Movement. At both Institutes Mr. Bowen, General Secretary of the Cooperative League was called upon unexpectedly to present the subject of Consumers' Cooperative Education and Organization. The discussions shown that marketing men are becoming consumer conscious as well.

Ohio Plans Wider Educational Program

In Ohio, the name of Vera Elsinger is spoken with deep respect. She had been set up by the Ohio Farm Bureau as the project of Consumers' Cooperative Education to present the students a new appreciation of the philosophy of life. She had stepped up with this, beyond his own organization, beyond cooperative insurance, he saw Cooperation as a whole. No matter how busy, he was always available to consult and advise with the directors of The Cooperative Institute of Cooperation, of which his Society was one of the largest members.

This country needs more men of his caliber—men who never seek to turn their own or any other's work, to earn a fair wage, never seek money for themselves; men who put their whole heart and strength into building solidly and firmly the corner of the cooperative structure that has been assigned to them.

Northern States Cooperative League Plans Annual Convention

St. Paul will be the place and the Farmers Union Central Exchange the hosts of the 13th Annual Convention of the Northern States Cooperative League on Session 10 and 11. The Convention will meet at the St. Francis Hotel. This Convention brings together leaders and members of wholesale and retail cooperative associations in the North Central States. Delegates, members of cooperatives and friends will undoubtedly make up a large attendance.

Idaho for Cooperation

"Yours for Cooperation and more of it" are the closing words of a letter from Mr. C. A. Olisson of Meridian, Idaho, in which he tells of the growing movement in that State. "Co-op oil stations are taking hold here fast," he says, "with the valued assistance of Howard A. Cowden, President of the Union Oil Company (Cooperative) of North Kansas City and Secretary of the National Cooperative League, Inc." He asks for further information about Co-op stores and asks: "Many of our people are fast becoming convinced that the safest and sanest way out of this 'Living Hell' is through the Cooperative Movement applied to all our needs—a Great Cooperative Commonwealth."

Cooperative Institutes Increase

Recognition of the need for getting the Cooperative Philosophy across to the children of Cooperators, Cooperative employees and young people who have gotten a spark of enthusiasm for Cooperation from one source or another is revealed by the numerous institutes being conducted this summer. A report of its Sixth Annual Institute shows by the Cooperative League Eastern States Cooperative League reflects the stimulation such educational activities give to the movement. Twenty-two students entered Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N.Y., during the week of July 15-21 for a series of lectures and discussions on Cooperative theory and practice. The need for the growth of the cooperative societies to enlarge the scope of their activity came out in the discussion of Cooperative distribution of oil products led by Waldemar Niemela. This same note was struck in the discussion following Miss Phyllis McMillan's description of the Grange League Federation Exchange of N.Y. State which is at present serving its 95,000 members with feed, fertilizer, seed and paint. The high point of the Institute was reached in the four closing lectures by Dr. Warbasse, President of The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. Reflecting his deep understanding of Cooperation and enlivening his clear analyses with illustrations from his wealth of personal experiences, Dr. Warbasse gave the children the Association of the real significance of the Cooperative Philosophy and the vast possibilities for its practical application. The Northern States League has just completed two very successful Institutes. The first began on June 18th at Maple Plain and was attended by 41 students. The second began on June 24th at Moose Lake and over thirty students were in attendance. Twenty-seven organizations helped to support the institutes by subscriptions. Not satisfied with the limited treatment necessary at one week Institute, the League is planning an eight week Cooperative Training School in cooperation with the Central Cooperative Wholesale to be held in Superior, Wis., starting September 27th. With 320 fifty minute class periods in which to discuss the many phases of Cooperation it is anticipated that gratifying results will be attained.

Having run one week courses in four previous years, the Central Cooperative League is called upon to supplement this year's Summer School, which is scheduled for the week of August 20-26 at Druce Lake Camp, Waukegan, Ill., with a First Annual Institute from August 26 to September 1. The purpose of this innovation is to give those students who have attended previous schools an opportunity to do more advanc in work.

There can be no doubt that if the Cooperative Movement is to build for the future the education of young people in the ideals, practices and problems of Cooperation is the most essential function of its present leaders.
New Cooperative Literature to Read

The Annals May 1934
The May issue of the publication of the American Academy of Political and Social Science marked a red letter day for the buying public when it appeared with the title “The Ultimate Consumer.” Even more startling was the sub-heading “A Study in Economic Illiteracy.”

Of particular interest to Cooperators is the article by Dr. Warbasse, President of The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. and member of the Consumers’ Advisory Board at Washington. Under the title “Consumers’ Cooperative Methods” Dr. Warbasse briefly outlines the history of the Movement and the implications of its philosophy. He emphasizes the difference between profit business and Cooperation and between voluntary association and the coercion of the state.

The timeliness of this publication makes it especially valuable to those who desire to keep up with the very latest in economic thought. It can be obtained from the Academy’s office, at 3457 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Dr. Warbasse’s article is reprinted and can be secured from The Cooperative League at a price of 10c.


In Toyohiko Kagawa the International Cooperative Movement has a staunch champion. Kagawa upholds Cooperation not primarily from the point of view of a labor leader or social reformer, though he is both, but rather as a Christian. He believes that support and promotion of the Cooperative Movement is the logical outgrowth of a Christian’s profession to follow the principles of Christ in economic living. To him Cooperation is the Economic Program for Christianity.

Nowhere does the challenge of this Japanese Christian prophet ring more fearless and true than in his recent book, “Christ and Japan.” He does not hesitate to chastize the Christian Churches for their moral blindness and he declares with convincing power the great hope of the redemption of the economic order to be found in the fearless application of Christian principles through the Cooperative Movement.

Kagawa absolutely rejects exploitative capitalism and materialistic communism as a pattern for the social order, and says, “The only way out is a conscious uniting of forces and a cohesion without coercion, such as characterizes the Cooperative Movement, and the placing of production, exchange, distribution and consumption on a non-exploitative basis. Then and only then can both the individual and society be given a fuller, finer life.”

It is the vast unmitigated needs of the common people and the tragic apathy of the Christian Church which leads Kagawa to lift his prophetic voice and point to the Cooperative Movement as a redeeming agency for both the people and the church. He says, “This Cooperative Movement, rooted as it is in love and brotherhood, is unquestionably an out and out Christian Movement.”

Kagawa envisages not only the achievement of economic security through the cooperative movement but also a reversal of the conflict between production and consumption. “When we utilize on an international scale, and in the interests of world peace, the benefits derived from such cooperative effort, war will be definitely eliminated from the life of mankind.”

In the voice and life of Kagawa a new church is in the making. A church whose members will pour their religious passion into the development of the Cooperative Movement. “The churches,” Kagawa writes, “would turn from minor religious issues and would correlate their forces and unite in setting in motion a brotherhood movement which would express itself through cooperatives.” Such churches would be the answer to Kagawa’s mov-
STUDY CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12, N. Y. C. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

EDUCATIONAL PAMPHLETS

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<tr>
<td>Consumers Cooperation in the United States (Illus.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>90. Story of Todd Lane (By Stuart Chase)</td>
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<td>91. The Coop. Movement, J. H. Dietrich</td>
<td>.40</td>
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<td>92. Cooperation Here and Abroad, H. T. Hughes</td>
<td>.20</td>
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<td>93. A History of Cooperative Methods, J. P. Werbassen</td>
<td>.60</td>
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<td>94. America’s Answer — Consumers Cooperation, E. R. Bowen</td>
<td>.60</td>
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<td>95. Sweden, Where Capitalism is Controlled, Marcus W. Childs</td>
<td>.25</td>
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<td>96. The Economic Foundations of World Peace, Tryffoio Kages</td>
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ORGANIZATIONAL PAMPHLETS

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<tr>
<td>How to Start and Run a Rochdale Cooperative Store</td>
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<td>How to Start and Run a Consumers’ Co-op Club</td>
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<td>Model By-Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative</td>
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<td>Credit Union Primer (By Ham and Bohlen)</td>
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MISCELLANEOUS

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<td>Whare Ah! If (Pamphlet)</td>
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<td>Whitmore, B.: Cooperative Credit Differs from Ordinary Business</td>
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<td>Bottoms: Paragraph (League emblem), .5 in. diameter</td>
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<td>Sign of Transparency of League Emblem. Green and gold, 3 in. diameter</td>
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<td>Stock Certificates, engraved, with League Emblem, Bound in books of 100, Red, Gold, or 300, Blue</td>
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<td>Little Lessons in Cooperation</td>
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<td>What is the Most Necessary Thing in the Problem</td>
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<td>Consumers’ Credit and Productive Societies, Bull. 211 of the Bureau of Labor Statistics</td>
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MONTHLY MAGAZINES

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<td>Review of International Cooperation (Pub. by the I. C. A.)</td>
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BOOKS

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<td>What is Consumers Cooperation in America</td>
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<td>Credit Union Primer (By Ham and Bohlen)</td>
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<td>Your Money’s Worth — A Book for Consumers</td>
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<td>What is the Cooperative Store</td>
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<td>The Cooperative League Now Includes in Its Membership Most of the</td>
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You will find in this issue of COOPERATION the complete Preliminary Program of the Ninth Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League. Consumers’ Cooperation recognizes education as the first necessity for the promotion of the Movement and accordingly the entire first day will be given over to Education in Cooperation. Practical illustrations will be discussed in detail by those who are personally engaged in Cooperative Educational Work. Many of the presentations will cover new developments since the previous Congress and will be highly interesting and suggestive.

Cooperative Business in the principal forms in which it is developing most rapidly in America will be discussed the second day by many of those who have qualified the best authorities in each line. Practical plans will be presented. The last day will be given over to the business of The Cooperative League itself. A more definite Program of Action will be formulated to take advantage of the rapidly growing interest in Consumer Problems.

Most clearly it is true that “Our day has come in America” as was expressed with great feeling by one of the older Cooperators who has fostered the growth of the Consumers’ Movement in America over the last 25 years. The obligation rests heavily on the leaders of every Cooperative Purchasing or Consumers’ Cooperative Association to join hands in a great unified drive to promote economic democracy and prevent dictatorship of the few. The Cooperative League now includes in its membership most of the larger Cooperative Associations. Come to Chicago and meet and hear the great leaders of the Consumers’ Cooperative Movement in America present from their own personal experience information and suggestions of vital concern to every Cooperative Association. Listen to the reports from the Delegates who have just returned from the International Cooperative Alliance Congress in London. Plan to attend. Invite others. These will be three days of significance to each Association represented at the Congress, to the entire Cooperative Movement and to America as a whole.
EDITORIALS

In England new members are joining the Consumers' Cooperative Movement at the rate of one for every minute of the working day. And doing it voluntarily, because it pays.

Prof. John Graham Brooks, who was one of our American Cooperative Prophets crying in the wilderness when we were still in our wild speculativeness, said in the early twenties that the "social order is threatened on two sides—by a raw communism and a reactionary capitalism." How well we can now see what he then saw ahead. The job of cooperators is to help steer the American Ship of State straight ahead to economic democracy and not let it be wrecked on the shoals of dictatorialism on either side. Presenting this fact as the problem of America and enlightening people as to what such countries as Great Britain and Scandinavia are doing in developing along Cooperative lines as compared with Russian Communism on the one hand and European Corporatism on the other, is perhaps the best way to start others thinking their way through to Consumers' Cooperation as the world's way out.

Cooperation pays dividends in one's heart as well as in one's pocketbook.

Senator Borah waxes indignant over the menace of monopolies and their effect on the "little man." Yet the little-man private business is just as much a part of the present profit system as the monopoly. It's not size that's the fault. It's private ownership of the means of distribution and production whether little or big. Both must be replaced by Collective Cooperative Ownership for either the little business or the big monopoly to serve the people.

"Private business engaged in handling farm products at a profit cannot be regulated into decency," says A. W. Ricker, Editor of The Farmers Union Herald of St. Paul. Attempts to control as citizens of a political state must give way to ownership by consumers of a self-contained economic organization of society. Our present hodgepodge system of production—political organization is only a temporing attempt to alleviate the agonies of a dying economic order, and make it as livable as possible while we build the new Cooperative Democracy.

"Real farm relief will come through cooperative business."

President Roosevelt almost said Consumers' Cooperation again. "Only by turning our individual desires into unselfish and practical cooperation can civilization grow." He also clearly stated the difficulty in achieving cooperation—"It is just as hard to achieve harmonious and cooperative action among human beings as it is to conquer the forces of nature." Finally he expressed the Cooperative ideal. "We are concerned with the multiplication of wealth through cooperative action—wealth in which all can share." Perhaps he knows there's something beyond the New Deal, and was suggesting it.

Cooperators need zeal. You must feel with all your heart that you belong to society.

Secretary Wallace observes: "The appalling thing about consumers is not only the slowness with which they get moving, but their incredible religiousness when they do get started." While Consumers' Cooperation has started slowly and haltingly in America, it is now on a solid foundation of Rochdale principles, practical business experience and accurate auditing, and when the age of our wholesale cooperatives is considered, the speed of their growth is amazing.

Perhaps the Consumers' Cooperative Movement may now "get a break," as the saying is, into the ranks of labor to a greater degree as a result of the declaration of the American Federation of Labor that "when private business is not able to resume its functions then society is forced to take over the means of production." Let Cooperators everywhere now use this declaration to persuade labor that the way for society to take over the means of production is by starting Consumers' Cooperative stores, oil stations, milk dairies and other retail cooperative associations.

We must be conscious cooperators. Many who join cooperatives think only of immediate cash benefits. Cooperation is a new way of life—a new economic system that will recover ownership for the people.

"Why, that's the answer, isn't it?" said a young college graduate recently after we had poured cooperative principles into his mind for about fifteen minutes. You folks have the real answer, haven't you?" queried a middle aged man who came into the League office recently. Both are new converts. Both are new converts to the great statue of the workingman who stands at one end of the banquet hall. No one explained how these future products of industry were to be distributed. No one pointed his finger and said, "Here!" The mandate that night was the old, reckless voice of 1929: "Produce!"

"The Consumer was not represented that preview evening. No one pointed to the great statue of the workingman at the end of the banquet hall. No one explained how these future products of industry were to be distributed. No one pointed his finger and said, "Here!"

The newspapers some time ago were full of stories of the great banquet given by Mr. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., President of the General Motors Corporation, at the opening of the Century of Progress. Henry Goddard Leach, Editor of The Forum, says that "speaker after speaker—scientist, industrialist, educator—painter with realism and with imagination the images and immeasurable possibilities of future production. Their hearers applauded, but they were not quite satisfied. For there was no answer to the silent question of the ultimate consumer. How are these products to be distributed? The mandate that night was the old, reckless voice of 1929: "Produce!"

"The Consumer was not represented that preview evening. No one pointed to the great statue of the workingman at the end of the banquet hall. No one explained how these future products of industry were to be distributed. No one pointed his finger and said, "Here!"

Mr. Peterson, Vice-President of the fair, could have told them about his experience in Sweden, where consumers control their own production and distributions are something read about in the foreign news. Mr. Knudsen, Vice-President of General Motors, could have spoken about the cooperatives in his ancestral Denmark.

Some of our foreign born citizens have become among our greatest physical scientists and have taught us how to produce plenty—but others have taught us how to distribute through Consumers' Cooperation and make this wealth of abundance available to all. All honor be to these pioneer cooperators. May we, their followers, spread the knowledge more rapidly and widely, now that the soil has been made fertile by the plowing of economic pressure.
WHAT does American labor endeavor to secure through the power of union organization? Fred Bramley, the late great Secretary of the Trades Union Congress in England, said that the purpose of trade unionism was "to secure by continual association and by means of collective bargaining a standard, or minimum, rate of wages; a reasonable working day or week and other conditions of employment necessary for the protection of the health and economic interests of the worker."

Two things, then, the worker seeks to secure through union membership:

1) A sufficient money income, and leisure for rest and enjoyment.

2) Conditions of work which are pleasant and healthful.

But have the labor union members, or anyone else who works for wages in this country, ever achieved these two objectives in any substantial form or for any sustained period? The answer is emphatically no. Certain groups of organized workers have, in periods of so-called prosperity, achieved a high level of money wages in comparison with the unorganized workers. But employment for all wage earners is variable, and the prices which they must pay for the products of their own labor prevent the achievement of real prosperity for the working classes even when the wheels of industry are turning briskly.

So long as the workers must pay many times the cost of production in order to buy for themselves the work of their own hands, it must be abundantly evident by now that the securing of higher money wages alone will not secure for the worker the standard of living and enjoyment which would be reasonably possible for all people if the economic system under which we live were designed to serve the many rather than the few.

Producers Organizations Not Enough

Working people of America, you have been living in a dream. While you have derided the acquisitive tendencies of the overlords of the industries which employ you, you have suffered the privations of the working man peaceably in the hope that some day you would escape from it and be permitted to enjoy the good things of life which, even in an era of abundance, our economic system will dispense to but a few people. When you have seen it fit to join with your fellows in a labor union, you have sought objectives which are amazingly akin to those pursued by the forces which employ you. You have been content to struggle merely for an increased money wage. But you do not live with money; you live with the things which money buys; you have been producer minded. You have ignored the fact that the primary strength of the great numbers of workers is in their power as consumers.

Consumers’ Organizations Necessary for Real Power

Workers as producers are scattered through a great many different occupations within which they compete with one another for the chance to work. But workers as consumers have identical interests and through the power of numbers they could control the markets of the world.

When will the workers of this country start fighting with both hands—with their buying power as well as their labor power? When will workers start using a two-edged sword? Workers have organized the servant side of their lives through labor unions. When will they organize the master side of their lives through consumer cooperatives? It is said that the workers who organize only as producers and not as consumers are likeipay only which would give back to the enemy at the end of each week all the goods, guns and prisoners which were gained during the week. Yet when the worker toils through the week for a wage which is won by hard bargaining through his union and then proceeds to spend it so that a substantial share of it goes into the hands of people who contribute little to the products which the worker buys, but who exact a heavy profit from the transaction—the same people with whom he struggled to gain his money wage—he has literally given his winnings to the enemy!

A Producers’ Capitalistic Order Requires Scarcity

Almost from the dawn of history there has been real scarcity of most of the things which man needs for a reasonable enjoyment of life. Consequently it was logical that all forces should be directed toward the production of consumers’ goods. In recent years, however, it has been evident that production has reached or exceeded a point at which consumers can buy all of the product of industry and agriculture. The remedies of almost every agency—industrial management, labor organization, and the federal government—all have looked to the excess of production as the prime cause of the difficulty and have taken steps to destroy usable goods and restrict production facilities. It is not a new procedure. Industry has practiced sabotage for a deliberate means for maintaining a favorable market under an economic system which permits a profit to be made only when scarcity exists. But never before has planned sabotage become a part of our established national policy.

Workers of America, what does this producers’ philosophy of scarcity mean to you? There are two alternatives: (1) Automatic power production machinery will operate on a restricted basis and you will either live on a dole or starve; or (2) the clock will turn back fifty years, the automatic power production machinery will be discarded so that the small amount of work can be distributed among the many workers, and you will once again become a slave to long hours, hand tools, and low wages. There is no other alternative under the producers’ philosophy of returning prosperity by creating artificial scarcity.

A Consumers’ Cooperative Order Distributes Plenty

There is another alternative if you will awake to the power you have as consumers. As consumers you may organize to buy collectively the things which you need through cooperative buying clubs, stores, oil stations and dairies. Several retail associations can then own a wholesale, wholesales in turn start factories. Then you have a cooperative democracy. Industry then is run wholly in the interests of the people who make the things which they need. You call it a fantastic dream? It is a reality in several European countries. In Great Britain the Cooperatives serve nearly 7,000,000 members and employ 260,000 people. In Denmark, Sweden and Finland the cooperatives are in the forefront of the business interests. In America the farmers are awakening to the fact that their dominant interests are consumer interests and they are organizing now extensively into consumer cooperatives. Workers are becoming aware of their consumer interests and are organizing cooperative restaurants, stores and apartments.

Organize Consumers’ Cooperatives!

You cannot really control what you do not own. Organizing as producers does not give you ownership of industry, organizing as consumers recovers ownership of industry for the people. Why only fight as producers for the crumbs of capitalism—why not fight also as consumers, take over the ownership of industry, employ yourselves, and get the full results of your labor?

Leaders of American labor, this is a challenge to you. It would seem to the fullest extent the interests of your members you will leave no stone unturned until their power as consumers is organized and made effective through Consumers’ Cooperatives.

A Challenge to Labor

Organize as Consumers as Well as Producers!
Program of the Ninth Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A.

Hotel Morrison, Chicago, Illinois, October 18, 19 and 20, 1934

Thursday, October 18th
Dr. J. P. Warbasse, President, The Cooperative League, Presiding

Registration of Delegates and Visitors—8:30 A. M.

Morning Session—10:00 to 12:00
President's Address—Dr. J. P. Warbasse
Secretary's Report—E. R. Bowen
Treasurer's Report—M. E. Arnold
Election of Committee on Committees and Nominations

Afternoon Session—1:30 to 5:00
General Subject—"Consumers' Cooperative Education"
1:30 to 2:30—Cooperative Youth Education
Speaker (20 min.)—Anthony Lehner, Educational Director, Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association
Discussion (10 min.)—C. C. Palmer, President, Noble County Farm Bureau
2:30 to 3:30—Cooperative Member Education
Speaker (20 min.)—George W. Jacobson, Midland Cooperative Wholesale, Inc.
Discussion (10 min.)—Helen Hayes Lanto, Northern States Women's Cooperative Guild
3:30 to 4:15—Cooperative Employee Education
Speaker (20 min.)—George Halonen, Educational Director, Central Cooperative Wholesale
Discussion (10 min.)—V. S. Alanne, Executive Secretary, Northern States Cooperative League
4:15 to 5:00—Cooperative Journalism
Speaker (20 min.)—A. J. Hayes, Editor, The Cooperative Builder
Discussion (10 min.)—James R. Moore, Editor, Ohio Farm Bureau News

Evening Session—7:30 to 9:30
7:30 to 8:30—Teaching of Consumers' Cooperation in Schools
Speaker (30 min.)—Dr. M. M. Cosdy, St. Francis Xavier University.
8:30 to 9:30—Education of the General Public in Consumers' Cooperation
Speaker (30 min.)—George Kern, General Secretary, The Cooperative Union of Canada

Friday, October 19th
Mr. H. V. Nurmi, Vice-President, The Cooperative League, Presiding

General Subject—"Consumers' Cooperative Business"

Morning Session—9:00 to 12:00
9:00 to 10:00—Cooperative Oil and Farm Supplies
Speaker (20 min.)—Howard A. Cowden, President, Union Oil Co. (Cooperative)
Discussion (10 min.)—Ralph Ingerson, Manager Oil Dept., Farmers Union Central Exchange
10:00 to 11:00—Cooperative Stores
Speaker (20 min.)—Ivan Lanto, Sales Manager, Central Cooperative Wholesale
Discussion (10 min.)—C. McCarthy, General Manager, Farmers Union State Exchange
11:00 to 12:00—Cooperative Milk
Speaker (20 min.)—Roy Larson, Vice-President, Franklin Cooperative Creamery Ass'n
Discussion (10 min.)—J. Liukku, General Manager, Cooperative Trading Co.

Afternoon Session—1:30 to 5:00
1:30 to 2:30—Cooperative Insurance
Speaker (20 min.)—Murray D. Lincoln, Executive Secretary, Ohio Farm Bureau Federation
Discussion (10 min.)—V. S. Peterson, Secretary-Treasurer, Cooperative Insurance Ass'n
2:30 to 3:15—Cooperative Business and the New Deal
Speaker (20 min.)—Quentin Reynolds, General Manager, Eastern States Farmers' Exchange
Discussion (10 min.)—Dr. J. P. Warbasse, President, The Cooperative League
3:15 to 4:00—Cooperative Credit Unions and Banking
Speaker (20 min.)—Roy F. Berggren, Executive Secretary, Credit Union National Extension Bureau
Discussion (10 min.)—C. H. Laselle, Manager, Insurance Department, Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association
4:00 to 4:30—Cooperative Buying Clubs
Speaker (15 min.)—A. W. Warinner, Executive Secretary, Central States Cooperative League
4:30 to 5:00—Cooperative Auditing
Speaker (15 min.)—Werner E. Regli, Director, Auditing Dept., The Cooperative League

Evening Session—6:30 to 9:30
Cooperative Banquet—Dr. J. P. Warbasse, Toastmaster
Kagawa and Cooperation in Japan—Helen M. Topping, Secretary to Toyohiko Kagawa
What I Saw and Heard in Europe—I. H. Hull, President, National Cooperatives, Inc.
The Congress of The Cooperative League, which will be held in Chicago on October 18, 19 and 20, will be the Ninth Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A. The Cooperative League is the official United States organization of the Cooperative Purchasing or Consumers' Cooperative Movement. It is affiliated with the International Cooperative Alliance. The President of The Cooperative League is Dr. J. P. Warbasse, who is also a member of the Central Committee of the International Cooperative Alliance and of the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration. The Directors are Officers and Members of Wholesale and Retail Consumers' Cooperative Associations.

America is now beginning to learn that we are consumers as well as producers. Dr. LeRoy Bowman says that when the problem was production in a day of scarcity we had to organize as producers to solve it; now the problem is consumption in a day of plenty and we must organize as consumers to solve it. Dr. Horace M. Kallen says that in the economic organization of society of the future we shall be joined together with our fellows as consumers to own the means of production and distribution, and as producers to represent the interests of each vocational class.

Through Consumers' Cooperation we shall build a Cooperative Democracy of, by and for the people. Its principle of "one person, one vote" will give us economic democracy. Its principle of "minimum interest on shares" will give us security instead of speculation. Its principle of "distributing the surplus savings as dividends on the basis of patronage" will give us a just distribution of wealth.

Consumers' Cooperation is a world-wide movement. Its growth is particularly evident in the older political, religious and educational democracies of Europe, such as Great Britain, Scandinavia, Belgium, Switzerland, etc. In a number of these countries over half of the families are members. There are successful cooperative stores in the United States which are over twenty-five years old. Among farm groups cooperative purchasing has grown rapidly until within the last ten years there have been organized over fifty cooperative wholesale associations handling farm supplies and insurance. Now that we have reached the end of our frontier stage in America the Consumers' Cooperative Movement is certain to grow rapidly in this country.

The coming Congress offers an opportunity for leaders and members of Cooperative Purchasing Associations as well as all friends of Consumers' Cooperation throughout the United States to meet and discuss cooperative educational and business problems and to join together for the wider and still more rapid promotion of this great Movement which will bring Peace and Plenty to ALL. Plan to attend without fail.

Cooperative Democracy Unlike the Political State

By J. P. Warbasse

It is often asserted theoretically that a widely expanding cooperative society, involving all or most of the population in any country or district, would not be different from a socialized State; and that the ultimate result of cooperation is the same as that of socialism. This assertion is without foundation in fact.

The State is an ancient institution, running back to remote antiquity. It was created by force, not potential and privileged individuals for the purpose of protecting their priviledges. It is based on force controlled by a minority class for the purpose of protecting their privileges against the interests of the majority of the underprivileged. Without force, without the army, police, and prisons of the State, the unemployed would take what they believe to be their rights, and the State would fall. Historically, when the State has fallen, a new regime, again seeking privilege, has arisen and a new State has appeared. The State rests upon the coercion of the individual, and the masses of individuals are easily susceptible to coercion.

A few of the more highly civilized States, such as Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland, are moving slowly toward a cooperative form of government; but they still have a long way to go. Many European municipalities are doing the same. But on the whole, the political State is true to its ancient mission.

The socialization of the State expands its functions, and places in its hands the administration of things as well as the government of people. But the socialized State, even though it carry on all business, is still the State—coercive and resting upon force for its existence. Nor is there any ground whatever for the assumption that the socialized State will abrogate its power and abolish itself. The State is an aggregation of political office holders. They breed a numerous progeny. They do not resign. The good are tenacious of office because they want to go on doing good, the bad because they want to go on doing bad. To stay in office is the commanding urge of the office holder.

The State has a tradition. It was created for the office holder and his economic bosses. It continues true to this tradition in every country in the world today.

The State is compulsory. Everybody is required to be a citizen of some State. He cannot escape. And the State that controls the individual compels him to do what its minority class wants him to do. That dominant class is composed of those who own and control the property and the credit. In the socialized State, the controlling class is the official class.

The cooperative society has an utterly different tradition. Its beginning is voluntary. People join it from choice and are elected to membership. They are not born in it. Cooperation is not for the government of individuals. Its function is the administration of things. It is wholly economic and unpolitical. With one vote guaranteed to everybody, democracy of control is assured.

Cooperation is not communal ownership nor commonwealth. It represents private ownership. The members put in their private capital to form a pool for its better administration. They can take out their capital when they wish and quit their membership, and thus prove their private ownership.

The member of the cooperative may criticize his society. He may unite with other members and plan for its dissolution. He will not be imprisoned for subversion nor executed for treason. Co-
operative societies do not depend upon physical force for their perpetuation. They promote no wars. They build no armies for aggression. As they expand the functions of the political State decrease. Cooperation makes for the fading away of the State.

The cooperative society is different from the socialized State because of its different origin, methods and purpose. It would in the end create a cooperative democracy wholly concerned with supplying the needs of its members. Cooperative totality is not by winning elections or battles, but by training its experts as it grows. Its members learn by doing. The means employed for its growth are the same as the end sought. Its expansion is based on experience.

Cooperation grows while it competes with profit business and the political State. It succeeds only as it proves itself superior to these. Unlike the socialist State it does not aim at total ownership. It is always stimulated by the challenge of competing profit business. Profit must set up its standards and compete with cooperation. Cooperation would not deny itself this challenge. Cooperative societies have succeeded and grown up in the present of competition. The existence and the threat of such competition prevents their sinking into indifference and mediocrity. Cooperatives do not desire one hundred per cent cooperation. If any one method can supply the needs of the people better, cooperation must give way to that method. The aim of cooperation is not the carrying out of a philosophy but the best interest of the members.

It is said that where the best or the only source of supply is through the cooperative society, the individual is virtually coerced into patronizing cooperation. This is a different sort of compulsion from that which is imposed by a political organization for the essential purpose of domination. The cooperative society is a natural end result of a series of perfections. Cooperation surpasses the less perfect methods, eliminating them one by one as it proves its superiority. Coercion and domination are neither end nor means. As to the use of force, it is no part of the program of cooperation. It is a system of the cooperative society, as in the social club, certain rules of conduct are agreed upon. The member in joining approves of these rules. But he does not have to join if he does not like the rules. He may take steps to change them as he will. They are not for the protection of a privileged minority. They are not laws but methods agreed upon for the mutual advantages of all the members.

In the event of cooperative expansion approaching totality, the regulation of traffic and the control of dangerous and unsocial individuals becomes necessary. This is carried out in the spirit of mutual aid. The immature, the delirious and the insane are controlled in their own interest and for the interest of the community. This intelligent and humane protection is natural and nonpartisan.

Where cooperative totality is approached in a small community or nation, the danger of a privileged minority always threatens. This is inherent in the human character. In all organizations—the club, the church, the faculty—there are those of dominant personality, acquisitiveness, and efficiency, who naturally move into the position of influence. Since human beings differ, equality is impossible. The thing called "politics" is inerradicable. But it is difficult to conceive of any organization better constituted for the minimization of privilege than the consumers' cooperative society. Here, the principle of mutuality is applied. The more successful and efficient the society is, the better are the advantages that accrue to each member.

Cooperation is not a method where by one person secures advantages at the expense of another. Its fundamental principle is that of the common good. What is one member's advantage is the advantage of all the purpose of business the purpose of which is to lift all of its members in an equal degree into better circumstances. And this is accomplished by each making his contribution of capital, patronage, and control.

Democracy does not prevail in the political State, but it is actually possible in the cooperative society. Here the democratically organized mass elect a board of directors charged with the duty of judging experts to administer business for the people. The control rests always with the members. The initiative and recall are in their hands.

The cooperative society is the one example in the economic world of the perfection of centralized administration in the interest of efficiency and decentralized control in the interest of democracy. It is the only working example of industrial democracy capable of indefinite expansion into an all embracing cooperative democracy.

This is because it is constructed in the interest of the consumers and controlled by the consumers, who are everybody. Such an end is not attained where a special class, such as labor, is made the controlling interest, or where production and not consumption is made the purpose of industry. The consumers' cooperative movement is unique in the fact that it is the only expansive force in the economic field based on the interest of the much neglected consumer. It is the counterpart of the family and the home, as democratic consuming institutions, expanded into all society. It differs essentially from other movements with their special concern for labor and production. Had any of the countries which have attained socialist majorities proceeded to promote the interests of the consumers, instead of labor and the factory, they might have retained the coveted civilization—instead of magnificent smokestacks, they might have had splendid homes. This is precisely what stateism does not do.

Cooperation attains the end, that useful service shall become the only means of livelihood, by eliminating the possibility of income from privilege. But it does this by the natural process of making service the motive of industry. The consumers' industrial philosophy is the only approach to this end.

Cooperation, unlike the State, has as its ultimate end the creation of better individuals. As it expands, this result can be seen. The expansion of the State cannot be said to produce this effect. The multiplication of office holders and of political functions has not resulted in the improvement of the quality of men.

The cooperative democracy, conceived of in its totality, is not a coercive State. It is a way of life. It is elastic, expanding, contractile, and always evolving, doing the thing that wins for the consumer the best access to the things he needs. This is its only aim. This purpose is incompatible with the political State.

Sweden Cooperative Enthusiasm: American Cooperators on Tour

Some of the American delegates to the London Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance made a tour of the chief cooperative organizations in Scandinavia before attending the September Congress in Stockholm. I accompanied Meyer Paredeck, one of the delegates, wrote this interesting description of Swedish Cooperatives from Stockholm during the first part of the tour. Special, and more detailed reports will be presented at the Chicago Congress of The Cooperative League.

As I sat a few minutes ago at "Skansen," a dining resort overlooking Stockholm, I could not but dwelling upon the security of the foundation upon which cooperation is built.

"Below us across the river lies the city shrouded in the darkness of night
and discernible only by the outline of electric lamps which indicate buildings, streets and signs. Before us against the dark sky stands out in red letters the word "Luma," a beacon light in the inter-dark sky stands out in red letters the national cooperation; beside it is a electric lamps which indicate buildings, in Sweden having a circulation of over 470,000 published by K. F. (Kooperativa Förbundet), the Swedish Wholesale Society. He eagerly points out that to the right above the water front stands a block of brick structures imposing and firm, the headquarters of K. F. To the left is Kvarnholmen (Fruit Mill Island) a whole island entirely owned by K. F., the whole tract: the massive, square store concrete Tre Kroner flour mill and silos. Beside Tre Kroner, like a little brother, stands the ultra-modern bakery, a marvel of architectural ingenuity and below it enveloped in the pine forest the new and modern dwellings of the workers each with its beautiful flower bed about it and commanding a view unequalled. Throughout the city at 400 points one finds the sign "Konsum,"—the trade name of the Stockholm Cooperative Society, indicating the shops of this society by means of which consumers have learned to defend themselves against lamp trusts, meat trusts and the like bred of the profit system.

"Looking further out into the horizon we come to Saltsjobaden, the beautiful resort on the Baltic, long the favorite haunt of the few and favored. Here K. F. established its cooperative school where men and women come from all parts of Sweden to study cooperation, its philosophy and technique. From these castles have issued one thousand students each year for six years, trained to carry on the work which they chose. Each returns to his own society to conduct study circles, discussion groups, to improve the technique of distribution and the like. Here K. F. is building the foundation which must grow firmer with age.

"The night wears on as the orchestra plays Puccini's "La Boheme" and we return to our hotel to prepare to see more of this kingdom based on the true brotherhood of man tomorrow."

Noah's Ark Up-to-Date

The story of the success of Cooperative Purchasing Associations in riding the economic storm of the past four years is likened by Mr. Vaino Tanner of Finland, President of the International Cooperative Alliance, to the story of the Deluge. In this modern version the Consumers' Cooperative Movement is the Noah's Ark which has floated high on the waves of the economic deluge, and which carries within it the embryo of a new world. The number of Consumers' Cooperative Associations has grown, their volume and wealth have increased. All of which is proof that Cooperation "possesses the necessary factors for the building up of a new and a better world, a Noah's Ark of economic life."

Statistics covering the volume and savings of Consumers' Cooperative Wholesalers Associations in the United States, shown in the following table are given figures from the reports of Cooperative Wholesalers thus far received:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cooperative Wholesaler</th>
<th>Volume First 6 Months 1934</th>
<th>Savings First 6 Months 1934</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Oil Company (Cooperative)</td>
<td>$917,948</td>
<td>$37,447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers Union Exchange</td>
<td>$499,512</td>
<td>$17,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha, Nebraska</td>
<td>787,815</td>
<td>28,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midland Cooperative Wholesale</td>
<td>812,722</td>
<td>20,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis, Minn.</td>
<td>369,176</td>
<td>11,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers Union Central Exchange</td>
<td>973,358</td>
<td>7,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland, Maine</td>
<td>567,778</td>
<td>5,047 (Loss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin Cooperative Creamery Ass'n</td>
<td>1,095,669</td>
<td>45,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis, Minn.</td>
<td>781,037</td>
<td>40,457 (Loss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Cooperative Wholesale</td>
<td>844,002</td>
<td>11,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior, Wis.</td>
<td>596,515</td>
<td>3,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois Farm Supply Company</td>
<td>1,294,480</td>
<td>64,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>892,193</td>
<td>34,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n</td>
<td>1,604,408</td>
<td>55,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis, Ind.</td>
<td>1,014,776</td>
<td>38,829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern States Farmers' Exchange</td>
<td>6,478,680</td>
<td>175,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield, Mass.</td>
<td>4,751,827</td>
<td>138,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>$14,809,032</td>
<td>$446,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>$215,432</td>
<td>$925,432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average volume increased 47.19% and net savings gained 107.31% over the same period in 1933. Except under the most violent conditions Consumers' Cooperation grows all the time. It has proved its fundamental strength under conditions of war and peace, dictatorship and democracy, prosperity and depression. It grows because its principles are embedded deep in the hearts of mankind everywhere and only need to be interpreted into practical understanding in men's minds to be accepted and followed by constantly increasing numbers the world over.

Cooperation in Action

Organized Labor and Consumers Unite

The combined power of organized labor and organized consumers became a double edged sword wielded against economic injustice at Superior, Wisconsin last month. Members of the milk wagon drivers' and creamery workers' unions, thwarted in an attempt to gain union recognition, a living wage and shorter hours as provided by the NRA, employed a little used technique to win their labor struggle. More than a score of drivers and operators resigned from their jobs in the Russell Creamery Company, which had consistently refused their demands, and organized among their customers a Consumers' Cooperative Creamery Association.

The move met with enthusiastic support among the customers and citizens at large. The local Twin Ports Cooperative Creamery agreed to supply milk and within 24 hours creamery service was started by the new Cooperative. The power of organized consumers used in behalf of organized labor is a comparatively new device in American labor history. It was previously used in Minneapolis at the time of the formation of the Cooperative Creamery which now supplies almost one third of the milk consumed in that city.

October—Cooperative Month

Cooperative Store Associations have widely adopted October as the month to put on an intensive drive for increased memberships, and new business. General propaganda for the month is largely directed through the District Leagues: Northern, Central and Eastern. Speakers' notes for addresses are provided for those who wish them; suggested plans of action are issued in mimeograph form; special
posters, leaflets, and larger booklets can be obtained from each District League for distribution. Write the Secretary of the District League in whose territory you are located or the Wholesale with which you are connected for further detailed information.

- Canadian Cooperative Union to Celebrate Silver Anniversary

The Annual Congress of the Cooperative Union of Canada at Toronto, Ontario, September 26 and 27 will mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Canadian Cooperative Movement. It is significant that the Wheat Pools of both Saskatchewan and Manitoba have joined the Cooperative Union and that an invitation was recently extended to the Alberta Wheat Pool to affiliate.

- The Church Educates Its Youth in Cooperation

Two striking developments in the religious field recently give evidence that religious organizations are discovering Consumers' Cooperation and are beginning to educate for the Cooperative Democracy as a means of meeting the breakdown of the present unethical competitive society. The Cooperative Builder reports that Consumers' Cooperation was included in the curriculum of the Epworth League Institute held July 29 to August 5 at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. Two hundred youth from the Chicago area Methodist churches attended.

The second important indication was the National Congress of Methodist Youth held in Chicago, Illinois, August 30 to September 2. Miss Helen Topping, secretary to Kagawa, the great Japanese religious leader, spoke on "The Cooperative Movement in Japan" and E. R. Bowron, general secretary of The Cooperative League, discussed the significance of the cooperatives in America.

Indiana Educates for Action

The Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association embarked this year on an educational program which if followed up in the same manner for the next few years should cooperate Indiana within a decade. The tentative one-week summer schools, with two schools conducted at a time, have been laying the groundwork for further development of the cooperative movement.

Between twelve and fourteen hundred of Indiana's "choicest" youth studied the history and philosophy of the Consumers' Cooperative movement, learned the technique of organizing and operating cooperatives and discussed Cooperative Democracy as it relates to world problems today. Indiana has learned the advantages of 'educating as it grows so that it may continue to grow.' Anthony Lehner, Educational Director of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, will describe in detail this great education program at the Congress of The Cooperative League in Chicago, October 18, 19 and 20.

- Brookwood Labor College to Offer 8 Month Training Course for Cooperators

As the result of negotiations between The Cooperative League and the Director of Brookwood Labor College it may be possible for the cooperative movement to embark on a definite program of training for future leaders. Brookwood, already famous for its work in providing well trained labor leaders, offers to extend its field to cover intensive treatment of the history of cooperation, contemporary economics, and the methods of organizing and operating cooperatives. It will be necessary to start with at least ten able students, 21 to 25 years of age.

The eight month course would be taught at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, New York. The full cost (board, room, tuition and laundry) would be $25.00 per month for each student.

- Where Consumers Produce

In the August issue of Forum, Henry Goddard Leach pointed out in no uncertain terms the dangers involved in the current producers' complex exhibited in its most magnified form in the "Century of Progress" exposition at Chicago. His article was entitled "The Editor Goes to the Fair," this month he has followed up that idea with an article which describes conditions in a country where the production complex has been supplanted by consideration for the "masters of use." He tells the story of consumers' cooperation in Sweden, "Where Consumers Produce." The Swedish Cooperative Union, which this year celebrates its thirty-fifth anniversary, has a history of trust-busting which would put "Teddy" Roosevelt to shame. Monopolies which oppressed the people were defeated by the people themselves who resolutely put their own buying power to work in their own behalf. In the process, the cooperative movement has grown to include one third of all the families in Sweden and to transact forty per cent of the wholesale and retail trade of that country. Anyone who attempts to keep informed on current developments in the cooperative movement should read Henry Goddard Leach's article in the September Forum.

Cooperation and the Housing Problem

Dr. J. P. Warbasse, who as a member of the Consumers' Advisory Board was instrumental in securing the Executive order which prevented private industry from riding rough shod over consumers' cooperatives, has turned to an analysis of the problem of housing. In an article in the August issue of Common Sense, Dr. Warbasse has pointed out the failure of municipal housing "to solve the problem of providing decent shelter in urban areas. He further outlined the advantages of Cooperative housing as an alternative method of improving the living conditions of the people. Cooperative housing has definitely proved its value in the United States. Cooperative hous-
STUDY CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12, N. Y. C. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

**EDUCATIONAL PAMPHLETS**

Per Copy Per 100

- **38. Consumers' Cooperation in the United States (Illus.), 1933**
- **39. Story of Tood Lane (By Stuart Chase)**
- **40. The Coop. Movement, J. H. Crittenden**
- **41. Cooperative Here and Abroad, H. T. Hughes**
- **42. Consumers' Cooperative Methods, J. P. Warbasse, 1934**
- **43. America's Answer—Consumers' Cooperation, E. H. Rowan**
- **44. Sweden, Where Capitalism is Controlled, Marquis W. Childs**
- **45. The Economic Foundations of Cooperation Here and Abroad, Dietrich Swedberg**

**ORGANIZATIONAL PAMPHLETS**

4. How to Start and Run a Rochdale Cooperative Store

5. Model By-Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society

9. Credit Union Primer (By Ham) & (By Hall)

10. Model Lease for Cooperative Apartment House

**MISCELLANEOUS**

16. Model Coop. State Law

17. "When the Whistle Blows" (Story, by Bruce Calver)

57. How a Consumers' Cooperative Differes from Ordinary Businesses

62. Buttons (League emblem), **$0.05 per dozen, 50 cents per 100**

63. Sign or Transparency of League Emblem. Green and gold, **$0.10 each, 50 cents per 50**

67. Stock certificate, engraved, with League emblem, bound in books of 100, 200, or 500.

68. To Mothers

72. Little Lessons in Cooperation

74. The Burden of Credit

75. What is the Cooperative Store

76. What is Consumers' Cooperation

78. The Most Necessary Thing in Life

82. Are You Sure You Are Getting Your Money's Worth

84. There Are Two Sides to Every Counter

85. Cooperative Youth Songs


88. What Cooperation means to a depression-sick American

**MONTHLY MAGAZINES**

Cooperation—(in bundle lots, $1.50 per hundred)

Subscription, per year (foreign, $1.25)

Review of International Cooperation (Pub. by the I.C.A.)

**BOOKS**

The following books are recommended as containing the best discussions of the modern Cooperative Movement. They may be ordered through The League, postpaid on receipt of price.

Bliss, Elsie T.: Cooperative Movement in Russia, 1924

Brightwell, K. H.: Animal "Co-op" Hook-For Children

Chase and Schlink: Your Money's Worth, A Book for Consumers


Gide, C.: Consumers' Cooperative Societies, American edition and notes, 1922

Hamilton, Prof. Fred: Handbook for Members of Cooperative Committees

Hitchens, W.: Cooperative Movement in India, 1922

Kress, A. J.: Capitalism, Cooperation and the Future, 1924

Levy, E.: The Cooperative Republic

Oerne, Andres: Cooperative Ideals and Principles

Petersen, E.: The Cooperative Republic

Potter, E.: Cooperative Movement in Russia, 1922

Redfern, Percy: John T. W. Mitchell, (1924)

Redfern, Percy: The Story of the C. W. S.

Smith-Gordon & Staples: Rural Reconstruction in Ireland, 1928

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**IS THIS CIVILIZATION?**

We have read with horror of child labor in the textile mills when the industrial revolution took place in the early part of the 19th century. "But, that is history," we console ourselves. It's a longer time today. Yet almost as terrible things are happening today that try the soul of every social thinker. Capitalism cannot be civilized any more than slavery could. "It cannot be regulated into decency." Cooperation must be substituted until we remove such a blight on society as the following newspaper story tells.

Sylvia Ettinger, 15, recently in charge of the lunchroom in Public School 36, Brooklyn, has lost her job. She admits, "I gave food to hungry children whether they had tickets or not." The reporter quotes the children's own stories:

"What did you have for breakfast, Grace?" "Milk"

"Any fruit or cereal?" "No."

The soles of Grace's shoes flopped as she walked. The child said she was eight and a half years old. She looked about five.

Edna Segarra is nine years old. She is a very attractive colored child. She said that her mother gave her bread without butter.

"Don't you like butter?"

"I like it very much," the child said. "But my mother cannot buy it. She has no money to buy it."

Edna said that she went to the school yesterday but they would not give her anything to eat. She did not have a ticket.

The doctor said that Michael Di Martino was fifteen pounds under weight. He is ten years old.

"Sometimes I don't get enough to eat," he said, "but sometimes I do."

He said that he had potatoes for last night's dinner.

"Don't you always get potatoes?"

"Sometimes I get them," he said.

Food in abundance and ticketless hungry children. The shame of it! We can do more to relieve such heart rending conditions by better methods of relief but Cooperation is the final answer. Speed the day!
Secretary Wallace proposes to control profiteering by "publicity." President Green of the A. F. of L. plans to do it by "demanding" that so-called excessive profits be curtailed. Just slaps the wrist is all! The people cannot control what they do not own. To own is to control. Ownership must be recovered by paying back the profits into the pockets of the people in proportion to their purchases.

Farm supply, oil, insurance and credit cooperatives are fairly easy to start and operate successfully. Stores, dairies, cafeterias, and housing are more difficult. We must learn the technique of the harder things as well as the easier forms of cooperation. It's not enough to stop with putting our backs over what we have done. All forms of cooperatives must be started in every community for it to become a "Community Beautiful."

Farmers will grow stronger and stronger as they do their own work and grow weaker and weaker as they allow the government or any other "George" to carry on the activities for which they themselves are responsible," Quentin Reynolds, General Manager, Eastern States Farmers Exchange, thus challenges political-paternalism with the ideal of organized self-help.

Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, who is a great preserver of fine sayings, says truly that "The real danger in our situation lies in the fact that so many people see clearly what they are revolting from and so few at all what they are revolting to." That's why the cooperators need to shout, "America's Answer is Consumers' Cooperation."

It takes quite a while to convert some folks by conversation only—that's why some of Wall Street. It is patently made evident by the prestige and of economic leadership. All Fascist tendencies must be extinguished. The people must be taught the truth. Cooperators have a great responsibility. All Fascist tendencies must be exposed. The people must be taught the truth. The organization of Consumers' Cooperatives must be hastened to absorb the present competitive forms of exploitation and must resist every attack upon our present liberties. But most of all, organization of Consumers' Cooperatives must be hastened to absorb the present competitive forms of exploitation and distribution and thereby develop economic democracy by peaceful evolutionary means.
The Fourteenth International Cooperative Congress

By J. P. Warbasse

(Editor's note. Dr. James P. Warbasse, President of The Cooperative League was one of America's delegates to the recent I. C. A. Congress in London and is a member of the central committee of the International Cooperative Alliance. Dr. Warbasse here reports the proceedings of what has been unofficially termed the Congress of the World.)

The International Cooperative Alliance was organized in 1892. It held its First International Congress in London, in 1895. Its official publication, the International Cooperative Bulletin, was first issued in that year. All three of these institutions have continued an uninterrupted expansion since these beginnings forty years ago. At that time the modern cooperative movement had existed for only four years. This was the time required for the development of enough national organizations to unite to form the ultimate world expression of cooperation.

This 14th Congress, in London, consisted of 508 elected delegates from 26 nations. Not only were the great industrial war-making countries represented, but the national cooperative organizations of the less conspicuous lands sent their representatives. Delegates were from Argentina, Bulgaria, China, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, India, Lithuania, and Palestine. Great Britain seated 251 delegates, France 45, Denmark 25, Czechoslovakia 22, Sweden 16, Switzerland 14, Russia 9, the United States 5, and Japan 2. Germany and Italy, once so active in the Alliance, are now excluded because of their coercive domination by fascist governments. The time is looked forward to, however, when the cooperatives of these two countries will regain their independence and again be admitted to membership.

Presiding in the chair was the President of the Alliance, Vaino Tanner, formerly Prime Minister of Finland. Opening addresses were made by Sir Fred Hayward, chairman of the British Cooperative Union; Lord Snell, chairman of the London County Council; Oliver Stanley, M. P., Minister of Labour; Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International labor office, Geneva; and representatives of the League of Nations, the International Institute of Agriculture, and the International Commission of Agriculture. Officials delegated from many countries presented their greetings and good wishes. The United States Government was conspicuously without representation from any of its departments. Mr. Arthur Henderson in closing his address to the Congress said: "The choice between cooperation and conflict, between peace and war, must be made now if society is to avoid slipping back into barbarism."

Beginning on August 25, the International Cooperative Congress continued for four days, September 4-7, other activities of the Congress being of the opinion that the government seriously affected the cooperative societies of the United States and other countries. The Wholesales of Esthonia, France, and England. His society is able to supply their own needs. Under the discussion of the "Application of Rochdale Principles," the Central Committee recommended political neutrality, but the Russians, a large contingent of the English, and many other delegations were for revision of this provision. The question for this reason was sent back to the Central Committee, a majority of the Congress being of the opinion that the government should be seriously affected the cooperatives of the United States and other countries.

The consideration of "The Cooperative Organization of Leisure" brought out the social tendencies of cooperation. Among these tendencies in the United States was the use of unemployed teachers to teach cooperation as a way of preventing future unemployment, also the organization of the unemployed into distributive and productive units to supply their own needs. "The Role of International Cooperation in Present Day Economic Development," proved to be a subject which showed the conflict between two very different business methods. The expansion of the cooperative businesses in production, exchange, and banking was agreed upon not only as essential to world peace but to national cooperation as well.

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Alliance, before and after the Congress, transacted important business having to do with policy, organization and finances. A banquet tended to all the delegates by the British societies closed the series of cooperative events which occupied a period of two weeks. While the Congress sat only for four days, Summit, 1932, other activities which were of no less importance preceded its sessions.

The rainbow flag of the Alliance was displayed on all cooperative buildings throughout Great Britain during the Congress and gave to the English towns an appearance of festivity.

Beginning on August 25, the International Cooperative School continued for a week. It was held at High Leigh, a charming estate on the outskirts of Hoddesdon, seventeen miles north of London, under the efficient direction of Mr. W. H. Walling. There were 1,000 young men and women from 17 countries. Among them were no Italians, Germans, nor Russians, because the school teaches pure cooperation to which the governments of these three countries are equally, and for the same reasons, adverse.

The Cooperative Exhibit at the Crystal Palace, prepared by the British societies, was a school in itself. The London busses proclaimed it in huge letters, and as many as 50,000 people a day visited the Exhibit. Sir William Dudley opened it on Aug. 29.
lamps bears testimony to its ability to compete successfully against the great international trusts. This organization is cooperation's answer to the growing nationalism which is tending to isolate one country from another and to engender international hostilities.

An international boot and shoe conference has coordinated these industries. Measures have been initiated looking to the production and refining of petroleum products. A joint research board has been set up by the I. C. A. and the I. C. W. S. for the scientific study of international economic problems. These experienced research workers have already produced a mass of useful information. Completed studies have been made on (1) the production and marketing of wheat, (2) collective marketing of raw materials, (3) governmental revenue monopolies, (4) the comparative costs of private and cooperative retail distribution, (5) the costs of tariffs to the consumers, and other subjects.

The Congress made its usual moralistic gesture of passing a resolution in favor of peace and against war; but the quiet operation of its 100,000 cooperative societies with 100,000,000 members in forty countries is the most potent answer to militarism to be seen on the face of the earth today. The distinguishing representatives of many governments who addressed this Congress indicated that even in diplomatic and political circles the business efficiency and the peace promoting potency of cooperation are recognized.

The next Congress will be held in Paris in 1937.

**Cooperation — A Brighter To-morrow!**

H. V. Nurmi

(Editor's Note. H. V. Nurmi, vice-president of The Cooperative League of the U. S. A., and retiring president of the Northern States Cooperative League here sketches the growth of the Consumer Cooperative Movement in Europe and America today and the necessity of greater development of Cooperation as a bulwark against Fascism if we are to create economic democracy and make possible a brighter tomorrow. This was the opening address of the Northern States Cooperative League convention, St. Paul, Minnesota, September 10, 1934.)

In gathering at our annual conventions, it is customary to review the progress of the Movement—its past and current activities. At this convention we are again happy to note that the cooperative organizations in this country, as well as over the world, have progressed and expanded their educational and business activities in spite of adverse conditions.

Judging from the reports of our constituent societies, their financial condition has improved and the volume of turnover increased considerably. Cooperation is in the air everywhere. We hear it over the radio daily, and press reports give accounts of amazing accomplishments in the cooperative field. The representatives of the Administration can no longer sidestep the economic issue of cooperation. The most stupendous undertaking of the present Administration, namely its farm program, would have failed without the part played by the existing marketing cooperative organizations. While a rising tide is threatening the New Deal, cooperative self-help is practically the only recognized form of affording our suffering people, "Niratism" having been compelled to take a defensive attitude—with its alphabetically trimmed high sounding names and schemes—the biggest hope so far in the agricultural districts has been created through cooperative activity. When artificial plans failed, the destitute farmers still had one effective way of regulating production, namely through their cooperative associations—in addition to the drought's queer tricks.

The cooperative movement in this country has recently been receiving international recognition. The cooperative publications in Europe are describing our cooperative achievements in length. Careful observation, their editors express the opinion that the only way we can in this country solve our economic complications is with the aid of a strongly developed cooperative movement, which will eventually curb the fiendish exploitation of profit-hungry private business. Whatever can be salvaged from the present chaotic situation must be done through the collective action of those who believe in the orderly evolution of things. Besides the general decay of the profit system, we have the problem of technological unemployment, which has been creeping in since the era of industrial revolution. There are no more new worlds to conquer, and naturally industry is unable to care of the ever increasing "surplus population." This complexity forces to the front the question of "Cooperation or Revolution."—Nations have always depended on revolution when facing impossible tasks and conditions. If the constructive methods of Rochdale cooperation are applied, the periods of change can become periods of constructive transformation, as historians tell us that revolutions are a potent answer to militarism to be seen on the face of the earth today. The distinguishing representatives of many governments who addressed this Congress indicated that even in diplomatic and political circles the business efficiency and the peace promoting potency of cooperation are recognized.

The next Congress will be held in Paris in 1937.

Cooperation is belief in a better form of society and more ideal human relations.

The hope of the small farmer and wage-earner is in cooperation. As organized producers and consumers they possess the magic key to the situation. The present-day plight is due to the mal-distribution of income and wealth, the industrialists and bankers piling most of it into their vaults. Finally the financial institutions grow stronger and more dangerous than ever.

Advocated higher prices of farm products or higher wages alone will not bring the solution. The salvation of mankind is in collective action. As Dr. William King, an early apostle of Cooperation exalted: "You are poor, because you work for the others and not for yourselves. True, you have no capital with which to employ yourselves. But you have purchasing power. Combine to purchase. Let the economies of combined buying accumulate as capital. Use that capital to establish our own workshops. So will you end the exploitation of labor, which arises from ignorance."

Reports from European countries indicate that cooperation is gaining foothold rapidly. In Great Britain, one-third of the population goes cooperative. They have more than ten thousand retail shops, the total retail and wholesale trade amounting to nearly two billion dollars. The total invested capital of the British cooperative societies exceeds the huge sum of one billion dollars when converted into American money. Their cooperative banks have an annual turnover of more than three billion dollars, and the insurance societies collect more than twenty-five million dollars in premiums. The British cooperators have also gone into production on a large scale. From the flour produced in their cooperative mills, they bake approximately one-fourth of all the bread used in Great Britain. They have the largest tea plantations in the world. Besides, they are the largest soap manufacturers in the world, outside of the internationally known Lever combines. The yearly
The Swedish cooperators have been capturing trade in the same proportion. When the United States minister to Sweden recently visited the Stockholm cooperatives, he remarked, "I think the whole population of Sweden belongs to the Consumers' Cooperative Movement." The Swedish cooperatives report a total membership of over five hundred thousand, an increase of three hundred thousand since 1918. They have over four thousand local stores serving the needs of organized consumers. The cooperative banks have been entrusted with deposits to the extent of fifty million dollars. The net savings-returns or patronage rebates of the Swedish cooperatives in 1933 amounted to more than sixteen million crowns. A few years ago, the Swedish cooperators broke the yoke of their private electric bulb manufacturers. Now the cooperative plants are making electric bulbs for the neighboring countries, as well as supplying the needs of their own members. The Swedish cooperatives also have their own flour mills, shoe factories, tire and rubber manufacturing works, etc.

Identical progress is being displayed by the Swiss, Danish and Finnish Movements. These countries have not, perhaps, felt the world-wide depression as sharply as many other nations, due to their cooperative forethought. The Cooperative Movement in various European countries is forming a bulwark against fascism, which usually appears on the scene before the collapse of the profit system. A significant sign of fascism is regimentation in industry and distribution, leading finally to dictatorship. That may be the case even in the United States, unless we succeed in developing a strong, unified Cooperative Movement which will thwart the onslaught of approaching fascism. If a nation loses its economic democracy—dictatorship is next in order.

Profit business will spare no time, money or effort in attacking our cooperatives. The oil industry has demonstrated it. If Dr. Warbasse, the President of The Cooperative League, who serves on the Consumers' Advisory Board, had not represented the oil cooperatives at the Petroleum Administrative Board hearings, many of our oil associations would now be operating under restrictions. This fact alone should prompt the member organizations of the Northern States Cooperative League to strengthen their business and educational federations.

No further recital is necessary relative to the achievements and philosophy of the Cooperative Movement in this connection. Let this convention pave the way for better cooperative understanding. The present period demands action and unification of aims. Without vision and effective educational and propaganda work our movement shall perish.

Cooperative, Labor, Farm and Political Leaders Urge Aggressive Program at Northern States Convention

The 13th annual convention of the Northern States Cooperative League at St. Paul, Minn., September 10 and 11, reported a growth in League membership of 60% for the past year but leaders pointed out the necessity of even more intense organization for the coming year in the face of present economic chaos. H. V. Nurmi, president of N. S. C. L. opened the convention with a stirring address outlining the progress of the cooperative movement here and abroad.

Featuring the opening session were addresses of greeting from Floyd B. Olson, Minnesota's Farm-Labor Governor, R. A. Trovatten, commissioner, and J. H. Hay, deputy commissioner, of the Department of Agriculture, Dairy and Foods, and George W. Lawson, secretaries-treasurer, Minnesota State Federation of Labor. Later in the convention E. R. Bowen, general secretary of The Cooperative League, and Joseph Gilbert, editor of the Midland Cooperator emphasized the need for more intense cooperative activity.

Governor Olson, who a year ago at the Cloquet Convention of the League stated, "I had the power. I would usher in the Cooperative Commonwealth in Minnesota tomorrow," made it evident that the old profit system cannot meet human needs and the problem of a solution to the present economic and social problems must include cooperative enterprise on a wide and effective scale.

The constituent membership of the League has increased 60% since the last convention. Membership now totals 242 cooperative associations. The Cooperators' Life Association, a new venture in life insurance initiated by the Northern States Cooperative League, was reported to be in the final stages of organization.

C. C. Talbott, president of the North Dakota Farmers Union, acted as toastmaster of the convention banquet the first evening of the convention. The program included speeches by Congressmen Ernest Lundeen, S. A. Stockwell, member of the Minnesota state legislature, C. E. Sherman, president and general manager of the Franklin Cooperative Creamery Assn. of Minneapolis; Gaylord Nelson, general secretary of The New Era Life Assn. of Grand Forks, Mich.; Mrs. Helen B. Hayes Lanto of Superior, Wisconsin, and Mr. Floyd J. Linnell, manager of the Isanti County Cooperative Oil Association of Cambridge, Minn.

An interesting feature of the second afternoon was a masterly address by Charles v. Eggle, general manager of the Farmers' Union Livestock Commissions, St. Paul, on methods of cooperative education for workers and farmers.

On the eve of the convention a Cooperative Women's Conference was held with a hundred women delegates in attendance. Mrs. John A. Mattson presided over the sessions which considered the problems vitally affecting the Women's Cooperative Guild. E. R. Bowen, general secretary of The Cooperative League, U. S. A., addressed the conference. The ladies of the Women's Cooperative Guild of Minneapolis acted as hosts to the convention.

Ralph Ingerson, general manager of the oil department of the Farmers' Union Central Exchange, St. Paul, was elected president of the board of directors of the League. H. V. Nurmi, retiring president of the board was elected vice-president. V. S. Alanne, executive secretary, and Mrs. John A. Mattson, treasurer, were reelected to their respective positions. The members of the board are: George Halonen, H. V. Nurmi and Wm. Linnell, Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, Wisconsin; Esther Benson, Women's Cooperative Guild; Mrs. J. Mattson, Emil Bakken and T. A. Eide, Franklin Cooperative Creamery; Floyd Linnell and J. B. Vandermeyd, Midland Cooperative Oil Assn.; Ralph Ingersoll and W. E. Sanderson, Farmers Union Central Exchange; Rudolph Kudla, Cloquet Cooperative Society; and Elmer C. Asby, Community Oil Co. of Watertown, So. Dakota.

Resolutions were adopted by the convention opposing the sales tax and declaring for taxation on the basis of ability to pay; protesting national expenditure of funds for military and naval purposes; and appealing to organized labor to accord greater practical consideration to the Consumers' Cooperative movement as an additional necessary means for the protection of its membership and accomplishment of its aims.
A Pattern for Cooperative Oil Distribution

Isanti County Cooperative Oil Association

F. J. Linnell

(From pages 145-155 of COOPERATION, Oct. 1934)

From the efforts of C. A. Anderson, a neat opening was held on March 29, 1932, in the court house in Cambridge, relative to starting a cooperative oil association in Isanti County. Out of these two hundred or more that attended, about fifteen volunteered for action. This group met on April 2 and incorporated the Isanti County Co-op Oil Ass’n with shares at $10.00, capitalization at $15,000.

A temporary board was elected to act for the association until the first formal meeting of stock holders (signers of pledges) was held. An organization committee was appointed. They did not to secure signers of pledges. These signers pledged themselves to buy at least one share of stock when three hundred dollars of gasoline had signed similar pledges. If talk could not secure the cooperative, the job would have been completed that afternoon. But talk is only of value as it moves people to action. Some moved into action, some did not.

The organization committee met nearly every Saturday night for a progress meeting. After a few weeks some of the members on the committee began to lose hope, as farmers were getting pretty hard up financially. They said that there was no money to pay pledges and that the farmers were all broke. But on May 29 the required number of shares had been secured and on June 4 the first special meeting was held and a permanent board of directors was elected.

On June 11 the first share of stock was issued by the secretary. By July 16 only eighty-one of the three hundred signers had paid their pledges. Payments were nearly at a standstill. The Board of Directors had been meeting every Saturday night, but had failed to get down to business. At their meeting on July 16 F. J. Linnell was hired as manager. Mr. Linnell had been secretary of the temporary as well as the permanent Board of Directors. His job was to get the organization going, which was accomplished in thirty days. The first gas was sold on August 20, fifty-nine gallons constituting the first day’s sales.

The original setup consisted of one 17,000 and one 12,000 gallon tank for regular gas and kerosene. The service station was 12’ by 16’ with one gas pump. The kerosene was stored in a fifty-gallon drum. A truck tank was loaned from the Kanabec County Co-op Oil Ass’n and a truck driver with truck was hired and bulk service was established. All the money paid in was $1,770, the balance of the $3,000 being in notes. If it had not been for the financial help of the wholesale, Midland Cooperative Wholesale, it would have been nearly impossible to have started.

On February 4, 1933, a bank failure tied up $800, and again there was hard going for a month or two. Since then a steady progress in sales has been made each month, the only decline being seasonal.

We now have four bulk tanks, a modern service station at Cambridge, a good sized office and vault.

“Aself-help” Looks Ahead

E. C. Ford

(From pages 155-156 of COOPERATION, Oct. 1934)

The Grand Island Self-help Society, Inc., was born in the fall of 1932 and was incorporated in October 1933. Until March 1934 it did purely a relief work. In the late fall of 1934 I began to talk Cooperation to the men. A good many years ago I had taken a seminar in the study of Cooperation with the professor of economics in the North Dakota Agricultural college at Fargo, N. D. I came to feel that Cooperation was the only thing that would save us from Fascism on the one hand and Communism on the other, and that now was the time to begin to do something. I lectured to the men at almost every one of their meetings. A few of the men on the committee began to lose hope, as farmers were

Current Liabilities ........ 3,747.61

Net Worth .............. 17,709.45

To July 31, 1934, cash in hand paid in totaled less than $2,200 while actual cash paid back in patronage dividends totals over $6,000, nothing being paid out of 1934 fiscal year.

The Grand Island Self-help Society describes here the attempt of the unemployed in Grand Island to help themselves and their evolution from a temporary relief organization into a consumer’s cooperative operating their own store. This brief history is presented as a pattern for the transformation of other “depression cooperatives” into permanent forms of self-help.

Assets as of July 31, 1934, totaled $21,457.00

COOPERATION

Oct. 1934

Progress made to date as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>5 months 1932</th>
<th>12 months 1932</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 months 1933</td>
<td>12 months 1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 months 1934</td>
<td>12 months 1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasoline</td>
<td>212,363</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kerosene</td>
<td>17,754.90</td>
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<td>Lubricating Oil</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>$10,733.56</td>
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</tr>
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is cash and carry. So far we have not had the slightest opposition from the other merchants. Mr. A. F. Buechler, editor of the Grand Island Daily Independent, and member of the State Relief Committee, encouraged us to start the store and has stated a number of times that "Anyone who would interfere with so worthy an undertaking would be so openly and patently selfish that he would receive the scorn of every worthy citizen."

The Self-help Society still continues its relief operations but that heads up in a building a dozen blocks away. The store is just an added feature.

Retail Cooperative Sales Increase 45.9% over 1933

While retail establishments doing business for profit were going in the red or to the wall, retail organizations on a cooperative basis increased sales and made greater savings to their memberships. Statistics available for four of the oldest established retail cooperatives showed a total sales for these four organizations of $884,885 for the first six months of 1934. This was an increase of $277,984 or 45.9% over the business for the same period a year ago. Net savings for the membership was $277,731. Even though prices were scaled down to decrease original cost to the consumers, this saving was 45.5% more than that saved by cooperative buying last year.

Central Cooperative Wholesale and its affiliated societies. The fall sessions began September 28th with George Halvonen, Educational Director of the Central Cooperative Wholesale as Director of the school.

Midland Grows

Midland Cooperative Oil Association reports that retail sales for its 45 local organizations in Minnesota totaled $2,439,281 in 1933. The net gain for the year was $261,975, or more than 10% of the total retail sales. Local associations' retail sales ranged from $11,000 to $220,000 for the fiscal year.

Money Available for Local Education

As a part of the emergency relief program the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has appropriated funds for worker and farm education. Local and wholesale cooperative organizations should contact State Directors of FERA to arrange for funds for unemployed teachers to teach courses in general economics, modern economic thought and the history and principles of cooperation.

Fitchburg Cooperative Institute Enrollment Increases

The Cooperative Institute opened its fall term sessions early in October with an enrollment larger than that of last year. The institute which is conducted in Fitchburg, Mass., had an early enrollment of approximately 75 students as contrasted with 60 regular students last year.

The institute has moved from the local theatre building and four classrooms to the upper floor of the Consumers Cooperative building. Six classes are used for day and night classes. The faculty includes eight teachers all of whom are accredited by the State board of education. Courses cover a wide variety of subjects ranging from Creative Writing and The Background of Modern Science to Recent Economic Thought and Cooperation in Theory and Practice. The institute is conducted for two three-month terms and is under the direction of Eino H. Friberg.

Training Course at Brookwood Labor College for Prospective Leaders

Last month Brookwood Labor College announced that it would offer an eight months' training course for prospective leaders in the cooperative movement. Already half the required number of students have been enrolled.

Danish Cooperator on American Tour

Thirty speeches in thirty days is the schedule set for Paul Hanson, famous Danish cooperator and educator for his present American tour. In his first address in this country delivered in the auditorium of Consumers Cooperative Services, New York City, Mr. Hanson said, "Private business frequently complains against the Danish cooperatives but never gets further than these verbal attacks against the movement."

He reported that the four Scandinavian countries had pooled the buying power of their cooperative wholesales and now place the largest orders for coffee, rubber and several other commodities on the English market. Ninety per cent of the dairy business, the country's largest industry, is handled by marketing cooperatives. The Consumers' Cooperatives maintain an architects' bureau with 30 full time architects and now the "Co-ops" are Denmark's finest looking shops.
The members of the Tour included I. H. Hull of Indianapolis, President of National Cooperatives, Inc., Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Eustis of Minneapolis, members of Northern States Cooperative League, Meyer Parodneck of Sunny- side Cooperative, New York, and J. Badger John of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Indianapolis, and Miss Matilda Hoffenson, also of Sunnyside Cooperative, New York.

Here's Why Cooperative Milk

Mr. I. H. Hull, manager of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association and president of National Cooperative, Inc., wrote the following while traveling through northern Europe on the recent Cooperative Tour: "...Edinburgh is about the size of Indianapolis, a little over 350,000. In both cities the consumer pays about 11c for milk. The St. Cuthberts Cooperative handles about three quarters of the milk business of Edinburgh through a beautiful modern plant and pays the farmer 7c as compared to about 3c the farmer at Indianapolis gets. Stockholm is about twice as large. There the marketing cooperative gathers the milk and sells to the Konsum (retail consumers' cooperative) for eight cents and it is actually retailed in bulk at nine cents."

Cooperators Should Read—

"What is the World, After All? Nothing More Than What We Dare to Make It!"

The Northern States Cooperative League has recently published two pamphlets of interest to members and students of the cooperative movement. "Up From the Shadows" is a fictionalized account of the founding and early history of the Rochdale store, it records in dramatic style the birth struggles of a great movement. The novel is true to history of Rochdale woven in a fascinating manner by a master storyteller. England in the 1840's was immersed in poverty and political disillusionment. Twenty-eight Rochdale weavers believed that "the world, after all is nothing more than what we dare to make it." As a result of their determination seven million English families are able to control their own destiny. Seventy million cooperators in 40 nations are laying the economic foundations for a federation of the world. The pamphlet is written by Michel Becker and translated from the German by Arthur Albrecht.

"Where the Tall Corn Grows" is written by E. H. Holman, Educational director of the Minneapolis Social Science Study Club. He points out very specifically that "The farmers and industrial workers are like Siamese Twins. To cut them apart is to kill them both. Where one goes the other must go. A common destiny awaits them both and all talk about the "farm problem" and the "labor problem" as separate issues is both unscientific and silly." The author presents Consumers' Cooperation as the solution to the common problem of the farmer and laborer.

Cooperation is News

Consumers' cooperation thrives with or without publicity. Recent journals, however, have found that cooperation is news. Howard Vincent O'Brien, columnist for the Chicago Daily News devoted his entire column August 25th to a review of the extent of the cooperative movement. C. B. Larrabee wrote an article, entitled "The Cooperative Gap" in the September 20th issue of Printer's Ink discussing the cooperatives in relation to advertising. This same column, dedicated to the interests of advertising, carried editorial comment in an earlier issue. The New Republic carried in a recent issue an article by Meyer Parodneck on the First Cooperative Tour.

Henry Goddard Leach, editor of Forum devoted his entire Labor Day address in Chicago to the organization of labor as consumers. The address was republished in Forum's September issue. The Chicago Daily Tribune reports Miss Helen Topping, secretary to Toyohiko Kagawa, internationally famous religious leader, as telling the Congress of Methodist Youth in Evanston, Ill., that "There is no hope for the continued influence of the church without the cooperatives." Dr. Alfred J. Pearson, dean of Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, and former Minister to Finland described to President Roosevelt the great progress of the Swedish cooperatives on his return to the United States according to a general newspaper story.
STUDY CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12, N. Y. C. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

EDUCATIONAL PAMPHLETS

Per Copy Per 100

69. The Coop. Movement, J. H. Dickert $0.06 0.00
70. Cooperation Here and Abroad, H. T. Hughes $0.10 0.20
71. Consumers' Cooperative Methods, J. P. Warbasse, 1924 $0.10 0.20
72. America's Answer — Consumers' Cooperative League, E. H. Bowden $0.10 0.20
73. Sweden, Where Capitalism is Controlled, Margareta W. Childs $0.25 0.50
74. The Economic Foundations of World Peace, Toyoichi Kajima $0.15 0.30
75. Up From the Shadows, Michel Becker — Translated by Arthur Albrecht $0.10 0.20
76. Where the Tall Corn Grows, E. H. Hubman $0.10 0.20

ORGANIZATIONAL PAMPHLETS

How to Start and Run a Rochdale Cooperative Store $0.10 0.20
How to Start and Run a Cooperative Society $0.15 0.30
Credit By-Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society $0.25 0.50
Model By-Laws for Cooperative Apartment House $0.50 1.00

MISCELLANEOUS

10. Model Co-op State Law $0.10 0.20
11. The Consumers' Cooperative Movement Differs from Ordinary Business $0.05 0.10
62. Buttons (League emblem), 1/2 inch diameter $0.50 1.00
63. Sign or Transparency of League gold, 5 in. diameter $0.10 0.20
67. Stock Certificates, engraved, with League Emblem, Bound in books of 100, 250, or 500 $1.00 2.00
68. To Mothers $0.10 0.20
71. Why Co-ops in Cooperation $0.10 0.20
74. The Burden of Credit $0.15 0.30
75. What is the Cooperative Store $0.15 0.30
76. What is Consumers' Cooperation $0.15 0.30
77. The Most Necessary Thing in Life $0.25 0.50
80. Are You Sure You Are Getting Your Money's Worth $0.10 0.20
81. Consumers' Cooperation as a Depression-buster America $0.25 0.50
82. What Meaning to a Depression-buster America $0.25 0.50

MONTHLY MAGAZINES

Cooperation (In bundle lots, $7.50 per hundred) Subscription, per year (foreign, $1.50) $1.00 Review of International Cooperation (Pub. by the L. C. A.) $0.06 Per Year, H. 56

BOOKS

The following books are recommended as containing the best discussion of the modern Cooperative Movement. They may be ordered through The League, postpaid on receipt of price.

Hillman, Elia T.: Cooperative Movement in Russia, 1924 $1.00
Brightwell, L. R.: Animat "Co-op" Book — For Children $0.25
Chase and Schubert: Your Money's Worth, A Book for Consumers $1.10
Fitzowen, J. A.: Wholesale Cooperation in Scotland, 1920 $2.10
Hall, Prof Fred: Handbook for Members of Cooperative Committees $2.50
Huxley: Rochdale Pioneers, 1844 $1.00
Humphreys, E. M.: Cooperation in India 1925 $1.30
Indian Cooperation, Children's story $0.15
Jeansness, G. H.: Cooperative Marketing of Farm Products $1.10
Kress, A. J.: Capitalism, Cooperation, Communism, 1923 $2.00
Kuykendall: Life As We Have Known It. Life stories of English guildswomen, telling what the Guild has done for them $1.25
Madame, J. P.: The Story Retold $0.85
Nicholson, Ian: Our Story $0.85
Other, Therese: Finland, A Nation of Co-operators $1.00
Parsons: The Cooperative Ideals and Problems $1.25
Peppler: Consumers' Cooperative Experience $1.25
Potter, B.: Cooperative Movement in Great Britain, 1844 $1.10
Roffman, Perry: John T. W. Mitchell (1942) $1.00
Roffman, Perry: The Story of the Cooperative $2.35
Roffman, Perry: The Consumers' Place in Social Security $1.00
Smith-Gordon & Staples: Rural Reconstruction in Ireland $1.00
Smith-Gordon & Orrin: Cooperation in Denmark $1.10
Smith-Gordon & Orrin: Cooperation in Many Lands 1924 $1.50
Stolinsky, A.: The Cooperative Movement, (In Yiddish) $1.00
Tootsman, V.: The Place of Cooperation among other movements $0.10
Warbasse, J. P.: Cooperative Democracy, 1917 (In English) $1.50
Warbasse, J. P.: What Is Cooperation, 1927 $1.75
Warne, C. E.: Consumers' Cooperative Movement in Ireland 1928 $1.50
Weber, B. and R.: The Cooperative Movement, 1929 $2.00
Weih, Catherine: Industrial Cooperation, 1937 $1.40
Worth, Leonard: Cooperation and the Future of Industry $1.00
Cooperation, Bound Volume, 1916 to 1926 $1.00
The People's Year Book, 1934, English, paper, 25 cents $0.25

The Consumers' Cooperative Movement Prepares to Move Into Greater Action

The Pennsylvania Farm Review, in its report on the Congress of The Cooperative League, speaks of Consumers' Cooperation as "spreading like a prairie fire in America."

The inquiries from the leaders of the Cooperative League office are an indication that this is true. They come from every State and from every walk of life. Leaders as well as workers in Church, School, Political, Farm, Labor and Professional Associations are writing in asking for detailed information as to what this Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Movement is all about. Letterheads of well known Business, Research and Advertising Organizations are well sprinkled through the correspondence. Manufacturers, Wholesalers and Retailers are beginning to express themselves as did one retailer, "I realize that the day of competitive business is passing. I, for one, welcome the better cooperative way. My only problem is how to convert my business into a cooperative."

"The Congress of The Cooperative League just held in Chicago was the culmination of the realization on the part of Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Associations of the need of meeting this larger opportunity growing out of the present collapse of our competitive economy.

It is possible that this period may go down in history as "The Hungry Thirties" in America, as did "The Hungry Forties" in Great Britain. History records that the Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Movement originated out of a combination of economic distress and political disillusionment following the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832. We now have in America the first of these two conditions, that of economic distress, while disillusionment over the possibility of political government solving our economic problems is spreading rapidly among farmers and workers. As economic distress deepens and political disillusionment grows, the thought of "Self-help through Cooperative Action" begins to filter through the minds of men more generally.

The Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Movement has now organized itself to move into more definite action to take advantage of this increased opportunity. That is the real meaning of the great gathering of Cooperative Purchasing Association Leaders and Members at the Ninth Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League.
Cooperators Must Be Missionaries

A JOB in a Cooperative Association is not just a job to work at and live upon. It is much more than an ordinary job.

Of course it is necessary for everyone to do the job he is working on efficiently, whether it be sales, office or production. Nothing one can do can make up for errors or shoddy work in any part of cooperative business any more than in commercial business. The primary technical work one is hired to do must be well done.

But a cooperative job is more than an ordinary commercial job. It means that one is released from the rule of greed and grab. It means that one can practice the golden rule in business. It means greater security for the future. It means the nearest to living in heaven on earth that is possible today.

When one receives these rewards, outside of fair pay for their services, surely those who have the opportunity of being the first to be chosen for work in the Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Movement should render more than ordinary effort in return for such opportunities in larger living.

Every cooperative employee should be hired as an economic home missionary. The second qualification necessary for employment in a cooperative, beyond the first of efficiency in the technical part of the job, should be a deep desire to convert one's neighbors and friends to Cooperation as the answer to our economic difficulties. This desire should be backed by thorough knowledge and a friendly spirit. This work is not for a just and free world in which to live, a thorough knowledge of the principles and practices of Consumers' Cooperation, plus a friendly spirit, are the foundation qualifications necessary to persuade others.

Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing should be looked upon as an economic home missionary movement. Just as in the business world, if you are a Cooperative Manager, you should hire every employee on that basis. If you are a Cooperative employee, you should act every day upon that basis.

The Consumer Emerges

A TABULATION of the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, which lists the articles in all the important magazines by subjects, is the best possible proof that The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science had it right when they entitled their recent volume on the "Ultimate Consumer," with the subtitle, "A Study in Economic Illiteracy." How such a phrase does deface our American egoism! It's a good way to start telling the truth.

Note these statistics proving the way we have failed to understand the simplest fact about economic life and organization, which is that we are first of all consumers, and accordingly must own and control the tools of distribution and production as such. Here is a list of the number of articles which have appeared in American Magazines since 1900 on the subject of Consumption Economics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>No. of Articles on Consumption</th>
<th>No. of Articles on Economics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900-04</td>
<td>23 &quot;Consumers&quot;</td>
<td>105</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905-09</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>20-24</td>
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<tr>
<td>25-28</td>
<td>4 &quot;New Classification&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>29-32</td>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>32-33</td>
<td>23 &quot;Consumers&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>33-34</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

At last long we, in America, are slowly learning that we are primarily "Consumers."

We first thought of ourselves as Producers. Henry Pratt Fairchild says that it is the greatest example of "inverted logic" that one can imagine. Itopenly and self-consciously consumer of society is at present temporarily embraced by political domination in countries having dictatorships, it is nevertheless constantly growing even in those countries where dictatorships
have been established. Its progress in such democratic countries as Great Britain and Scandinavia, where the ways of democracy in political, educational and religious fields have been longest known, is outstanding. In peace and in war, in prosperity and depression the Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Movement has steadily grown.

Slowly we are feeling our way toward an understanding of what a democratic consumer organization of our economic system would be. We are beginning to see that the only real way for the people to get purchasing power is to own the tools of distribution and production as consumers. Then we will eliminate uncontrolled surpluses and price disparities and thereby balance production with consumption. It is plain that since the problem is consumption in a day of plenty, we must organize as consumers to solve it. We can only be gratified that we are at last learning, as the new "Consumer" classification within the past year so graphically proves. The titles of recent articles also support the fact that we have finally awakened from our long Rip Van Winkle sleep in the fields of production, finance and politics, and have begun to explore the field of consumption. Such subjects as "Enter the Consumers." "Consumer Comes of Age." "Consumer's Tomorrow." "Forgotten Consumer," "Putting Recovery up to the Consumer" indicate our new thinking. The last title is perhaps the most significant: when we Americans as a whole start the process of "Recovery as Consumers," then we will be on the way to rapid permanent recovery.

Kingdom Come Here and Now

A LL systems of economic change other than Consumers' Cooperation are totalitarian. They demand a complete overthrow of the existing order at all one time. Cooperation replaces unit after unit of the old order with units of the new. The people act as they learn and learn as they act. As they learn, the old order grows more and more rapidly.

All other systems depend upon ballots or bullets. Cooperation builds its way up from the solid foundation of local retail cooperative associations.

All other systems start from theory. Cooperation starts from practice. Practice and more practice has formulated a set of basic principles which have proven successful and enable units to be duplicated with certainty of success when these proven principles are followed.

All other systems start from the top down. Cooperation starts from the bottom up. It grows from the grass roots. It does not assume that a people who cannot organize to own and control the small retail units when they buy, can successfully choose national leaders to do for them what they cannot do for themselves. Cooperation believes that economic democracy starts by choosing representatives from one's neighbors, whom one personally knows, to act as the Board of Directors of one's own neighborhood retail association. Cooperation believes that economic brotherhood must begin by men acting as brothers in the neighborhoods where they live and are well known.

All other systems fail to give both justice and freedom to all. Cooperation is the only system that combines both and makes everyone a participant. Freedom without justice is impossible. Justice without freedom would be hollow mockery. Food for the spirit is as necessary as food for the body to develop the full rounded man.

All other systems than Cooperation offer only deferred happiness. Cooperation offers you happiness here and now for every effort you put in. You can live in a section of Kingdom Come now, as soon as you become a Cooperation member.
Cooperative Purchasing Associations assume their share of the load in the further promotion of the Movement. A Congress which was the culmination of such a union could not but be significant. It was held in a happy and momentous occasion.

Preliminary Group Meetings
The sessions of the Congress which began Thursday morning, October 18, were preceded by various group meetings. Early Wednesday morning the delegations began to arrive at the Morton Hotel. Assignments to conference rooms were arranged. The National Committee of the Women's Cooperative Guild was in session. The Midland Cooperative Oil Association of Minneapolis brought a chartered bus load of some forty Directors, Department Managers, Fieldmen and Retail Association Managers who were called together shortly after arrival and arrangements made for trips to the Oil Refinery and the Century of Progress. The Union Oil Company (Cooperative) of North Kansas City, Mo., had called Directors in Chicago and went into an all day session shortly after arrival. Some of the delegates were in attendance at a meeting of the President and Secretaries of the Midwest Division of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

First Directors' Meeting
On Wednesday night the usual meeting of the directors of The Cooperative League which precedes a Biennial Congress was held. Directors V. S. Alanne, F. S. Alanne, M. E. Arnold, Gideon Edberg, George Halonen, A. E. Kazan, J. L. Lukku, W. Niemela, H. V. Nurni, M. Rubinson, Dr. J. P. Warbasse and A. W. Warinner were present. The revised program for the Congress was approved; time allotted for discussions from the floor; Mr. L. E. Woodcock was appointed recording secretary; Messrs. A. W. Warinner and V. S. Alanne and Mrs. J. N. Perkins were appointed as the credentials committee; the Auditor's report was presented by Mr. Werner E. Regli, director of the Accounting Bureau of The Cooperative League, and after discussion was approved; decision was made as to the number of delegates which various associations were entitled to seat; a suggested Committee on Committees and Nominations was selected to be presented to the Congress for an approval consisting of Messrs. L. E. Woodcock, A. W. Warinner, George Halonen, Carlos C. Palmer, Gideon Edberg, Paul Lambert, George W. Jacobson, Homer Young and W. Niemela.

The Congress Opens
Promptly at 10 o'clock on Thursday morning, October 18, the Ninth Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League was called to order by Dr. J. P. Warbasse, President. The Secretary was called upon to announce the rules of procedure for the Congress as adopted by the Board of Directors and to read the many messages of greetings to the Congress which had been received from National Educational and Wholesale Associations abroad. The president then presented Mr. George Leen, Secretary of the Cooperative Union of Canada who extended greetings from that organization in person.

The president's address and secretary's report were next on the program, and are published elsewhere in abbreviated form.

Treasurer's Report
The Treasurer, Mary E. Arnold, then presented the financial report and proposed budget of The League. In reviewing the financial history of The League she stated that from 1916 until 1926 practically no part of the budget was contributed by Cooperative Associations but by private funds. From 1926 on a steadily increasing share of the expense of The League was carried by member Associations, the larger part of the dues and contributions being paid by foreign-born cooperatives, especially the Scandinavians, who visioned the dream of cooperation covering America. The report for the fiscal year 1933-34 now shows for the first time in black, with the receipts entirely from member Cooperative Associations. This marks the beginning of a self-sustaining and growing League on a sound financial foundation. In conclusion the treasurer announced that a much larger budget would, however, be necessary for the coming year if the proposed General Program of The League was to be carried out in the larger possibilities now present in America.

For adjournment for lunch, the president announced the appointment of the Credentials Committee by the board of directors and the Congress unanimously approved the appointment of the persons suggested by the directors as the committee on Committees and Nominations.

The statement might well be interpreted here that the first session of the Congress was as well as all later sessions started and adjourned on time. Much credit must be given to the planners on the program who faithfully limited their presentations to the allotted time.

Consumers' Cooperative Education
The full afternoon and evening sessions of the first day were given over entirely to various types of Cooperative Education. The January issue of COOPERATION will have a section devoted to extracts from these addresses which, for reasons of economy, cannot be included in this issue.

Cooperative Youth Education was presented by Messrs. Anthony Lehner, Educational Director of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association; C. C. Fink, President of the Noble County, Indiana, Farm Bureau and H. O. Sankari, President of the Cooperative Youth League. A special speaker not on the printed program was then introduced by the speaker on a slate of Mrs. O. H. Olson, Chairman National Executive Junior Committee of the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America who discussed the Cooperative Educational program which had been introduced into the public schools of South Dakota as a result of the joint action of the Farm Organizations.

Geo. W. Jacobson of the Midland Cooperative Oil Association, Mrs. Helen Hayes Lanto of the Local Steers Women's Cooperative Guild, and Edward Carlson, President of the Central States Cooperative League, discussed the subject of the Education of Cooperative Youth.

Fresh from their experience in the Cooperative Training School being conducted by the Central Cooperative Wholesale, Messrs. George Halonen, Educational Director of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, and V. S. Alanne, Executive Secretary of the Northern States Cooperative League, told the Congress about methods of educating Cooperative employees.

The closing subject on the afternoon program was Cooperative Journalism, which was presented by two Cooperative Editors, Mr. A. J. Hayes of The Cooperative Builder, and Mr. James R. Moore of the Ohio Farm Bureau News.

Mr. Woodcock, Chairman of the Committee on Committees and Nominations, presented recommendations to the various committees which were in turn duly approved by the Congress as follows: Committee on Resolutions, Messrs. Sankari, Gilbert, Froberg, Young and Mrs. C. C. Palmer; Committee on Constitution, Messrs. Woodcock, Carlson, Alanne, Cowden, Palmer, Gilbert and Miss Kenyon; Committee on Education, Messrs. Halonen, Hayes, Smith, Campbell, Jessup, Hinshaw, Moore, Lehman, Jacobson, Gilbert, Edberg, Lambert, Alanne, Warinner, Sankari, Cooley and Mrs. Helen Hayes Lanto. Authority was given the Committee on Education to increase its number as it might desire.

The evening session of Thursday included a discussion of the teaching of Consumers' Cooperation in Schools by Dr. M. M. Coady of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, and the subject of Education of the General Public in Consumers' Cooperation by George Reen, General Secre
Sectional Meetings

Evidence that those at the Congress were there for action and willing to expend effort without limitation was given by the large attendance at the early morning sectional meetings in advance of the regular days’ programs. Many were compelled to continue in committee meetings following the adjournment of the evening sessions until a late or even early hour past midnight and yet were on hand in the morning to take part in sectional meetings. All such meetings cannot be listed as some were called informally, but among those publicly announced were meetings of the Cooperative Education, Milk, F. E. R. A. Schools, Self-Help Cooperatives, Women’s Guild, Consumers’ Councils, and Insurance.

Consumers’ Cooperative Business

Mr. H. V. Nurmi, Vice-President of The League, presented at the morning session on Friday, both of which were given over to the general subject of Consumers’ Cooperative Business. Not all forms of activities could, of course, be presented and discussed even briefly in one day but those of most outstanding character at this time were included in the program.

The subject of Cooperative Oil and Farm Supply was presented by Mr. Howard A. Cowden, President of Union Oil Company (Cooperative). In the absence of Mr. Ralph Ingersoll, his place in the discussion of this subject was taken by Mr. Paul Lambert, Credit Manager of the Farmers’ Union Central Exchange. The concluding speaker was Mr. C. L. Brody, Executive Secretary of the Michigan State Farm Bureau.

Cooperative Distribution of Milk, which is one of the most acute questions in America today, was presented by Mr. Roy Larson, Vice-President of Franklin Cooperative Creamery Association and discussed by Mr. J. Linkku, General Manager of Cooperative Trading Company. It might be mentioned here that the October 15 issue of Consumers’ Guide published by the Consumers’ Council of the A.A.A. carries a two-page story by Mr. Linkku which everyone should read.

The last subject on the morning program was Cooperative Insurance, presented by Mr. Murray D. Lincoln, Executive Secretary of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, Mr. V. S. Petersen, Secretary-Treasurer of the Cooperative Insurance Association, and Mr. William A. Hyde, Manager of Chas Service.

The relation of Cooperative Business and the New Deal opened the afternoon session, the first speaker being Mr. Quentin Reynolds, General Manager of the Eastern States Farmers’ Exchange, and the second Dr. J. P. Warbasse, member of the Consumers’ Advisory Board.

The heavy work incident upon the setting up of a permanent national organization prevented Mr. Roy F. Berggren, Executive Secretary of the Credit Union National Extension Bureau from being present in person and his paper on the subject of Cooperative Credit Unions and Banking was read by Mr. Harold P. Winchester, Director of the New York State Credit Union League. The subject was further discussed by Mr. C. H. Laselle, Manager, Insurance Department, Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association.

Budget Committee was presented by Mr. A. W. Warinen, Executive Secretary of Central States Cooperative League, and Mr. E. J. Lever, President of Cooperative Distributors.

Organization and Program of The Cooperative League

The final session of the Congress on Saturday afternoon was given over to business matters and reports of committees.

When the President called the Congress to order, Mr. V. S. Alanne, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, called the roll of registered delegates.

Mr. E. R. Bowen reported as Chairman of the Educational Committee. He first presented a letter from Mr. Tucker Smith, Director of Brookwood Labor College, regretting his inability to be present on account of illness and proposing that Brookwood offer a course in Consumers’ Cooperative Purchasing at a total cost of only $200 for a full eight months’ period including tuition, board, room and laundry, in the event ten students would register for the course. A letter was then read from Dr. Horace M. Kallen of the New School for Social Research of New York City, suggesting a national cooperative newspaper. This was referred to the Educational Committee which was made a permanent committee by the Congress.

Mr. L. E. Woodcock then presented the report of the Constitutional Committee recommending the election of a permanent committee to begin work at once and prepare a report which can be submitted for final adoption within one year. The report was adopted and the temporary committee made permanent.

Mr. H. V. Nurmi, Chairman of the Budget Committee, offered for approval the Congress the proposed budget as prepared by the committee, which the Congress in turn approved, calling for a total income from self-supporting activities, dues and contributions of $10,875 and expenses of $10,630 which would leave a net surplus at the close of the year of $245.

A report of the Cooperative Tour Committee was presented by Mr. Meyer Parodneck, manager of the tour. The first Cooperative Tour, July 30 to September 12, 1934, covered England, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Russia, and was a decided success. Seven American cooperators made the trip at a probable total cost of approximately $360 per person. A Tour Committee for the coming year was appointed consisting of Messrs. Meyer Parodneck, George Halonen, and Anthony Lehner.

A brief report for the Insurance Committee was presented by Mr. Wm. A. Hyde, in the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Murray D. Lincoln. Upon the recommendation of the Committee on Committees the temporary committee was made a permanent Insurance Committee. The Banking Committee consisting of the following, with authority given to the committee to increase its numbers: Chairman, Murray D. Lincoln; Secretary, V. S. Petersen; other members, Messrs. Harry L. Lane, A. N. Howalt, Paul Lambert, A. C. Millington, Ilmar Kauppinen, C. H. Laselle, C. L. Brody, John Hofmann, Roy F. Berggren.
J. O'Shaughnessy, Arne Halonen, Gaylord Nelson, J. C. Russell, C. C. Cogswell, Edward Thornhill, L. A. Williams, A. E. Richardson, Wm. A. Hyde, R. N. Benjamin, Boris Fogelson, C. H. Whittall and Mrs. A. W. Watenbarger, with E. R. Brown as ex-officio member. Upon special motion, the committee was instructed to report its findings and recommendations to the Board of Directors of The Cooperative League and the Board authorized to act.

By action of the Congress a Legislative Committee was appointed consisting of Messrs. Quentin Reynolds, I. H. Hull, H. A. Cowden, Meyer Parodeck, Jules Englander and Miss Dorothy Kenyon.

Reports of the District Leagues were presented by Mr. L. E. Woodcock, Secretary of The Eastern States District League, Mr. V. S. Alanne, Executive Secretary of the Northern States District League and Mr. A. W. Warinner, Executive Secretary of The Central States District League, showing progress in both membership and financial support in all three cases.

The motion of The Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society was then discussed by Mr. Bruno Wagner, President, who in his further plans and appealed to the Cooperative Associations represented for further support.

Mr. John A. McNamara, Secretary of the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers and Firemen, extended to the Congress the cordial greetings of that fraternal organization. Mr. McNamara's monthly publication carries a full page of Consumers' Cooperative news in each issue.

A suggestion for an Eighth Rochdale Principle, originally made in editorial in The Cooperative Builder by Mr. A. J. Hayes, was presented to the Congress by Mr. Bowen and discussed by Mr. Hayes. A special article on this matter will be found elsewhere in this issue.

The election of auditors to inspect the League's books was delegated to the Board of Directors. The question of a Year Book as proposed by The Northern States Cooperative League for consideration of the Congress and presented by Mr. Alanne, Executive Secretary, was referred to the Board of Directors. The Legislative Committee was directed to take action looking toward making the Cooperative laws of the various States uniform.

Mr. For the Resolution Committee, Mr. H. O. Sankari, Chairman, presented for the approval of the Congress the resolutions which will be found under a special heading in this issue. After discussion and amendment, they were adopted in the form as printed.

Mr. Woodcock, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, presented the recommendations of the Committee for Members and Alternates on the Board of Directors of The Cooperative League, which recommendations were accepted with some changes and the following elected:

Terms Expiring 1935

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directors</th>
<th>Terms Expiring 1935</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary E. Arnold</td>
<td>Consumers' Cooperative Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Gideon Edberg</td>
<td>Franklin Cooperative Creamery Assn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Halonen</td>
<td>Central Cooperative Wholesale</td>
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<td>Amalgamated Flooring Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Rubinson</td>
<td>Coop. Bakery of Brownsville 6 E. N. Y.</td>
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<td>A. W. Warinner</td>
<td>Central States Cooperative League</td>
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Terms Expiring 1936

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<th>Directors</th>
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<td>V. S. Alanne</td>
<td>Northern States Cooperative League</td>
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<td>A. S. Goss</td>
<td>Farm Credit Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Hoffmann</td>
<td>Wm. W. Niemelis</td>
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<td>W. Niemelis</td>
<td>The Cooperative League</td>
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<td>*J. P. Warbasse</td>
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The Chairman, Dr. J. P. Warbasse, expressed gratification at the strength and harmony of the American Consumers' Cooperative Movement as evidenced at this Congress, wherein the Congress was formally convened.

Final Directors' Meeting

The new Board of Directors of The League in session the evening following the adjournment of the Congress with the following directors present: Messrs. J. P. Warbasse, A. S. Goss, A. E. Kazan, W. Niemelis, H. V. Nurmi, V. S. Alanne, George Halonen, A. W. Warinner, J. Liukku, L. E. Woodcock, M. Rubinson, Geo. W. Jacobson, I. H. Hull, H. A. Cowden and Miss Mary E. Arnold.

Upon the following officers were elected: President, Dr. J. P. Warbasse; Vice-President, Mr. H. V. Nurmi; Treasurer, Miss Mary E. Arnold; Secretary, Mr. E. R. Bowen. An Executive Committee was appointed consisting of Messrs. J. P. Warbasse, A. E. Kazan, M. Rubinson, L. E. Woodcock and Miss Mary E. Arnold.

Among various subjects discussed and motions passed were the following:

The matter of a Year Book was referred to the directors of The Northern States Cooperative League; Mr. H. A. Cowden was appointed as the representative of The Cooperative League to meet with the other organizations named in the resolution adopted by the Congress to coordinate plans for educational and business matters; a Cooperative News Service was authorized for the League to be paid for by subscriptions was recommended; various matters relative to membership in The League were referred to the Committee; the application for membership of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation by Mr. Murray D. Lincoln, Executive Secretary, on behalf of its affiliated Cooperatives, the Ohio Farm Bureau Service Company and the Farm Bureau Automobile Insurance Company was approved. The President was authorized to appoint a committee to investigate the matter of effective means of membership control of Cooperatives operating among large groups, where attendance upon annual meetings is not practical, and the following members appointed: Messrs. A. S. Goss, V. S. Alanne, George Halonen, M. D. Lincoln, and Miss Mary E. Arnold; the President was instructed to call another Board meeting within a year.

The Board of Directors then adjourned and the Ninetieth Annual Congress of The Cooperative League and its many and various sectional and divisional meetings passed into history.

Terms Expiring 1937

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<tr>
<td>Joseph Blaha</td>
<td>New Cooperative Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>*H. A. Cowden</td>
<td>Union Oil Company (Cooperative)</td>
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<td>*J. H. Hull</td>
<td>Indiana Farm Bureau Coop. Assn.</td>
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<td>*R. Ingerson</td>
<td>Farmers Union Central Exchange</td>
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<td>*G. W. Jacobson</td>
<td>Midland Cooperative Wholesale</td>
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<td>*M. D. Linne</td>
<td>Ohio Farm Bureau Federation</td>
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<td>*Quentin Reynolds</td>
<td>Eastern States Farmers' Exchange</td>
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**ALTERNATES**

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<tr>
<td>*J. Barrett</td>
<td>Pacific Supply Cooperative</td>
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<td>*Helen Hayes Lanto</td>
<td>Central Cooperative Wholesale</td>
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<td>*Hilja Makela</td>
<td>United Coop. Society of Pittsburg</td>
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<td>*James S. Moore</td>
<td>Ohio Farm Bureau Federation</td>
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<td>*C. C. Palmer</td>
<td>Indiana Farm Bureau Coop. Assn.</td>
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<td>*H. O. Sankari</td>
<td>Cooperative Youth League</td>
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<tr>
<td>*J. B. Vanderwende</td>
<td>Midland Cooperative Wholesale</td>
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* Elected at Ninth Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League, October 20, 1934

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Extracts from President’s Address

Dr. J. P. Warbasse

We are meeting at a time when a shattered economic system is desperately engaged in a diversity of experiments, some of which, it is hoped, will result in its rehabilitation. We ourselves represent a system of business which is in need neither of desperate expedients nor of rehabilitating experiments.

Federation of Cooperative Associations Necessary

Our mission here is in the interest of unity among men. The cooperative movement in no country has become strong and secure until the societies were united into a national federation, to help and protect one another.

In 1921, the International Cooperative Alliance, at its Congress at Basel, Switzerland, recognized The League as the national cooperative organization in the United States, and seated its delegates in that Congress. The League’s delegates have been sent to every Congress since that date.

In the United States we have about 6,600 cooperative consumers’ societies, with about 1,800,000 members, doing a business of approximately $365,000,000 a year. There are some 500 societies with stores, 2100 banking societies, 1600 farmers’ supply cooperatives, about 1500 oil societies, and 900 societies carrying on housing, restaurants, bakeries, milk supply, insurance, telephone service, medical care, electric supply, and other services.

Fifteen years ago none of these were members of a national consumers’ cooperative union. Today the Cooperative League has 1450 member societies, with a total of 500,000 individual members, doing a business of nearly $100,000,000 a year.

This is only a beginning. A union embracing all of these societies is the aim. It is a cooperative principle that individuals unite to help one another and to be helped by one another; and it is equally a cooperative principle that societies shall do the same. For a society to stand aloof and assert its competence to get along alone is justified in the world of cooperation only to the same degree as it is for an individual to hold himself out of the society. A cooperative movement does not exist in any country where the societies are not federated, no matter how many societies there are, nor how large their membership, or turnover. Cooperative societies not thus federated for world cooperation are not a part of the cooperative movement; they are local, private businesses.

There may be differences of interests and conflicts of opinion among societies, but these differences are best reconciled when they are worked out together in a common cause. They can never be reconciled so long as they stay apart. Cooperative societies need one another just as we human beings do.

Depression Demonstrates Cooperative Business More Successful

In all of this depression business, even in our own country, there has been a better showing than profit business. The losses which members have suffered in their cooperative societies have amounted to a small fraction of the losses suffered by investors in similar profit businesses, comparing capital investment with capital investment. Cooperative societies may look with amazement at the losses sustained in the petroleum industry, the banks, and in the wholesale corporations run for profit. Already cooperatives have learned how to conduct business more successfully than our so-called master minds. The “old guard” of reaction will have to find something better than its old people back.

Next Steps

While our movement is going on toward national union, there are many other steps to be taken. We need to expand our cooperative education. Cooperative banking is but little used when we consider its possibilities. Medical service offers a field of alluring possibilities which cooperation has scarcely touched. In our country we need to move on more earnestly into the field of production for our own use. Our movement in the United States has now attained to sufficient national growth to go forward in solving new problems and meeting new conditions. The cooperative organization of the unemployed is a peculiarly American opportunity.

Services vs. Wages and Prices

The idea, unfortunately, is still entertained that wages and income are all important economic factors. “Give us good wages and good prices,” the worker and farmer are prone to say, “and our problem is solved.” This fallacy can no longer be held in the presence of uncontrolled retail prices. It is not money after all that people want, but the things and services that can be purchased with money. Cooperation is the direct way to these things. It makes life, instead of money, the basis of economic endeavor. It discovers the consumer and helps him to get what he needs.

We now witness the spectacle of our master political and business minds—may we call them our master midwives—sitting by the bedside of capitalism in travail, waiting for a future that refuses to be born. While in our cooperative household we behold our lusty infant advancing toward adolescence.

Cooperation Means Democratic Local Control

Capitalistic business is based on centralized administration and centralized control. When cooperation expands to become the biggest business in a community or country, this great business is only an aggregation of smaller local businesses, each with local control and local autonomy. The smaller businesses own and control the big business. This is the reason why in some situations cooperation continues to expand beyond the capacity of profit business. Cooperation takes over big industries in which capitalism has failed.

The Rewards of the Future

The economic savings of cooperation in the United States represent only a little stream, shunted off from the great current of profits. But this stream is growing large. The surplus savings effected by our consumers’ societies last year, amounted to about $30,000,000. That we may think of as a beginning and an encouragement.

The business of this Congress is the engineering problem of building these sluice ways that will shunt off the golden stream of private profits and conduct them as cooperative streams into the homes of the organized consumers. It is for us to devise the means and to inspire the vision to these ends.

We should not lose sight of the fact that our efforts have as their ultimate result changing the motive of business from that of profits to that of service, and making the home, and not the shop, the factory, and the field, the first object of perfection.

And then above and beyond the economic considerations are the richer rewards—the cultural advantages of working together in the spirit of mutual aid for the winning of better lives and for the reservation of the individual in a mechanized age.

Two Significant Signs

It was remarked that one striking difference between the Congress of The Cooperative League and national meetings of many other organizations, was that the program was not loaded with Government speakers, indicating that the Congress Cooperative Purchasing Movement was able to stand on its own feet.

The Congress indicated that Americans are now beginning to think of themselves more generally as consumers. All these past hundreds of years we have seemingly assumed that consumption took care of itself. We are gradually learning that the first necessity in an age of plenty is to get purchasing power into the hands of consumers.
Extracts from General Secretary’s Report

E. R. Bowen

If there ever was need of economic statemanship to preserve and promote democracy, it is in a time like this, when dictatorships of the right and left are sweeping over the world. Which nations of the world will be the bulwarks against them, on which their proposals of dictatorship will break? Will America take a place alongside Great Britain and Scandinavia and others in evolutionary democratic action towards peace and plenty for all?

The Results of Maldistribution

2 per cent of the people formerly owned only 5 per cent of the wealth; now 2 per cent own 80 per cent of the wealth. New statistics on the distribution of savings show that less than 1 per cent of the people saved as much as 1928 as 98 per cent of the people. In 1900, only 35 per cent of the State of Iowa was farmed by tenants rather than by owners; in 1933 tenancy had increased to 58 per cent. What other facts and figures do we need to prove that the farm or the city is not able to buy as much as city workers consume the goods which the former produce, just as they should unite together as consumers?

Living on Credit Nearing an End

For more than 20 years we have staved off the evil day in America. Our present economic system showed definite signs of breakdown in 1912. It has only been by excessive credit ever since that time that it has functioned in an almost limited way. There have been four periods and kinds of credit issued: first, during the war, by the government granting foreign war loans; then, after the war, by the people purchasing peace-time bonds; later, by widespread expansion of installment selling; and, now, by government domestic borrowing. Living on credit must soon reach an end. We must soon face the issue in America of deciding how to pay as we go. Will we do it by inheritance and income taxes and recover from the few the excess savings which we have given them which they cannot consume, or will we do it by sales and other consumption taxes and thereby push the mass of people down still further? It is for America to decide soon.

Democracy or Dictatorship

There is also facing us a great world crisis during which we will have to determine whether we will accept plutocratic or totalitarian dictatorships or people’s democratic control over our political, religious, educational and economic lives. May America’s decision be in favor of continuing the political, religious and educational democracies our forefathers have given us and using them as the instruments to develop economic democracy in an evolutionary way!

This Congress of Consumers’ Cooperative Purchasing Associations is the only fully free democratic organization. It knows no race, religious, educational, political, or vocational barrier to common action. It is the only group in America that really knows the answer to our economic ills. The responsibility on us is great.

The Need of a League of Consumers’ Cooperative Purchasing Associations

Of first necessity in making the greatest progress toward economic democracy is the joining together of all the Cooperative Purchasing of Consumers’ Cooperative Associations in America for united forward efforts along Educational, Auditing, Supply, Service, Insurance and Banking lines. The Rochdale principles are broad enough to enable all groups, no matter how divided on other grounds, to unite as consumers into cooperatives. We are not here divided farm groups or labor groups or religious or political groups, but all consumers and united together as consumers for common action.

Two Names for the Same Thing—Cooperative Purchasing and Consumers’ Cooperation

And may I here and now clear up, I hope for all time, one of the things which has served to keep industrial and farm cooperative groups apart in America—the simple matter of a difference in terminology. Industrial cooperative groups who brought the idea of cooperation with them from their native countries and implanted it on American soil, naturally used the phrase “Consumers’ Cooperation.” Farm organizations, when once they began to adopt the idea, used the natural phrase “Cooperative Purchasing” as the opposite to “Cooperative Marketing” with which they were familiar. Consumers’ Cooperation and Cooperative Purchasing, however, mean one and the same thing. Let us accept that once and for all. We might well combine the two phrases into “Consumers’ Cooperative Purchasing.” As long as Rochdale principles are adopted there can be no difference because of terminology. Consumers are everybody, whether farmers or factory or office workers. Those who purchase together co-operatively act as consumers whether they live on the farm or in the city. Farmers do not simply produce, and city residents consume; farmers consume the goods which they produce, just as much as city workers consume the food which farmers produce.

The NRA and the AAA

I see in the NRA and the AAA two quite distinct purposes. Business, which is already largely organized into monopolies, to exploit the people by high salaries and earnings, needed to be curbed for the best interests of the people, rather than helped by government sanction in price and production control through the NRA. Farmers, on the other hand, as well as factory workers, needed assistance in organizing for united action of prices and payrolls. Farmers and factory workers have been handicapped in dealing with banking and business because of lack of equal organization. The AAA, and clause 7-A, which support further organization of farmers and workers than they had themselves been previously able to bring about, only tip the scale more equally in their favor.

It has been said that reduction of production and raising prices by farmers is both uneconomic and immoral. I believe that those why this fail to recognize the practical necessity of every one of the four great divisions of our economic life operating on the same basis. So long as banking reduces credit and raises interest, business reduces production and raises prices, labor restricts hours and raises wages, just so long must farmers likewise operate on a production limitation and price raising basis. In other words, the practical fact is that all four must organize on a scarcity basis under the present economic system in order to develop economic democracy. Farmers and factory workers should help one another to organize to increase their bargaining powers as vocational groups just as they should unite together as consumers.

The final end, however, is not to continue to operate on a scarcity economy basis, but, along with farmers and workers organizing further as vocational groups to exert all the bargaining power they can, as they must do, both should aggressively promote Consumers Cooperative Purchasing organization to replace our present scarcity economic system as rapidly as possible with a cooperative economic system of plenty for all the people. Only by such action can we have true plenty-parity and balanced abundance.

Farm Cooperative Associations Must Promote City Consumers’ Cooperatives

It is my definite belief that cooperative purchasing and marketing by farm groups is not enough to give them...
price-parity and plenty. Take the illustration of milk. Today many farmers purchase their fertilizer, seed and feed cooperatively and eliminate private profit in the production of milk. The same farmers sell their milk cooperatively through their marketing associations and bring it to the edge of the city with no loss through the necessity of paying private profits to any group. But then they are helpless in the most vital matter of all and that is in effective control over the price they receive. And they will continue to be ineffective indefinitely unless the present attempts at government support, until they help to organize their customers into Consumers Cooperative Purchasing Associations which will deal direct with Farm Marketing Cooperatives at the edge of the city and thereby eliminate entirely the present middle-man-monopoly control over milk prices which are so high prices to farm producers as to cause them to go bankrupt or live in poverty and charge such high prices to the city consumers as to reduce the consumption of milk below the minimum for health.

Farm cooperatives, both purchasing and marketing, must actively support the organization of city consumers' cooperative purchasing associations for their own self-protection. In no other way can they share in the plenty that might be possible for all today.

Consumers' Cooperation Means Private-Property but not Private-Profit.

The purposes of The Cooperative League should be made clear to all. It is organized to help bring into universal existence the fourth great economic system in the world's history—the first of which was Slavery; the second, Serfdom; the third, Capitalism; and, as I prefer to call it, Middle-Man-Monopoly; the fourth, the coming system of cooperation.

Capitalism means the elimination of private property. Let me express clearly my personal position in this matter, as I see it in the light of the Rochdale Principles. The truth is entirely to the contrary. Cooperation proposes to preserve the principle of private property which capitalism has largely caused to be lost by the people as a whole. It stands against private-profit, but supports private-property. It stands for the private-ownership of "use" property as it might be called—everything that we can individually own and control to the advantage of the individual and society. I would myself very definitely include in such property to be privately owned, under a cooperative economic system, the farms and homes of which the people as a whole have now largely lost ownership under the present capitalistic system. Cooperation proposes to recover private ownership of property for the people. It is Capitalism which has caused us to lose individual ownership. Cooperation will recover it.

When 65 per cent of the farms of the State of South Dakota are owner-owned and 58 per cent of my own home State of Iowa is tenant-farmed, how can we maintain the fiction that Capitalism means private ownership? It only means it for the few, not the many. Cooperation means private ownership for the many. Then, also as regards industries and utilities as well as "use" property, cooperation likewise preserves that principle of private ownership. Each of us will own individually, under cooperation, shares in the employees and production of all the necessities and luxuries of life, but the voting control will be in terms of men and not money.

General Program of Action of The Cooperative League

Under the heading of national organizations there should grow out of this Congress plans for a much greater extension of Men's, Women's and Youth Leagues of Cooperatives. District Leagues of those desiring to join together in certain areas are a part of the National League program. This has been found advisable in other countries and I believe is even more so here, where areas and distances are greater.

I hope this Congress will fully consider the subject of County and City Consumers' Councils. It seems to me that we have a great opportunity to take up this idea which was half-heartedly supported by the government and use it as a means of promoting cooperative education and organization. State Federations of Consumers' and Producers' Organizations are also included in the Program of Action of The Cooperative League. These are not a new development, but can be expanded to advantage.

The League as Missionary, Organizer, Adviser and Protector

In every sense of the word, it is proper to use the same phrase as used by The Cooperative Union of Great Britain and describe the first of the four divisions of the work of the National League as that of being an Economic Home Missionary for general education in Consumers' Cooperation. My own preference would be to call it advertising.

The second function of The Cooperative League is to act as Advance Organizer of Consumers' Cooperatives. The League should reach out into new fields which will later be taken over by wholesale associations, and the League's efforts then released for further advance promotion work.

The third function of the League is to render assistance to Consumers' Cooperatives after they are once organized.

A fourth and final general division of the work of The Cooperative League is that of rendering legal protection to Consumers' Cooperatives.

General Outline of Literature of The Cooperative League

New literature is being developed as rapidly as possible, both of an educational and organizational nature. Educational pamphlets will include study outlines, call to action pamphlets and stories of cooperative practice in different countries. Organizational literature will include leaflets discussing "why" and pamphlets telling "how" to set up cooperative clubs and all forms of permanent cooperative associations. Such literature must eventually be distributed literally by the millions in America, in order to educate the people to Consumers' Cooperation.

The Consumer Emerges

After long years of dependence upon individual effort as producers, we have now reached the definite end of a producers' economic order. We are now attempting to prevent the complete breakdown of that order by the use of our political government. There are, however, already many signs of political disillusionment such as took place in Great Britain after the Reform Bill. It was as a result of the political disillusionment and economic distress of the so-called "hungry forties" in Great Britain that Consumers' Cooperation finally established the foundations of its constant growth during the ninety years since that time. It is not impossible that history may record the "hungry thirties" as the foundation of the greater growth of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement in America.

Our task is clear, the responsibility on cooperative leaders is great, we must pass on to others in increasing rapidity the great vision which we have been privileged to gain of a Consumers' Cooperative Democracy of peace and plenty for all.

May the discussions and decisions of this Congress, at the close of nearly twenty-one years of preliminary effort on the part of The Cooperative League, be a significant step in the more rapid growth of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement in America!
Resolutions Adopted by the Ninth Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League

A Five Year Plan To Coordinate Cooperative Activity

BE IT RESOLVED:
1. That a committee of seven be established for the purpose of drafting a Five-Year Program of Cooperation, and that the Cooperative League, in its Method and Ideas of consumers and marketing associations, be served as a forum for the exchange of information, and also to provide for the protection of the masses of consumers and employers against the evils of present industrial conditions.

2. That one member of such committee be appointed by The Cooperative League, and the other members be selected by the National Congress of the Cooperative League, to be named by the National Cooperative Union, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Farmers Equity Union, the National Grange, the National Cooperative Union, and Credit Union National Extension Bureau.

3. That the purposes of this program be:
   a. To promote a united effort of cooperatives in education, public opinion, press, schools, colleges, radio, and other mediums available, during the next five years.
   b. To secure legislation and executive action for the protection of the cooperative movement, which will both protect and promote the interests of the Cooperative movement, including cooperative marketing and cooperation.
   c. And in general to correlate our many varied activities with the aims of creating more cohesive, national, cooperative, and consumer-organized groups.

4. That this Committee be instructed not to draw up any report which shall be submitted to the Board of Directors of The Cooperative League, but that such committee be instructed to devise and suggest means and ways of getting into effect this plan.

5. That this Committee be asked to term itself in session at the close of the next session of Congress and to continue its work until the next session of Congress.

A Federal Department of the Consumer

BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress concur in the recommendation that a Department of the Consumer be organized as a branch of the Federal Government, with a Secretary who will be a member of the President’s Cabinet.

Prison-Made Goods

WHEREAS, it is the purpose of consumers and the movement to eliminate the use of prison labor and competitive prices, to lower the cost of living, and to avoid the misuse of prison labor.

The prison-made goods bill was the beginning of the prison labor movement in the United States. It was passed by the House of Representatives and referred to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, but was not reported. It was finally withdrawn from consideration by the Senate and never became a law.

Pure Food and Drugs Bill

WHEREAS, at the last session of the United States Congress a new food and drugs bill was introduced, to eliminate some of the many swindles and frauds of the market, and to retaliate against the trusts, and to establish a uniform system of regulation throughout the country.

Child Labor Amendment

WHEREAS, it has been the practice of employers to reduce labor costs by using the labor of children; and

WHEREAS, this vicious practice has resulted, in the opinion of Congress, in the passage of the Child Labor Amendment of 1924, which has proven to be a failure.

Fascism

WHEREAS, in every country where Fascism has been introduced, the government has been either directly or indirectly dominated by the Fascist Party, and

WHEREAS, this has been accomplished by driving one against another, and by the use of terror, murder, and brutality.

National Press Service

For the progressive development of an efficient cooperative press and other avenues of public opinion, and to provide for the adequate maintenance of the national savings and loan system, the Congress of The Cooperative League of the United States, A. 0. S. A., by a majority of its members, hereby provide the appointment of a National Press Service, to be established by the President of the United States, and to be maintained by the cooperative movement, for the purpose of providing a platform for the dissemination of cooperative ideas and principles.

Farming Credit

BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress composed of delegates representing both agricultural and urban cooperatives, place itself on record as favoring an amendment to the Farm Credit Act which will permit the cooperation of cooperative purchasing associations without regard to the occupations pursued by their members.
American Coopers suggest Eighth Rochdale Principle

Mr. A. J. Hayes, Editor of the Cooperative Builder, made a most significant suggestion in a recent editorial as follows:

"National" Secretary E. R. Bowen, addressing the recent annual convention of the Northern States Cooperative League at St. Paul, expressed what, in our opinion, ought to be incorporated at this day as another fundamental principle of the Rochdale system of Consumers' Cooperation. Briefly, his contention is, that every cooperative organization worthy of the name and truly committed to the ideal of repossessing for the masses of mankind the means of production and distribution, which have been disastrously concentrated in the hands of the few under capitalism, must ceaselessly work in the direction of adding on new lines of service. We must not stand still, satisfied with taking over some one, but expand to take over every necessary form of enterprise within our reach.

"Where a cooperative store has successfully dealt in groceries and meats for twenty years, and has attempted nothing more, that store society must be looked upon as failing to live up to the cooperative purpose. Where an oil association boasts of plentiful reserves, and the cooperatives' distribution of milk, groceries, coal or the many other necessary commodities and services required by the people in its community, that association is also failing in its mission as one of the foundation stones of the future cooperative commonwealth."

When one reads the seven basic principles of the Rochdale pioneers, it would seem that they do not fully suggest what we call the American "go-getting" spirit. These seven basic principles were:

1. Open Membership
2. Democratic Voting
3. Patronage Dividends
4. Limited Interest
5. Constant Education
6. Neutrality
7. Cash Trading

It might be said that the fifth principle of "Constant Education" covers this thought of "Expansion" but there is a lack of the thought of action in the word education.

Dr. Warbasse, President of the Cooperative League, to whom this editorial was submitted, offers this phraseology for an eighth principle:

8. Continuous Expansion.

This suggestion on the part of Mr. Hayes was submitted to the Congress for its consideration and unanimous approval given to its presentation before the Committee of the International Cooperative Alliance in whose hands has been placed the subject of the Rochdale Principles. It is to be hoped that the Consumers' Cooperative Movement in America may not only have the honor of adding another to the original Rochdale principles but that by our aggressive activities in the future we may demonstrate our purpose constantly to practice the spirit of this suggestion.

The Unfinished Work of the Congress

Many highly significant and far-reaching decisions were made and initial organizations started at The Cooperative League Congress. But other necessary things were left undone because of lack of time and the present stage of thinking of cooperators due to our comparatively short experience...
in working together. It is well to take stock now of what we accomplished and what we still have ahead of us to do.

1. Organization of League. Everyone can feel highly gratified over the formation into one great organization of practically all of the major Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Associations, representing city and country consumers, farm, factory and office workers who attended the Congress. They realize all the more clearly that we are all consumers under the skin and must organize to act together accordingly. It is passingly strange how the Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Movement has developed in America. While the Cooperative League was the only national educational organization representing Consumers' Cooperation in the United States, yet many of the large farm Cooperative Purchasing Associations had grown up both without organized relationship to other such associations and without membership in the League. The misunderstandings and difficulties in the process of absorption might have been great but were found to be insubstantial. The city and country folks found that working together as consumers was easy and pleasant. Other Cooperative Purchasing Associations who are not yet members of the League are still outside the fold only because they have not yet been contacted to the same degree as those who have joined and will undoubtedly also become members in due time. But already the Cooperative League represents the great majority of the larger Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Associations in the United States and is organized to promote the Movement in a much larger way.

2. General Education or Advertising. Those of us who have been trained in ordinary commercial business drop unconsciously into the phraseology to which we are accustomed and use the word advertising rather than education. Advertising seems to us to have more action than education even though the latter has certainly caused its to be frowned upon by some. But whether education or advertising is the better word, that part of the work of the League is now getting under way aggressively. Already a number of noted journalists and magazines are beginning to devote the space to writing and publishing articles about the Movement. Speakers are in demand on forums and various State and even National Organization programs to discuss Consumers' Cooperation. While much more is possible and is planned for, still this part of the League's program is well under way.

3. Personal Education or Sales Promotion. After inquiries are received as a result of general education or advertising, the next necessary thing is to have the specific literature to follow them up in the most effective way to produce action. This part of the League's program is still weak. While we have some pamphlets, they are only a small part of the complete series we should and must have as soon as possible. The League Staff is not yet large enough to assign one person full time to the job of preparing study courses and pamphlet material to cover the full range of educational and organizational literature needed to properly answer the inquiries we are now receiving. We must now depend upon voluntary help to a large extent which, while efficient, cannot naturally not be called upon extensively, as those who are capable of doing such writing are already engaged in other occupations and can only use their spare time. The first job of the unfinished work of the Congress is to raise the necessary funds to meet the Minimum Efficiency Budget, rather than the Minimum Activity Budget as now provided, in order to arrange for the necessary full time Research Educator-Editor for the preparation of more specific literature.

4. Field Work or Sales. This problem is also yet to be solved. Inquiries that have to do with the kinds of services now being supplied by wholesalers and located in their territories are naturally given first priority. Such inquiries must now largely be handled by mail without the personal follow-up of a field man. The results are accordingly limited. There are three possible solutions—either field men must be provided for the National or District Leagues of the various Wholesales must organize to handle such inquiries even though there may be no immediate revenue in doing so. But after such inquiries are received and literature mailed and definite signs of a desire for action is evidenced, then if America is to be cooperatized as rapidly as it must be, funds must be provided and organizations perfected to do this necessary field men's follow-up job. A summary of the situation would probably be correctly stated as this: the Consumers' Cooperative Purchasing Movement is now organized to eventually get behind a Program of Action in a real way; that we have gotten together at a Congress and found one another mutually agreeable, stimulating, and possessing valuable information which we can all profitably share; that we have under way quite definitely the first of the three major kinds of work for which the League is organized, that of General Education or Advertising, but that we still have ahead of us the financing and organizing necessary to do the other two major jobs in a real way, that of Personal Education or Sales Promotion and that of Field Work or Sales.

The question now is when we will do them. We have only made the necessary start.

Independent Editorial Comment on the Congress from Other Journals

These two, of the many editorial articles devoted to the Congress of the Cooperative League, reflect the new note of recognition acquired by the general press of the country to the Consumers' Cooperative Movements.

The Christian Century, an outstanding independent religious journal, said editorially in the issue of October 31:

"Such a congress as The Cooperative League of the United States held in Chicago from October 18 to 20 is indicative of the great social change impending in American life altogether apart from the field of political action. For the first time, the consumers' cooperative movement in this country bids fair to move on a national scale. It would not be in accord with the facts to say that cooperative purchasing is a new idea in the United States. It is not. This was the ninth biennial congress of the League, and long before the league was formed there were cooperative associations putting Rockdale principles into practice in various parts of the country. But most of the discussion of cooperatives has been either theoretical or descriptive of European movements. And most of the cooperative action has been exceedingly parochial. Now it is evident that something of an entirely different nature is about to confront the nation. Building on the belief that the basic difficulty in the American economic scene today is under-consumption, and that this can be eliminated only by restoring the control of the producing and distributing process to the consumer, the Cooperative League has at last succeeded in welding practically all the cooperative bodies that now exist into a true federation which means to preach the gospel of cooperation in every part of the country. To this new movement the churches should give close attention. In Japan, Kagawa finds the one method by which he can work toward a Christian social order in a Christian way. In this country,
The World's Biggest Business Man Visits the United States

As perhaps everyone familiar with the cooperative movement already knows, or at least should know, Sir William Dudley was the president of the biggest business in Great Britain, the Great Cooperative Wholesale Society. He recently visited this country in company with Mr. W. D. Graham, a director, and Mr. A. H. Hobley, chief wheat buyer of the C. W. S.

We asked, by way of introduction, if the party would place a sufficient amount of orders to relieve our so-called "surpluses." The answer was that that would depend upon American prices, as of course it should, since Cooperation is "business" and not "friendship."

An open conference would have to be made by the General Secretary of the League that, while he told the truth in answering questions that were asked him relative to the Cooperative Movement in the United States, he might not altogether have told the "whole" truth, as the questions, while courteously worded, were somewhat too embarrassingly supple in the necessary capital. Each member has a vote, regardless of his financial interest. The members elect directors, who choose the management. From the profits of the enterprise, after deduction of fixed charges and surplus, rebates are paid to members in proportion to their purchases.

"Under the present system, the seller and the buyer are basically hostile. Under cooperation, buyer and seller are one. Cooperation can be—and is—applied to production as well as to consumption. There are cooperative marketing groups, fully cooperatives, restaurants, banks and insurance companies. There is no form or trade to which it is not applicable."

"There have been failures, caused, I gather by lack of understanding of the basic idea. People were glad to save money, but grew impatient when the savings were delayed. Cooperation, it appears, must begin in a small way, with small savings or none, and expand gradually."

"When this course has been followed, the money saving has been great and the quality of product notably improved. It has reversed the present dogma of the least value for the highest price, and has established a concept of economic democracy which is the most hopeful sign on the gloomy social horizon."

(Printed with the special permission of the Christian Century and the Chicago Daily News)
Sir Dudley dropped were such as these:

"In a depression we learn that we had better get hold of one another's hands."

"We finally learn to cease looking in the direction of politics and start getting on with the job."

"We do not talk about the millions of pounds of trading, insurance and banking of the C. W. S. because of the power they give, but because of the service they render.

The "Century of Progress" is Both Over—and Begun

On the cold, windswept shore of Lake Michigan stands a bleak monument to the shortsightedness of man. The Century of Progress is no more. The profit system rallied its forces for its last great show. The engineers of the world brought the product of a century of toil to the market place—and the people came and saw and retreated into poverty. For those who had taught the world how to produce had failed to teach it how to consume.

A German philosopher a century ago coined what has since been called the Hegelian Dialectic. He said in substance that the old order nurses within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Perhaps unwittingly Henry Ford, prophet of rugged individualism, has voiced the truth which will be responsible for the destruction of the competitive system he so stoutly defends. He has had engraved in bold letters on the walls of his "Pageant of Transportation" these dramatic statements, "Over-production is a money cry, not a human cry," and "Never yet has enough of any good thing been produced for use."

These are the basic criticisms of the old order and the principles upon which the new order must be based.

The philosopher Hegel was right in another respect. The profit system has seen growing in its bosom the seeds of the new order. A week before the "Century of Progress" closed its gates the Cooperative League brought together in congress, almost within the shadow of the once great exposition, the leaders of a movement which has struggled through a period of adolescence and is now moving forward on a national scale toward the creation of a Consumers' Cooperative Democracy. A million consumers have already organized to sell to themselves without exploitation the commodities they use. The new order is an economy of abundance rather than an economy of scarcity. Scientists will bring forth the best product of creative imagination as they are now doing in Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, for the use of their fellows rather than the profit of their masters. And in an economic democracy in which distribution is as important as production, the industrial system will not break down periodically while the poor feed those who are even poorer until the so-called "surpluses" can be consumed.

The Century of Progress exposition at Rochdale, England, in 1944—the centennial of the opening of the first consumers cooperative—will bring together representatives of more than a hundred million cooperators from forty odd nations in a "Federation of the World." This centennial will mark the anniversary of a century of real progress, not a barren tribute to the shortsightedness of man. To the remarkable productive ability of our generation, Consumers' Cooperation has added a practical plan for distribution without exploitation. The "Century of Production Progress" is over—a "Century of Consumers' Progress" has begun.

Cooperative in Action

National Secretary To Address Chicago Forum

The Chicago Forum, in its tenth season "presenting fundamental issues before the American people," will present E. R. Bowen, secretary of The Cooperative League, December 2 in the Goodman Theatre, Chicago. Mr. Bowen will speak on the subject, "The One Sure Way Out."

The Chicago Forum is recognized as one of America's outstanding civic forums. Speakers on this season's program include J. B. S. Haldane, Harry Overstreet, John T. Flynn, Paul Douglas, John Langdon Davies, Norman Thomas, Maurice Hindus, O. M. W. Sprague and other leaders of American thought.

Self-Help Administrators Study Consumers' Cooperation

Self-help administrators from key sections of the country were called together at Chicago, October 18, 19 and 20 to discuss the problems of "unemployed cooperatives" and to attend the Congress of The Cooperative League.

Two New Cooperative Insurance Associations

Taking Exploitation Out of Life—and Death!!!

The Cooperators Life Association was granted a charter by the State of Minnesota, Tuesday, October 2, the 500 initial members were mailed insurance policies immediately and America's new Rochdale Cooperative Life Insurance Association struck out in its long trek to take the exploitation out of life insurance. The formation of the cooperative was projected in the fall of 1932 in the face of America's worst depression and is considered a direct challenge to those institutions which have been reaping tremendous profits on the fear of death.

The Cooperators' Life Association is licensed to operate on a full legal reserve basis under the state fraternal laws and has satisfied the legal requirements to issue all forms of accepted life insurance and to provide this protection on a cooperative basis.

The officers of the new association are: Frank Yetka, Cloquet Cooperative Society, President; V. S. Alanne, Secretary Northern States Cooperative League, Vice-President; Arne Halonen, formerly of Central Cooperative Wholesale, Secretary; John B. Vandermyde, Minnesota Cooperative Oil Association, Treasurer. The temporary directors of the association are: George W. Jacobson, Midland Cooperative Oil Association; Ilmar Kauppinen, Workmen's Mutual Insurance Agency; Geo. Halonen, Central Cooperative Wholesale; T. A. Eide, Franklin Cooperative Creamery; Joseph Pior, Franklin Cooperative Creamery; Wm. Boie, Land O'Lakes Creamery Association; Paul Lambert, Farmers Union Central Exchange; Ed Sivula, Martin Nelson, and Gaylord Nelson, Executive Secretary, New Era (Cooperative) Life Association of Michigan.

Cooperators' Life will maintain offices in the Sexton Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

New Co-op Auto Insurance Company

The American Farmers' Mutual Automobile Insurance Company, Lake Elmo, Minnesota, has been reorganized on a strictly cooperative basis under the name of the American Co-op Insurance Company and has been authorized to write full coverage automobile insurance. The new cooperative will be closely allied with the Midland Cooperative Oil Association which has its headquarters in Minneapolis and serves Minnesota and adjoining states.


The American Forum, Inc. is a non-profit educational organization established to conduct public forums and to publish the results in book and magazine form. The Forum has as its purpose the encouragement of individual and group inquiry into the problems and issues of the day. It is an auxiliary organization to the Chicago Forum, Inc. The American Forum conducts forums, of which there have been about 750, covering about 25 issues of the day. It publishes, for discussion, 24 books and 38 pamphlets. It also edits the American Forum Monthly, 3,000 copies of which are distributed to members of the Forum. The Forum is interested in all sorts of discussion, the most important of which is the discussion of the issues of the day.

The Chicago Forum, Inc., has been a forum since its founding in 1912. It has conducted about 750 forums and has published over 300 books and pamphlets. The Forum has conducted forums on the issues of the day and has published books and pamphlets on the issues of the day. The Forum is interested in all sorts of discussion, the most important of which is the discussion of the issues of the day.
Jacob Baker, Assistant Administrator of the FERA addressed the Congress on "The Relation of Self-help Cooperatives to the Consumers' Cooperative Movement." Twenty of the Administration's Specialists in Cooperation attended, D. C. Los Angeles and intermediate points to attend the Congress, to obtain a unified picture of the activities of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement and to discuss the problems of using Rochdale principles as the basis for a more permanent self-help movement for the unemployed.

Several of the administrators stated that the present work of the unemployed, which in many instances grew as a spontaneous attempt on the part of the unemployed to help themselves, is outstanding its "emergency" status and that a long-range program of action must be substituted for random attempts at self-help. Speakers at the sessions pointed out the desirability of uniting the activities of the employed and unemployed for mutual support.

National Co-operatives, Inc., Votes To Join International Cooperative Wholesale Society

The first organization to swing into action immediately following the Cooperative Congress was National Co-operatives, Incorporated. Sunday morning after the adjournment of the Congress the board of directors of this federation of Cooperative Wholesale Organizations met at the Hotel Morrison, Chicago and took action to affiliate with the International Cooperative Wholesale Society.

The I. C. W. S. is a federation of wholesale associations in thirty-one countries. Last year it placed the world's largest orders on the London market for tea, coffee, and sugar, and has undertaken the production of several commodities for its own use.

Cooperative Wholesale, Inc. took under consideration the possibility of supplying petroleum products to cooperative organizations in foreign countries, heard an offer of a private company to sell to National Co-operatives an oil refinery, and considered the possibilities of taking the entire output of a binder-twelve factory.

Cooperation in Current Literature

The Emerging Consumer continues to emerge, and this month he is not only a consumer but a Cooperative Consumer...

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879...

The New Leader, also of October 20, 1934, described at some length the growth of the Cooperative Movement in recent years.

The Epworth Herald, a bi-weekly journal reaching 24,000 Methodist youth, featured in its issue for October 20 an article written by Rev. Ellis Copeland "Cooperation on the March" and a summary program of action by Dr. H. D. Bollinger under the heading of "What We Can Do About Cooperatives."
The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12, N.Y.C. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

### EDUCATIONAL PAMPHLETS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>What is Consumers' Cooperation</td>
<td>$0.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Story of Toafline, G. Stuart</td>
<td>$0.05</td>
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<td>Cooperation Here and Abroad, H. T. Hughes</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
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<td>Consumers' Cooperative Methods, J. P. Warbasse, 1924</td>
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<tr>
<td>America's Answer—Consumers' Cooperation, E. H. Bowen</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Economic Foundations of World Peace, Toishiko Kagawa</td>
<td>$0.35</td>
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<td>Up From the Shadows, Michel Becker—Translated by Arthur Albrecht</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
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<td>Where the Tall Corn Grows</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other People's Money, Louis D. Brandeis</td>
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### ORGANIZATIONAL PAMPHLETS

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<tr>
<td>How to Start and Run a Rochdale Cooperative Association or Club</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
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<td>Model By-Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Credit Union Primer (By Ilam and Robinson)</td>
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<td>Model Lease for Cooperative Apartment House</td>
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### MISCELLANEOUS

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<tr>
<td>Model Co-op State Law</td>
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<td>&quot;When the Whistle blew&quot; (Story by Bruce Colvert)</td>
<td>$0.06</td>
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<tr>
<td>How a Consumers' Cooperative Differs from Ordinary Business</td>
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<td>Buttons (League emblem), 3/4 inch diameter</td>
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<td>Sign or Transparency of League Emblem, 3 x 3 feet, 3 1/2 inches</td>
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<td>Stock certificates, engraved, with League Emblem, bound in books of 100, 200, or 300</td>
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<tr>
<td>To Mothers</td>
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<td>Little Lessons in Cooperation</td>
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<td>The Burden of Credit</td>
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<td>What is the Cooperative Store</td>
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<td>The Most Necessary Thing in Life</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are You Sure You Are Getting Your Money's Worth</td>
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<td>There Are Two Sides to Every Counter</td>
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<td>Cooperative Youth Songs</td>
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<td>Consumers', Credit, and Productive Societies, pull, 25 of the Bureau of Labour Statistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>What Cooperation means to a depression-ridden America</td>
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### MONTHLY MAGAZINES

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<tr>
<td>Cooperation—(In bundle lots, $7.50 per hundred)</td>
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<td>Subscription, per year (foreign, $1.10)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Review of International Cooperation (Pub. by the I. C. A.)</td>
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### BOOKS

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<tr>
<td>The following books are recommended as containing the best discussion of the modern Cooperative Movement. They may be ordered through The League, postpaid on receipt of price.</td>
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<tr>
<td>H. E. T.: Cooperative Movement in Russia, 1924</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chose and Schindl: Your Money's Worth, A Book for Consumers</td>
<td>$1.10</td>
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<td>Flanagan, J. A.: Wholesale Cooperation in Scotland, 1929</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
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<td>Gide, C.: Consumers' Cooperative Societies, American edition and notes, 1922</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>H. P.: The Story Retold</td>
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<td>Nicholson, M.: Our Story</td>
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<td>Oehls, Theodor: Finland, A Nation of Cooperatives</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
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<td>O'Byrne, Andres: Cooperative Banks and Problems</td>
<td>$1.35</td>
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<td>Potter, R.: Cooperative Movement in Great Britain, 1924</td>
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<td>Roddick, Percy: The Consumers' Place in Society, 1925</td>
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<td>Smith-Gordon &amp; Staples: Rural Reconstruction in Ireland, 1935</td>
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<td>Smith-Gordon and O'Brien: Cooperation in Denmark</td>
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<td>Stolinsky, A.: The Cooperative Movement, (In Yiddish)</td>
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<td>Tretiakova, V.: The Place of Cooperation among other movements</td>
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<td>Warbasse, J. P.: Cooperative Democracy, (1927)</td>
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<td>W cinnamon, J. P.: What Is Cooperation, 1927</td>
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<td>Warbasse, C. E.: Consumers' Cooperative Movement in Illinois, 1926</td>
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<td>Webb, R. and S.: The Consumers' Cooperative Movement, 1921 (Board cover)</td>
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<td>Webb, Beatrice: My Apprenticeship, (1928)</td>
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<td>Webb, Catherine: Industrial Cooperation, 1920</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wod, Leonard: Cooperation and the Future of Industry</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cooperation, Bound Volumes, 1915 to 1922, Inclusive, each year</td>
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<td>The People's Year Book, 1925, English paper, 36, cloth</td>
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