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### JANUARY 1943

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<td>Pennsylvanina Farm Bureau Coop. Ass’n</td>
<td>Walla Walla, Wash.</td>
<td>Pacific N.W. Cooperator</td>
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<td>Southeastern Cooperative League</td>
<td>Harrisburg, Penn.</td>
<td>Pbn. Co-op Review</td>
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<td>United Cooperatives, Inc.</td>
<td>Carrolton, Georgia</td>
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<td>Workmen’s Mutual Fire Ins. Society</td>
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FRATERNAL MEMBERS

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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Credit Union National Association</td>
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1943—ANOTHER COOPERATIVE YEAR

"Consumers' Cooperation is really moving," said a cooperator in a burst of enthusiasm, after sitting in on a session of the National Publicity and Education Committee, who were holding their midwinter conference in Chicago (which has been rightly termed "The National Cooperative Center,") on January 4-5, 1943. The P and E Committee meeting was immediately followed on January 7-8, by the first 1943 quarterly meeting of the Directors of The Cooperative League, at which fourteen of the fifteen directors were present. Because of the urgency of many matters affecting Consumers‘ Cooperation, the national directors of the League not only held a two-day meeting in advance of the Thirteenth Biennial Congress in Minneapolis on September 26-27, 1942, as well as an organization meeting immediately after the Congress, but also held another two-day meeting on November 10-11 and have now started the New Year of 1943 with a two-day meeting early in January. These meetings, he said for the judgment of the delegates in having elected them as well as to the credit of the Directors themselves, are hard-working meetings consisting of at least five sessions.

As a result of the faithfulness of the Directors and Committees to their national responsibilities, the year 1943 has begun with a more definitely planned program for Consumers' Cooperation than ever before. The following pages will give you a summary of some of the highlights. Read them carefully and then resolve to take your place to a greater degree in realizing the challenge of our President-Emeritus, Dr. James P. Warbasse, that "The time for audacity has come." The year of 1943 has been planned out nationally to begin to realize this challenge to greater accomplishments.
1942 AND 1943

Report by E. R. Bowen, General Secretary to the Directors of the Cooperative League at their meeting in Chicago on January 7 and 8, 1943.

I HAVE repeated before the statement made by Fauquet of France that two things are necessary: first, to strengthen the Cooperative Movement internally and second, to give the Movement the radiance it deserves. We did both during 1942—we should do still more in 1943.

1942

Whether 1942 was more or less significant than other years in cooperative history may be difficult to measure, but it was surely a notable year in what was then compared with other years in cooperative work.

1. INTERNAL STRENGTH

1. Recreation

Fortunately we have recognized the fundamental nature of cooperative recreation and have trained hundreds of members to carry on neighborhood folk recreation when travel has now become restricted.

2. Education

An Education Secretary was added to the national staff and the results are already apparent in the Workbooks for Committees, in Outlines for Study-Action Groups, etc. The Special Congress Issue of Consumers' Cooperation is evidence of the fact that the Thirteenth Biennial Congress was outstanding in the publicity it gave the movement and in the educational values of the addresses.

3. Finance

The organization of a National Cooperative Auditing Service was approved by the National Society of Cooperative Accountants, which should produce results of great value in standardizing regional and local cooperative financial statements for comparative purposes and in increased efficiency. More regionals and many more locals went on a cash basis during 1942 as all should do.

The incorporation of a National Cooperative Finance Association was finally approved. We should now be able to begin to mobilize the savings of cooperatives and cooperators and eventually free the Movement from private or political financial control.

4. Business

Lines were diversified to a greater degree—outstanding were the entrance of Ohio and St. Paul into the grocery field. Production facilities were expanded. Ohio bought a refinery. Midland and St. Paul took steps to the same end. Kansas City bought a cannery and sawmill. Pennsylvania, Southern States and Ohio built a feed mill. More building would have been done if material had been available.

The Consumers' Cooperative Movement is most fortunate today in that it is yet largely engaged in the distribution of food and supplies for food production which will be continued to a larger percentage than most lines. This should be kept in mind when irritation develops on account of priority restrictions, under which every other business must also operate.

Consumers' Cooperative

II. EXTERNAL RADIANCE

During the last half of 1942 the Consumers' Cooperative Movement gained its greatest recognition as the consummation of the public welfare. This was in part the result of voluntary action and in part involuntary action.

1. The Movement acted to become the representative of the public welfare in national matters in three important ways: (1) in an adequate and equitable consumers' tax program, (2) in freedom of the air, and (3) in the advance rationing of scarce commodities to prevent hoarding. A revealing comment on Henderson's forced resignation as Administrator of the OPA was this: "The real reason why Henderson was defeated is that there is still no organization in America which speaks for the American people." That is what the Consumers' Cooperative Movement should increasingly become.

2. Relationships with other cooperative, religious, educational, labor and farm organizations were strengthened. This was clearly evidenced by their representatives appearing on the Congress program. The value was demonstrated when we took the lead in the radio and rationing matters and were strongly supported by these other groups. This may prove to be the most important thing of all in the preservation and extension of democracy and the prevention of dictatorship in America.

1943

The agenda of the last Directors meeting discussed general plans for the coming biennium. The following are specific recommendations for 1943 action:

January, 1943

1. INTERNAL STRENGTH

1. Education

a. Education Committees should be organized in every local cooperative.

b. Study-Action Groups should be far more widely organized among members in every cooperative.

c. The proposed National Consumers' Co-Op Technical Magazine should be started.

d. National Research and Education Services for Cooperative leaders should be developed.

2. Finance

a. The drive should be intensified for adequate equity capital in cooperatives.

b. The National Cooperative Finance Association should be gotten under way.

c. Consideration should be given to national insurance.

3. Business

a. 1943 will be significant alone if the first nationally owned cooperative factory is acquired and successfully operated.

b. Other factories should be bought by regionals.

c. More private stores should be taken over and converted into cooperatives.

II. EXTERNAL RADIANCE

1. The first national radio program will be put on the air and funds should be collected for a second longer program for 1944.

2. Preparations should start for the 1944 Centennial Congress.

3. Relationships with other national democratic organizations should be still further strengthened.

4. Post-war cooperative programs should be more definitely planned.
THE CENTURY OF COOPERATION

The first half of the Twentieth Century will go down in history as the period of time when the application of gas and electric power to agriculture and industry first made potential abundance possible for everyone. This meant physical cooperation.

The second half of the Twentieth Century must be the period of time when the people will organize themselves cooperatively to distribute the abundance which power production has made possible. This means social cooperation.

The comprehensiveness of the cooperative ideal grows upon one as time goes on. Cooperation represents a new age of man. It will mean a far greater advance over the age of competition than the people who have been chosen by their fellows to be the standard bearers of the cooperative ideal and to lead in cooperative organization. To become a true cooperators and sluff off the remnants of the competitive spirit in which we have been trained from our youth up by every social organization is the first great task of everyone who would attempt to achieve the cooperative ideal, and should in particular be the responsibility of those who are chosen as leaders.

Vice President Henry A. Wallace first said that the closing years of the twentieth century would become the century of cooperation. Now he says that the closing years of the twentieth century must become the century of the common man. Both statements mean one and the same thing. If the twentieth century is to end as the century of the common man, it must become the century of the cooperative man. We are but forerunners of the cooperative men to be. We should set the example for the present and the future insofar as we are able.

Second, as and when we become true cooperators in spirit, we will automatically join with our fellows in cooperative associations to provide for our needs cooperatively, whether it be recreation, education, finance or business. It is our task to build and strengthen the foundations of cooperation in all of these fields, on which future generations can erect the structures of a cooperative world. When one sees the great cathedrals of Europe which took centuries to build, and where, as George Russell says, "the third generation saw the realization of what their grandfathers had dreamed" one realizes the need of building the foundations strong today to carry the mighty world structure of cooperative peace and plenty.

Third, we must not become exclusive in our social work, but act as though Cooperation represents in themselves a complete cooperative economy. Instead we must join forces with those who are building publicly owned utilities, social insurance programs, labor unions, marketing cooperatives, etc. to build a complete cooperative economy in every form of activity, whether purchasing, marketing, finance, etc.

Fourth, we have a final responsibility as cooperators in helping to develop the cooperative spirit and ideal as the foundation of the other major social organizations as well—in religion, in education, and in politics, or in the church, the school and the government. For all social organizations at any one time in history are built upon similar foundations. Today all are built upon cooperative foundations. Only when all the social organizations become cooperative in spirit and form, will we be able to join them together into a free cooperative society.

We can only today see dimly the steps to the goal. They will become clearer as we strive onward during 1943 and the future years of the twentieth century beyond.

THE Cooperatives associated with The Cooperative League are in the midst of their greatest film undertakings at the present time. There are now available seven silent films and four sound films, with five new movies now in the process of production.

The movies which are now available or which production is in its final stages are as follows:
1. "Planning for a Safer World"—A motion picture presented at the 13th Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League of the USA. This is a sound motion picture, twenty minutes in length, describing dramatically the highlights of The Cooperative League Congress and contains some of the most dynamic speeches which have ever been made on the American cooperative movement.
2. "International Cooperation"—A seven-minute sound motion picture of Neil S. Beaton, president of the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society in his hemispheric-wide radio address from The Cooperative League Congress in Minneapolis in 1941.
3. "Here Is Tomorrow"—A dramatized documentary vividly portraying the development and scope of Consumers Cooperative Wholesale and telling the story of the credit union movement in the United States.
4. "The Credit Union, John Doe's Bank"—This is the first motion picture telling the story of the credit union movement in the United States.
5. "The Turn of the Tide"—A dramatic story of the development of credit unions and the cooperatives by the lobster fishermen on the coast of Maine. It is a 16mm color picture available in both sound and silent versions.
6. "Our Heritage"—A three-reel sound film that is being produced by the Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Cooperative Association about the cooperatives in Pennsylvania. The film is a sound production and will be available in black and white or color.
8. "Traveling the Middle Way in Sweden"—A record of how Sweden's progress has been achieved. The film is divided into three units of two reels each.

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Consumers' Cooperation

NEW AND OLD MOVIES FOR 1943

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RADIO CONTROVERSY ESTABLISHES FUNDAMENTAL POINTS

W. J. Campbell
Assistant Secretary, The Cooperative League

The co-ops are on the air coast-to-coast every Sunday starting February 14.

This announcement is not only news in terms of cooperative publicity but it also has within it the seed of historic portent for cooperatives everywhere.

The first nationwide co-op program is financed by nearly twenty thousand individual co-op members from coast-to-coast, who contributed $1.00 a piece to carry the story of cooperatives to the American people.

The co-op program was scheduled to go on the air October 11 over thirty stations from Massachusetts to California. Final details had been arranged, the first program transcribed and hundreds of thousands of listeners already had made a mental note to tune in, when the two major networks decided that the cooperatives were "controversial in nature" and that time could not be sold to the cooperatives because "they made a fundamental change in the methods of distribution of goods and services."

For two months a controversy raged with thousands of letters going to officials of the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System and the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce.

The venerable Senator George W. Norris introduced a resolution in the Senate asking for thorough investigation of the action of NBC and Columbia. Before this investigation could be launched, however, word about the co-op program and the decision of network sales executives had reached the top in the networks and the men with more familiarity with cooperatives in day-to-day operation sought some sort of a solution of the controversy which would make it possible for cooperatives to carry on with the same rights and privileges as ordinary business.

A meeting at the offices of the National Broadcasting Company was arranged for late November. This was followed by meetings of representatives of The Cooperative League and the Code Committee of the National Association of Broadcasters in Washington December 14. The action of the Code Committee following the conference established several fundamental principles on the right of the cooperatives to purchase time.

First, was the right of the cooperatives to purchase time on an equal status with private business. Second, was the right to tell the cooperative story in terms of the basic principles of cooperation. Third, was the right to use sustaining time for publicizing the cooperative method of retail trade and promoting the cooperative idea. Fourth, was the right of the cooperatives to purchase broadcast time to tell the cooperative story in terms of a fundamental reaffirmation of the right of the cooperatives to purchase broadcast time.

The decision of the National Association of Broadcasters has been hailed by the cooperative movement because "they made a fundamental change in the methods of distribution of goods and services." The Cooperative League Research Service will publish figures on the effectiveness of the cooperative program. A statement released by the League announcing the plan is as follows:

"The co-ops have won their fight against the big radio chains and will be given the opportunity to tell the people of America about the cooperative movement. It is ironic, indeed, in a democracy, to have to say that any group has won a fight for the right to buy time on the air, but that is exactly what happened in the case of the co-ops."

LITTLE LESSONS IN ECONOMIC FACTS WHICH ALL COOPERATORS SHOULD STUDY

Because of the intensity of the many emergency situations which affect Cooperatives today, the Cooperative League has inaugurated a new service for cooperative leaders—COOPERATIVE LEAGUE RESEARCH SERVICE—of which Volume 1, Number 1 has been distributed to the regional directors and staff members.

However, cooperative members generally should also study the same economic facts, and we will, accordingly, continue to publish from time to time statistical tables, charts and explanatory matter in CONSUMERS' COOPERATION, as we have done during the past several years.

Because of the fact that mounting war debts and taxes and increasing price levels are now awakening the people, we are publishing "Little Lessons" on these vital subjects in this issue.

WANTED

We are running short on the following volumes of CONSUMERS' COOPERATION and would be grateful to anyone who can supply them.

I. II. III. IV. V. VIII. IX. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. XXV.

Please communicate with us if you wish to sell any of the above volumes.

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE

167 West 12th St.

New York City

January, 1943
DEBT and democracy are incompatible. Men who have been injured by economic conditions until they are compelled to give a mortgage on their earning power and their energies are not as free as they would like to be, and should be. Only free men can make a democracy.

These self-evident truths were affirmed by the board of directors of the Cooperative League, USA recently when resolutions were adopted and sent to the Congress, the President, Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard, Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones and all other Cabinet officers. The resolutions struck deals with persons and organizations which might seek to get control of farmers and other borrowers from government.

The League board acted after getting a report of long continuing efforts on the part of persons high-up in the Rural Electrification Administration to mobilize REA borrowers into a political pressure group. But the resolutions dealt with principles of democracy and thus they applied to all other government lending agencies and with full recognition that a debt of a citizen to a government agency developed far greater menace to democracy than any other form of debt.

The resolution was as follows:

"Whereas, The obligation of every democratic government is to "govern best" by "governing least" and the obligation of every public servant in a democracy is to strive for conditions which will encourage and enable self-government by all groups, or government by internal forces, and thus lessen the necessity for external political government, and

"Whereas, Our government in Washington, in the years of depression and panic, established through loans of public money and otherwise certain business enterprises as relief measures and also for the improvement of conditions on farms and in towns and cities, and

"Whereas, There is inherent in every gift or loan of public money, the opportunity for persons or forces in government to attempt to gain control of the people to whom loans or gifts are made, and the temptation to seek such authority and control is so insidious that it must be guarded against with the eternal vigilance recommended to those who would preserve their liberties;

"Therefore Be It Resolved:

That the Cooperative League of the USA shall advise the President of the United States and each and every member of the Cabinet of the President, and every Administrator of war agencies of government, and the Congress of the United States, that the League and the millions of cooperators for whom the League speaks, states and affirms these principles to which every democratic government must subscribe:

1. That every society of people interested in preserving a democracy will and must seek every possible means of freeing people, as rapidly as possible, from each and every influence and obligation which might restrict their freedom and their right to fulfill their obligations as citizens of the democracy, and particularly must seek and approve of means which will enable citizens to repay all loans from public funds and thus escape from the ever-present threat to their political freedom which exists in a debt of a citizen to any agency of government, and

2. That every society of people which is interested in preserving democracy must oppose, resolutely, every attempt to use any funds of government or "public funds," or any resource of government or "public resource" in association with any organization or corporation or company which might influence or attempt to influence, the will of the people and particularly the will of any persons who have been affected in any way by the use of those "public funds" or those "public resources," and

3. That the high ideals of democracy expressed by Honorable George W. Norris in writing into the law which provided for the establishment of the Rural Electrification Administration the legal mandate against political activities and political influences in REA should be adhered to in letter and in spirit, and

4. That cooperative organizations of consumers, owned by consumers, organized on the soundest of democratic principles which are government of the organizations by men and not by money, organized and operated on a non-profit basis, organized and owned in large part by the same citizens who are members of rural electrification cooperatives, are fully capable of producing and distributing all the goods and services desired by rural electrification cooperatives and their members and no benefit to cooperatives or to the members of rural electrification cooperatives or to the public can be had from duplication of cooperative organizations, and

5. That the menace to democratic institutions inherent in the loan of public money, by any agency of government, and to any citizen or group of citizens is so great that it is the obligation of the Congress of the United States to maintain constant vigilance over such loans and a constant spotlight of publicity should be kept on the activities of all such agencies of government, including the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and all its subsidiary agencies, the Department of Agriculture and all of its agencies, so that the temptation to misuse public funds will be minimized, and

6. That therefore, every agency of government in these United States should declare immediately against each and every person and each and every organization of persons and every activity of such persons and such organizations which would:

(a) Permit or induce the use of any government funds, by direct or indirect means, for the promotion of any organization which might directly or indirectly, influence the opinion or the policies or the decisions of any agency of government, and

(b) Permit or induce the expenditure of any government funds in the employment of any person any part of whose official activities would be associated in any way with the promotion of any organization which would attempt in any way to influence or control the actions or decisions of policies of our government or any of its agencies."
SETTING THE SIGHTS FOR '43

C. J. McLanahan, Educational Secretary
The Cooperative League

THERE was once a psychology professor who said that the best place to begin was at the beginning. Self-evident as that truth may appear, we have overlooked it in our cooperative groups and all too often have tried to develop our educational programs without first building a sound foundation.

How, it may be asked, can you expect to build an educational program in a local cooperative unless there is some group to take responsibility for doing the job? Of course, many kinds of activities can be carried on spasmodically or for short periods of time or by outside people coming in to promote some special event. But no long-range, smooth-running, self-motivated educational plan can ever be developed unless there is an educational committee on the job 52 weeks of the year.

CCW Sets the Pace

Central Cooperative Wholesale at Superior, Wisconsin, has always believed in the value of educational committees but only lately have they thought of them as an absolute necessity. This year it is their one major goal—an active educational committee in every co-op. They have some unique suggestions.

a. The committee should be related to the board by having at least one board member on it.

b. The committee should be given a budget, perhaps one-half of one per cent or some other percentage of sales with which to work and not have to run hat-in-hand to the board every time there is an expenditure.

c. Committee members should be paid on this same basis as board members, per diem and mileage. You can see how this will raise the prestige of the educational committee, making it as important as the board itself.

d. The committee should consider having a part-time paid secretary who will help carry out decisions of the committee much as the board of directors has the manager to carry out its decisions.

e. CCW will run training schools for these educational secretaries and will hold week-end conferences for members of the educational committee.

As local educational committees come into being, they will want a guide book with suggestions of how they can build up their local program. To fill this need, the educational departments of the regionals, working with the Cooperative League, have prepared regional WORKBOOKS. These are loose-leaf and all carry the same index divisions. The pages in them are, however, tailored for each particular area.

Thus as soon as an educational committee is organized, the regional is prepared to put in its hands a WORKBOOK that is full of how-to-do-it suggestions. There are four main divisions in the book—Organization, Publicity, Public Relations, and Recreation—and under each main heading are a number of sub-divisions. As new ideas are developed, old pages are taken out and new ones added. Thus the WORKBOOK can always be kept up to date and express the latest and best in educational ideas.

Study-Action Groups a Must

After taking care of these elementary and all-important items in building an educational program, we come next to the activities of the committee itself. What should it do? There are any number of worthwhile activities, all of which are outlined in the WORKBOOK. One of the most important activities, however, should be mentioned in detail—that is, the development of Study-Action groups, operating in some areas under the name of Advisory Councils, in others as Neighborhood Clubs and in still others as Guilds.

Every educational committee should develop Study-Action groups in the local community. How many? Louis Warbington of Ohio says, "Organize them until you run out of people." It is in these groups of 6 to 10 families meeting informally in each others' homes that the most valuable membership participation is achieved. Here in these around-the-corner circles, neighbors gather to study, discuss and decide on courses of action. It may be action directly related to building the cooperative, it may be more related to other affairs of the community, but in every case through cooperative planning and participation the members are learning to work together.

There is no better builder of the people. With recreation and good times added in, these small groups become social organizations of immeasurable value. Without them we can build cooperative institutions, but without them it is doubtful whether we can build a cooperative society.

Special Materials Available

In order to supply materials for these Study-Action groups, the League is preparing a series of leaflets and pamphlets. Three of the leaflets are now out, and others will follow at the rate of one a month. "Must It Always Be a Dream?" is the first leaflet, is for use by groups which have come together for the first time and is about how to go about organizing a Study-Action group. No. 2 in the series deals with one of the major economic problems of the day, "What Can We Do to Stop Inflation?" The third is entitled "Whose Air Is It?" and gives the inside story on the turn-down of the Cooperative League's radio program by the big chain broadcasters and throws light on a phase of the radio controversy that has yet to be settled. These leaflets are for one evenings study. The pamphlets will be longer and are designed for from three to six evenings' study. The first of these will be "How to Read Financial Statements" by Miller and Fox of Consumers Cooperative Association, North Kansas City, Missouri. It will be out about the first of February.

There are many other approaches and devices to be used in speeding up the educational program, but in 1943 the big job is to put down the basic foundations, an educational committee in every cooperative, with a well rounded program—and at least one Study-Action group for every 100 member families. Then in '44 we can celebrate our 100 years' anniversary by building on this groundwork the kind of movement of which even the original Rochdalers would be proud.
WHAT'S AHEAD IN COOPERATIVE RECREATION?

Ellen Linson, Recreation Secretary
The Cooperative League

"The war crisis provides a real opportunity for cooperatively administered recreation. Because of the tenseness and strain of these times and because of the curtailment of transportation, there is more need for play and less mobility for commercial amusements. Cooperators who have always emphasized recreation which the people create and participate in themselves, and which gives those participating a creative release, have a challenging opportunity to meet."

The above conclusion of the discussion group on Recreation at the Thirteenth Biennial Congress sums up the situation facing those interested in recreation in the cooperative movement. What specifically can cooperatives and cooperators do? Here are a few recommendations. It is sincerely hoped that all of those who are concerned about the future of recreation will add to these suggestions.

Provide More Recreation Leadership Training

The time when recreation leaders could travel from community to community helping out with an evening of play is over. In addition, those in the community who have been taking the leadership often have been drafted or are doing defense work. This means that local communities are going to have to develop and train new leaders—which is greatly to be desired. Conferences of two or three days where cooperators from a number of near-by communities can get together with a trained staff to learn techniques of leadership should be planned by regional associations. Where the community is large enough, Workshop Training Courses, ten to fifteen weeks, meeting once a week, can be set up.

The National Cooperative Recreation School, well-spring of recreation leadership in the cooperative movement, will not be held this year. Difficulties of transportation, the war effort and shortage of farm help forced the directors to feel that it should be suspended this year. Emphasis will be on regional training schools, probably one week in length, where the transportation problem is not so great. Several such schools are already planned—one in the East, one in Ohio and probably one in southern Wisconsin and another in northern Minnesota. Encouragement should be given the setting up of such training schools in areas not reached by these schools—in the middle west and in the south.

Education-Recreation-Publicity Conference

The five-day National Cooperative Staff Conference, to be held this summer, will bring together local, district, regional and national staff members working in the fields of recreation, education and publicity. It will provide a real opportunity for these groups to discuss mutual problems, and to synthesize their common educational efforts. Such a national conference might be duplicated regionally and locally.

Use Recreation at Meetings, Conferences

Whenever cooperators get together to conduct business, to study or to hear lectures, some form of recreation should be included on the program—games, group singing, a puppet play, dancing. Our cooperative gatherings for the duration may have to be less frequent and smaller, but we can make them lively, enthusiastic gatherings. Let's bring in all four corners of the community in these meetings. We'll get not only a varied, interesting program but a better appreciation of all that it takes to build a well rounded cooperative program.

Recreation Literature

There is a real need for a pamphlet presenting the reasons why recreation is an important part of the whole educational process and how as cooperators we can use recreational techniques in learning how to work together. Much of the thinking along this line has come from the staff of the National Cooperative Recreation School. This material is now being coordinated and edited and is hoped that within this year, this pamphlet will make its appearance.

We need to share our ideas and experiences so that a group in Pennsylvania, for example, can benefit from a group in Wisconsin. For that reason, a Cooperative Recreation News Service, has been launched and will be expanded. It will include not only news stories but sources of new material, reviews, and articles on recreation theory.

One of our real needs is to discover ways in which we can dramatize the philosophy and spirit of the cooperative movement. There is a crying need for good dramatic material, and little, if any, available. Let's encourage authors to explore the possibilities of the cooperative movement as the source of dramatic material. Let's encourage our own groups to dramatize their problems and to produce worthwhile plays.

Youth and Recreation

Surveys have indicated that one of youth's greatest needs is recreation. The need is intensified in time of war, and cooperators can perform a valuable function in stimulating and aiding young people in their need for wholesome play. This does not mean that we should set aside recreation facilities for young people. It is the kind of a "youth program" cooperators should be interested in. The Cooperative Leader has already taken the leadership in discovering new recreational resources in the community to mold youth and build up the cooperative movement. It demands a fine understanding of the principles that underlie cooperative leadership. Young people cleaning up an old hall or a garage for a recreation hall, planning and leading the dances, singing or games, deciding how much to charge themselves and what to do with the "profits"—here's a youth program that starts with a real need of youth—recreation—and builds the spirit of working, planning and playing together that is the foundation of cooperation.

Community Recreation

We should use all of our ingenuity in discovering new recreational resources in our communities and in making them available to all. Cooperative clubs in southern Wisconsin are set a pattern for action that all co-op groups would do well to follow. Members of co-op clubs in this area have taken the leadership in the community in fixing up the present seldom-used community hall or in building a new one, and opening it for community use. In some communities it has started with a regular "open house" sponsored by the co-op club every week or every two weeks, with movies, games, dancing and refreshments, open to all. The program has expanded to the point where the community hall is the social center of the community, with meetings, dances, parties, reading rooms, etc. Here is a role in community relationships which every cooperative should play. Through developing a community hall for social recreation, the cooperative can make an important contribution to the community. It can make friends for and establish the cooperative as a cornerstone of community progress, along with the churches and the schools.

As tensions grow and pressures of all kinds bear down, there will be a real need for the healing relaxation that co-operative play brings.
The vital significance of the fact that the national debt has now crossed the 100 billion dollar line for the first time in history and that estimates predict a debt of 250 billion if the war continues to 1945 should be thought through by every cooperator.

The first world war debt reached 26 billion and was only slightly reduced. Some academic and journalistic apologists for the profit system assume that we will and can carry a debt of 250 billion definitely. This would mean an interest load of at least 5 billion a year, even at 2%, on the backs of the many as long as the profit system is allowed to last. Thomas Jefferson once said, "I place . . . public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared." We should surely heed his warning today.

We, the people, are now generally financially intoxicated from our larger incomes. We want to spend them or save them, rather than to turn our excess savings above minimum needs over to the government to pay for the war. So we force the government to borrow from the banks and duplicate the money we hoard. The "morning-after" always comes when we must pay in money, as we cannot help but pay as we go in goods.

Remember that, as John K. Langum, Assistant Vice-President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, recently said, "The sale of government securities to commercial banks is just another way of printing money. Excessive 'bank bonds' are no less dangerous than greenbacks, about which we know from sad experience."

Other democratic countries are collecting half or more of their expenditures in taxes as compared with our collecting only about one-fourth. Our taxes are likely to be much higher.

For immediate self-preservation from dangers of possible political upheaval and economic collapse inherent in a large national debt, cooperators and cooperatives should prepare themselves for storms ahead by getting out of debt insofar as possible, and also support sound governmental efforts to prevent them.

Consumers' Cooperation

January, 1943

Cooperators should take note of the precipitous drops in prices which have universally followed the end of previous wars and prepare to be "out from under." Prepare to ride the chutes over another precipice. The danger of gambling on inventories should be heeded. If a cooperative has no receivables, it cannot lose by their non-payment. If it has receivables which are fully covered by reserves or capital, then their non-payment can only reduce its assets. If a cooperative has no debts, it cannot be embarrassed by creditors. If its inventory and facilities are fully covered by reserves or capital then a decline in their values can likewise only reduce its assets.

Do not gamble on inventories, get on a cash basis, pay off debts, invest in cooperative capital, build up reasonable cash reserves. Do not be in a position where you can be embarrassed by post-war precipitous price declines. Instead, get ready to buy out competitors when they become embarrassed.

Prices in America in 3 Centuries

Study the Breaks in Prices in 1780, 1812, 1864, and 1920 after Previous Wars.

For immediate self-preservation from dangers of possible political upheaval and economic collapse inherent in a large national debt, cooperators and cooperatives should prepare themselves for storms ahead by getting out of debt insofar as possible, and also support sound governmental efforts to prevent them.

Consumers' Cooperation

January, 1943
BOOK REVIEWS

Democracy by Discussion


There are those who may feel that the issuance of a new little book on the technique of Discussion is an anachronism in time of war. The slogan "pass the ammunition" implies quick, disciplined action. Dr. Bogardus, author of Democracy by Discussion, and Chester Williams, who wrote the foreword, both believe that "in a people's war the problems of running it ought to be grappled with by the people generally as well as by the leaders and experts." They go further and ask a priority rating on consideration and discussion of the practical question of what can the American people themselves do about these wartime problems.

Within the covers of this book are concisely enumerated progressive methods of discussion which may be utilized in any neighborhood group for the purpose of achieving a better community understanding of both the immediate and larger issues represented in winning the war and earning the peace which will follow.

Cooperators will be pleased to note the emphasis Dr. Bogardus places on study and discussion techniques used by cooperatives throughout the United States. He is well known both as an eminent sociologist and as a cooperator. In this book he carefully considers and evaluates the discussion techniques which have been used successfully in the regional areas served by Eastern Cooperative Wholesale, Ohio Farm Bureau, Central States Cooperatives, Central Cooperative Wholesale, and Consumers Cooperative Association.

Discussion technique is defined and articulately described through its evolutionary stages. Chapters are given to the Forum, Panel, Round Table, Listening-Discussion, Informal Discussion, Reading Circle, etc. Dr. Bogardus sweeps away the usual cobwebs of confusion as to what distinguishes these various approaches to discussion from each other.

The influence of cooperative experience is demonstrated in following chapters on Advanced Discussion, Advisory Discussion, and Discussion Group Values. Concluding chapters cover the Organization of Discussion with graphic illustrations of both Discussion and Advisory Groups in action.

The book ends abruptly with the final illustration of an advisory group in action, and the student's appetite by this time is easily stimulated for careful digestion of an excellent annotated bibliography which Dr. Bogardus has thoughtfully included.

It is Dr. Bogardus' premise that "in wartime discussion groups are more urgently vital to democracy than in peace-time." It is his opinion also that the cooperative movement has developed the discussion technique further than any other agency, institution or social movement. It is likewise this reviewer's opinion that Dr. Bogardus, in writing Democracy by Discussion, has prepared for cooperators a most valuable handbook that should be within reach of everyone planning discussion or study circles. Dr. Bogardus writes well and, as Shakespeare may have said, "he has a pretty wit."

—LIONEL PERKINS
Consumers' Cooperation
SPECIAL CONGRESS ISSUE

Copies of the Congress issue of CONSUMERS COOPERATION are still available. This issue contains a complete report of the Cooperative League Congress which was held in Minneapolis in September. All the speeches of the principal speakers appear in condensed form. You may write for a prepared outline for discussion which goes with this issue to The Cooperative League, 608 South Dearborn St., Chicago. This outline will be very useful in discussion groups wishing to use the Congress issue for study.

You may obtain extra copies of the magazine for 25c. per copy from

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE
167 West 12th Street New York City

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AFFILIATED REGIONAL AND NATIONAL COOPERATIVES

Name
Am. Farmers Mutual Auto Ins. Co. Cooperative Builders
Associated Cooperatives, N. Cal. Cooperative Distributors
Central Cooperative Wholesale Cooperative Recreation Service
Central States Cooperatives, Inc. Cuna Supply Cooperative
Consumers Book Cooperative Cooperative Union of Ohio
Consumers Cooperative Association Cooperative Union of Wisconsin
Consumers' Cooperatives Associated Consumers Cooperative Union
Cooperative Distributors
Cooperative Recreational Service
Consumers© Cooperatives Associated
Consumers Cooperative Association
Cuna Supply Cooperative
Cooperative Recreation Service
Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
Farm Bureau Mutual Auto Insurance Co.
Farm Bureau Services
Farmers Cooperative Exchange
Farmers' Union Central Exchange
Grange Cooperative Wholesale
Indiana Farm Bureau Coop. Association
Midland Cooperative Wholesale
Midland Cooperator
National Cooperatives, Inc.
National Cooperative Women's Guild
Pacific Coast Student Co-op League
Pacific Supply Cooperative
Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
Southeastern Cooperative League
United Cooperatives, Inc.
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Credit Union National Association

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE
167 West 12th Street New York City

PROFIT PREVENTS OUR HAVING PLENTY AND PEACE

It's important in any game to get and keep one's eyes on the ball. In the tragically named "game of war" the economic ball that is batted back and forth is profit.

No more revealing phrase was ever coined than by the Truman Committee when they reported that "Even after Dunkirk" the international monopolists continued to play their game of profits by planning to resume relationships after the war. Even after the greatest military defeat and retreat in all history!

Get and keep your eye on the ball of profits. It is profit that has prevented our having enough synthetic rubber. It is profit that restricted the production of aluminum. It is profit that is the economic cause of external political war. It is profit that is the economic cause of internal civil war. It is profit that primarily prevents our having permanent peace and plenty.

That's why the wisdom of the Rochdale Pioneers looms larger with the coming of the centennial of Cooperation. They set out nearly 100 years ago to eliminate profit. They wanted a world of plenty and peace and knew they could not have it under a profit system.

That's why we cooperators have such a responsibility today to "Build Cooperatives Stronger and Faster," to break the chains of profit that bind the world to poverty and war.

An organ to spread the knowledge of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, in voluntary association, purchase and produce for their own use the things they need. Published monthly by The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th St., N. Y. City. On alternate years, however, published monthly excepting Nov.-Dec. issues bi-monthly.

E. B. Bowen, Editor, Wallace J. Campbell, Associate Editor. Contributing Editors: Editors of Cooperative Journals and Educational Directors of Regional Cooperative Associations.

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URGE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE DIRECTORS PAY OFF YOUR DEBTS

The profit system is built on debt. Debt is the other side of the coin of profit. The two are Siamese twins.

Debt started when owners and workers were divided into two classes. To illustrate: suppose total production was $1,000,000. Suppose that the workers received $900,000 for their labor and the owner received $100,000 for his profit. He could not consume the food and goods represented by the $100,000 he received. There was only one thing to do—to sell them to the workers and take their I.O.U.'s for them and put them in debt to the owner. So the process has continued to this day with the worker on the farm and in the factory and office losing ownership of productive property and getting deeper in debt.

The Rochdale Cooperative Pioneers set out to eliminate debt as well as profit. For some reason the elimination of profit is called a major Rochdale principle, while the elimination of debt is called a minor principle. Yet the principle of cash trading, which eliminates debt, is equally as important as the principle of patronage returns on purchases which eliminates profit.

In the United States the national debt has just gone over the 100 billion dollar mark. It is predicted that it will reach 230 billion if the war is not over by 1944. The seventh of the President's seven point program to prevent inflation and deflation urged the payment of private debt.

In view of all of these facts, the Directors of the Cooperative League unanimously passed the following resolution at their recent quarterly meeting in Chicago:

"The Board of Directors of the Cooperative League, meeting on January 7-8, 1943, has given serious consideration to the question of the dangers involved in possible inflation and later deflation as a result of the borrowing of billions of dollars from the banks and the creation of credit currency, and in view of their responsibilities to Cooperatives and to Cooperators in urging upon them such action as will be for their best interests in passing through these critical times, do hereby repeat and urge the following:

"First, that individual cooperative members consider carefully the matter of their financial condition and make every effort to pay off their debts and to get themselves in the soundest possible financial condition.

"Second, that local cooperatives vote their savings into reserves of capital, and that they also use their members to invest their savings to a greater degree than in the shares of cooperatives in order that their cooperative associations may become financially independent and in the strongest possible condition not to meet any storms ahead but also to be able to take advantage of every opportunity for expansion.

"Third, that cooperators mobilize their surplus savings to a greater degree in cooperative securities in order that their regional wholesale associations may enter into production more rapidly and thereby become independent of private sources of supply."

For immediate self-preservation from dangers of possible political upheaval and economic collapse inherent in a large personal debt, cooperators and cooperatives should prepare themselves for storms ahead by getting out of debt insofar as possible, and also support sound governmental efforts to prevent them.

ABUNDANCE IS HERE—IT CAN BE PRODUCED!

At the beginning of the decade of the 1930's, those who had learned what technocracy could do, announced that we could produce plenty for all.

A study "The Chart of Plenty" proved statistically that we had reached the place where we had the farm and factory capacity to produce an average of $4,370 per year, or $375 per month, per family of four.

Now we have demonstrated, according to government statistics, that we can actually produce plenty for all, which these studies predicted. President Roosevelt says: "The tremendous productive capacity of our country, of all countries, has been demonstrated. Freedom from want for everybody, everywhere, is no longer a Utopian dream."

The pamphlet "Income and Economic Progress," which was a summary of a $150,000 four volume study by Brookings Institution, showed that the principal difficulty was in distribution—not in production—that excess savings were piling up in the hands of the few, which should have gone into the hands of the many in purchasing power, and were damming up the stream of distribution.

But none of these studies gave the answer as to how purchasing power was to be distributed so that the many could consume the food and goods they produced.

COOPERATION IS THE ONLY WAY TO DISTRIBUTE ABUNDANCE

While we have now proven that we can produce abundance, we have done so by producing war goods as well as civilian goods, there are less civilian goods available today, we have gone into debt—but we have proven that we can produce abundance, after centuries of scarcity.

We must produce an abundance of civilian goods after the war is over. We can do so. But first, we must organize ourselves so that they can be distributed and consumed. That is why we must adopt COOPERATION.

COOPERATION breaks the bottleneck between the production of plenty and the distribution of plenty to all. It reduces the price to the consumer to cost of production and distribution. It raises the pay of the producer—farmer, worker and professional—so that there are no excess savings between the pay to producers and the price to consumers. Cooperation results in a Just Price to every consumer and a Just Wage to every producer.

COOPERATION is not new and untried. It has been proven by nearly a century of experience. More than half the families of Great Britain are owners of shares in Cooperatives. The democratic Scandinavian countries have proven that COOPERATION reduces prices to consumers and raises pay to producers and distributes purchasing power widely among the people so that they recover ownership of their homes and farms and become shareholders in businesses.

TO HAVE PERMANENT PEACE WE MUST ABOLISH POVERTY

We cannot be a nation of a few rich and many poor. Poverty must go because it causes people to consume little and produce less. There is no longer any excuse for poverty. Poverty for the many is the result of bad economics, bad politics, bad education, and bad ethics. It must and can be abolished by COOPERATION.

February, 1943
AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS INCOMES

According to government index figures, if agricultural and industrial workers incomes were fairly comparable in the base years of 1910-14, then they are also fairly comparable today. The latest index figures are 287.4 for agriculture and 303.1 for industry.

In this chart all farmers are included, whether owners, tenants or employed hired hands. The millions of unemployed industrial workers, however, are not included. If unemployed industrial workers had been included in the chart from 1920 to 1940, the dotted line showing their incomes would have been much lower and likely near the solid line showing the incomes of agricultural workers.

Farmers and factory workers incomes generally go up and down together. They have the same basic economic interests. Both have been receiving too low incomes as compared with the profits of industry and finance. Both have been losing ownership of productive property and getting further in debt on their durable consumer goods.

AVERAGE INCOME OF AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS, UNITED STATES, 1910-42

Farmers and factory workers have common cause against the profiteering of industry and finance and should unite their interests as consumers in cooperatives to increase their real incomes, to recover ownership of homes and farms and shares in business enterprises, and to get out of debt.

NATIONAL, REGIONAL, DISTRICT, AND LOCAL COOPERATIVE STAFF ORGANIZATION

As presented to the Directors of The Cooperative League at their quarterly meeting on January 7-8, 1943. Since then the Management Committee of Superior has recommended to their directors the adoption of a similar organizational structure for their regional staff.

To start the discussion among cooperators on this important subject we are making the following general observations:

Since the Consumers' Cooperative Movement is in its early stages of development in the United States, we have grown somewhat like "Topsy," as was natural.

Because we are in our early stages of development our organization structure is comparatively flexible and can be more readily changed than when it becomes more permanent with entrenched positions as in some other countries.

There are three major functions in Co-
be the tendency in the Regional, with a single Board of Directors. However, for the three regional offices, there should be three co-equal Department Managers of Education, Finance and Business under the General Manager, with all other heads of divisions coordinated under them, as called for in the chart. This might, we believe, do two things first, relieve the General Manager of the pressure of dealing directly with so many division heads, and second, develop three Department Managers under him who would relate together the work of the various divisions.

In the chart, two alternative methods are provided for the District organization structure—first, the three District men working separately under the direction of the three regional department managers, or second, their work being coordinated under a District Manager. If the latter were done the activities in each District might be more efficiently carried out and without additional expense by reducing the number of Districts.

The Local organization structure shown in the chart calls for all three functions to be coordinated under a Local Manager.

These comments are made, not with any intention of presenting them as final conclusions, but to stimulate discussion on the important subject of staff organization.

**A CONSUMER-OWNED DAILY PRESS**

By Paul Gre...
and the desire to keep up with the Joneses, would be omitted. With all other advertising, such as want ads, limited and subordinated, news would become not a byproduct of the publishing business, but its sole concern.

It is an instructive experiment to measure the columns of advertising space against the news columns in any daily newspaper. While one has the yardstick in hand, it is well to estimate the amount of real news as distinguished from serial stories, beauty hints, horoscopes, comic strips, society and movie gossip, horse race tips, and the overdone pages of sports and financial quotations.

Careful surveys of reading habits in a number of cities have found that the average reader gives only 20 minutes a day to his newspaper. If this has a moral it is that a daily journal designed to fit the reader's convenience. In effect, this would constitute a daily digest, the format of which would not be far from handouts of official press agents and more stage setting or mood music to prepare the public mind for developments. A great many speeches delivered by public figures are not of their own composition but have been carefully plant for reasons of political strategy. There is usually a solid core of purpose hidden among all these words, and it should be the function of a properly edited newspaper to seek this out, rather than waste space on columns after column in an unanalytical repetition of what most likely already has been heard over the radio.

This digest, according to my plan, would appear five mornings each week, from Monday through Friday. Absence of Saturday and Sunday publication would be primarily in the interest of economy, since among other items it must be considered that newspaper writers and printers customarily work only five days a week. Such arrangement need not be counter to the advantage of subscribers, since either Saturday or Sunday, or on both days, a full account of important news developments could be given through a specially prepared radio broadcast. These programs however should not consist of a bare recital of what has happened, but might be cast in the form of a running comment between a man and a woman, or as a modernized version of the Breakast Table.

In reaching out over the air the digest undoubtedly would attract many new readers to its printed editions and spread the word that here was a real people's newspaper in which all might share.

This must be a complete newspaper, combining with a thorough coverage of public affairs elements hitherto found only in such publications as Propaganda Analysis, Consumers' Union and the newsletters of Kiplinger and David Lawrence. Much may also be learned from the concise technique of radio news broadcasts and from the more comprehensive back ground treatment in such weekly digests as Time and Newsweek.

A great deal of the political news that finds its way to print nowadays comes from handouts of official press agents and is mere stage setting or mood music to prepare the public mind for developments. A great many speeches delivered by public figures are not of their own composition but have been carefully plant for reasons of political strategy. There is usually a solid core of purpose hidden among all these words, and it should be the function of a properly edited newspaper to seek this out, rather than waste space on columns after column in an unanalytical repetition of what most likely already has been heard over the radio.

No newspaper of general circulation is adequately reporting the news of the pro- gressive or radical thought of this country. Someone familiar with contemporary political and economic thought should be set to reviewing these journals, which emerge from the New Republic, Nation and Progressive to the Socialist Call and the Communist Daily Worker.

Thus "Column Left" would balance "Column Right," and in between might be a survey of the public mind. A great deal of interest and a certain amount of credence is attached to the Gallup Polls of public opinion, and this digest by printing a ballot of its own on some outstanding issue could supplement its column of letters to the editor to sound the sentiment of the people.

I am convinced that the turn of circumstances is bringing close the auspicious moment for the establishment not only of a central digests, one in each city having a cooperative wholesale.

Local pride and the keen sense of proprietorship, assets of great value to each regional cooperative, could have full play under a cost-saving arrangement for the exchange of news among the several digests. Insofar as possible, once the type were set in one office, the others would make use of it without resetting. Economy would be found in the exchange of the paper to seek this out, rather than waste space on columns after column in an unanalytical repetition of what most likely already has been heard over the radio.

These mats, from which the metal plates are made for the rotary presses, are quite light and durable, capable of being transported over long distances without injury. Through use of the airmail, any mats suitable for publication could be sent from the central plant in time for simultaneous use in a number of cities. Thus the outlying publication centers could obtain all except their local news and occasional flashes on late developments at low cost.

The situation thus would be that in each city the digest would prepare its own pages of regional news, set up in its own plant, but for many of the other pages would make use of the inexpensive castings from the mats delivered by airmail.
On many occasions an article developed in one of these regional offices would be mailed in the same way to all cooperative members of the publishing pool.

In opening this discussion in the columns of the Cooperative Consumer, the editor, Mr. James W. Cummins, wrote:

"First of all, before a free press can be established, it is necessary that the people should want to be free, and before they want to be free, they must realize the forces that enslave their minds, and sometimes their bodies."

THROUGH PLAY TO UNDERSTANDING

E. R. Bryan

DURING the last five years the Ohio Farm Bureau through the youth division of its Education Department has carried on a consistent action program for youth with profound results. It does not follow a set program in its youth activities but constantly works at getting youth of Ohio acquainted with the Cooperative Movement and group play.

A major part of the group play activity is the folk dance—the dance of the people. Why the folk dance has worked "wonders" with young people is difficult to explain; however, the play situation of the folk dance has proven beyond a doubt that better social relations have been created among young people. Its free style of spontaneous active fun sets up situations that allow young people to become thoroughly absorbed with their fellow players in the play. The slower dancers can "pick themselves up" or be helped to "pick themselves up" imaginatively and "get into" the folk dance, the sooner gaiety will result. Somehow we believe the folk dance is not adulterated fun is sponsored and enjoyed by plain simple folk. It should also be mentioned that the folk dance is not just for youth—an many neighborhoods youth and adults together are finding the folk dance a relaxing social activity.

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So we believe the folk dance more rapidly than any other play situation, does allow the individual to take on new life. He can psychically 'lift' himself above the cares of the day with undeterred velocity of speed and with his fellow players in the same "fix" take on harmony of spirit and unexcelled happiness. The writer recalls an expression of verbal joy from a youth who had just spent an evening in folk dancing: "Why haven't I had as much fun since I fell out of the cradle."

A youth "lost" in folk dancing—this applies to other forms of play as well—has very little time to get "down in the dumps," less time to feel sorry for himself, is too busy to be self-conscious, and has small reason to build up grudges against people and conditions, and is less likely to form habits of thought which take on the garb of "the world owes me a living." Even the Biblical verse which states: "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it . . ." takes on higher meaning when one gets himself to understand the importance of entering into a folk dance with full abandonment.

The Play Party, as one form of the folk dance, is held in high esteem by the young people in Ohio. A Cooperative Youth Council meeting never gets very far before someone exclaims: "Let's play Brown Eyed Mary or Jingle at the Window or Pig in the Parlor," etc.

The Play Party, as one form of the folk dance, is held in high esteem by the young people in Ohio. A Cooperative Youth Council meeting never gets very far before someone exclaims: "Let's play Brown Eyed Mary or Jingle at the Window or Pig in the Parlor," etc.

Proof of this is a case cited when on the first evening of the Ohio State Fair in 1941, youth of the organized Cooperative Young Councils were invited to participate in a jamboree barn dance party put on by Radio Station WLW of Cincinnati. 640 young people showed up from 34 Councils, some driving 350 miles to take part in the jamboree. This was a sight to behold! In the massive Coliseum building on the State Fair grounds could be seen 80 sets of square dancers all dancing the same figures at the same time!

In passing may it be emphasized that folk dances of many lands are carefully chosen to be presented to the young people, that this fun through the folk dance is shared by men and women together, that no prizes or distant objectives are set up for the best dancers, and that no glamour through special costumes is tolerated. Just plain simple unadulterated fun is sponsored and enjoyed by plain simple folk. It should also be mentioned that the folk dance is not just for youth—an many neighborhoods youth and adults together are finding the folk dance a relaxing social activity.

Why all this emphasis placed upon play through the folk dance as is being attempted through the youth division of the Education Department of the Ohio Farm Bureau? Simply because this organization sees that young people need to experience the spirit of cooperative operative minded and to throw overboard the spirit of "everybody for himself."

THE DAYS OF THE BIG PUSH

C. J. McLanahan, Educational Secretary Cooperative League of USA

Somewhere, always, there is a drive going forward. In the fall and winter, however, drive efforts pick up. It is the season of the "great effort," the "big push." This year has been no exception. Scan the cooperative horizon and in every direction the air is thick with the dust of drives. Drives to raise new members, drives to gain new members and raise new volume, drives to gain new members and drives to collect money for refineries. The Movement is on the march.

The Old Campaigner

Out of the welter of drives, large and small, there are several major efforts.
CCA values these drives for the stimulus that it gives their local associations. Members participate on committees, neighbors become better acquainted and there is the thrill of accomplishment. Best of all, associations are made conscious that it is worth taking the trouble to add new members. Too many co-ops just wait for members to come in on the basis of their patronage savings. The member never makes a positive decision that he wants to become part of the association.

High Tide Along the Atlantic

Back in the New England States and along the Atlantic Seaboard Eastern Cooperative League has been stirring their co-ops with a "Tune Up" drive. In the original plans they weren't so much concerned with getting new members and more capital as they were with strengthening and tuning up their stores for the tough days to come. However, the advent of coupon rationing shifted the emphasis somewhat to include vigorous efforts to get consumers in the neighborhood of the stores interested and informed of the advantages of using their coupons for co-op merchandise. The way was paved for the drive last fall with a circuit riding tour by Manager Woodcock. At 22 trade area centers Mr. Woodcock gave a talk and held open forum on questions relating to the wholesale. The drive itself got under way with a series of "drive clinics" held in the same areas. Purpose of these clinics was to provide an permanent anchor for Midland's fast moving plans to go into production. Worked around the novel idea of a Railroad System, their announcement reads: "All aboard-The Midland Streamliner, Co-op Production (Un) Limited leaving on Track 1943. Stops at Refineryville, Feed Mill Crossing, Cannery Junction and points north, east, south and west."

Drive plans are closely coordinated and set fall. Manager Smaby gives direction and coordination to the drive through periodic straight-from-the-shoulder broadcasts over a chain of radio stations that blankets Minnesota and Wisconsin.

CCA, Midland and Eastern are presently functioning a never longer than these drives. Ohio just completed a drive that netted them a quarter of a million dollars for their new refinery; Central States has just pushed forward their new regional paper with a special run of 25,000; Pacific Supply is driving for an all-round tightening up of credit. As surely as one wave of drives reaches its crest and falls away another wave moves in to take its place. Constantly the Cooperative Movement is extending its reach.

Those Slow Moving Swedes . . . ?

Up in Minnesota and Wisconsin, Midland and affiliates have launched one of the most ambitious drives in history. In three months' time they have set a goal of organizing 1500 Neighborhood Study-Action Clubs. Purpose of these clubs is to provide an permanent anchor for Midland's fast moving plans to go into production. Worked around the novel idea of a Railroad System, their announcement reads: "All aboard-The Midland Streamliner, Co-op Production (Un) Limited leaving on Track 1943. Stops at Refineryville, Feed Mill Crossing, Cannery Junction and points north, east, south and west."

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Go Thou . . .

If you haven't a drive scheduled, plan one. There is nothing like this kind of a shot in the arm to wake up your members. It's the world's best antidote for lethargy, apathy and downright indifference.

CREDIT UNION AND COOPERATIVE LEAGUE

PLAN CLOSER COOPERATION

The first joint meeting of executives of the Credit Union National Association and the Cooperative League of the USA was held in Indianapolis January 29 to take plans for closer cooperation of the two national organizations.

Representing the Credit Union National Association were William Reid, president; Roy F. Bergengren, managing director; John Suominen, a member of the executive committee; Thomas W. Log, assistant managing director; Dora Maxwell, organization director; and Earl Jefro, assistant general manager of the CUNA Mutual Insurance Co.

Representing the Cooperative League were Murray D. Lincoln, president; E. R. Brown, general secretary; Glenn Fox, director of finance of the Consumers Cooperative Association; and Herbert C. Fledderjohn, publicity director of the Indiana Farm Bureau Co-op Ass'n.

Under consideration at this historic meeting of the joint committees of the Credit Union National Association and The Cooperative League of the USA were practical steps in cooperation exchange distribution of motion pictures, transcriptions and literature. The joint committee suggested that Emil Selvig, president of the National Association of Cooperative Accountants work with the Credit Union National Association in building joint auditing services and that cooperative auditors be made available to audit credit unions in their territory where such service is available.

February, 1943
John Carson  
Washington Representative  
The Cooperative League

II. Today, at the University of Minnesota where consumers first sat with University professors to get facts and then pledged themselves to launch an unceasing campaign back home in support of sound financial policies in the national government, in states, in cities and in the homes.

The Midland Cooperative Wholesale of Minneapolis and Central Cooperative Wholesale of Superior, Wisconsin, joined with the League of Women Voters and other civilian groups to organize a conference members of cooperatives and other organizations in a plan for continuation study.

The conference began with a complete review of the financial problems of the federal government by G. Sidney Houston, manager of the research department of the First Service Corporation, a banking corporation of St. Paul.

Then Arthur W. Marget, professor of economics and finance of the University of Minnesota, explained how the productive machinery of the country was mobilized for war and particularly how our war effort was being financed now through billions of dollars of bank-made money and he warned about the explosive inflationary possibilities in this condition. Arthur M. Borak, professor of economics, described existing tax laws and indicated the possibility that a general sales tax controls would be adopted. Roy G. Blakey, professor of economics and nationally recognized for almost a quarter of a century, called for more taxation and with charts and statistics supported his appeal. Bowen and Roland S. Vaile, professor of economics, talked about government controls of prices and agreed that while price controls had to be eliminated, taxation to take away spending power was the only effective control of prices.

On the second day of the conference Arthur R. Upgren, former professor of economics and now vice-president of the Federal Reserve Bank, appealed for the acceptance of the proposition that we are in a revolution against the three predominant ideas of the eighteenth century: liberal democracy, national self-determination and laissez-faire economics.

First, the new democracy must interpret liberty and equality in economic, as well as political, terms.

Second, the international relations of the future must recognize "the need for a larger unit than the present nation for military and economic purposes."

Third, "The Economic Crisis," as the title of the chapter reads, is the result of having sought in terms of three words which might be expressed together as Producer-Individual-Wealth. The new economic conception must be in terms of consumer-social-welfare.

Under laissez-faire capitalism, "the price mechanism expressed the preferences of the consumer; profitability determined the preferences of the producer; and the interplay of these factors, both measurable in terms of money, assured the automatic working of the economic system in a manner related to produce the maximum of measurable wealth."

The consumer was said to be a "crowning absurdity" reached of government subsidizing producers to produce goods which they then paid them to destroy. Then the world turned to "rearmament—the simplest form of planned consumption."

Professor Carr declares in his fifth and last chapter of the first section that "the economic crisis is in essence a moral crisis." This he discusses at length. Individual profits, which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had provided the motive force of the economic system, has failed us, and we have not yet discovered any moral substitute for it. Nothing but war seems sufficiently worthwhile. He further emphasizes the need of a new moral substitute in these words:

"There is no practical difficulty about the solution of the economic problem: what we lack is a sufficiently compelling moral purpose."

"The economic machine refuses to run until we discover a new moral purpose to re-\nplace the now exhausted and ineptive profit motive as the driving force; and this purpose, when it is discovered will also provide democracy with the new source of social cohesion which it needs to replace the discarded doctrine of the harmony of interests."

"The essential nature of the crisis through which we are passing is neither military, nor political, nor economic, but religious. A new faith in a new moral purpose is required to reanimate our political and economic system."

"Our civilization is in danger of perishing for lack of something with which we have dispensed for 200 years, but with which we cannot dispense without a new moral purpose, avowed moral purpose, involving the call for common sacrifice for a recognized common good."
Unlike too many authors, Professor Carr does not leave his readers altogether gasping for a solution. While he does not specifically lead the reader who studies his way through into action as an active member and advocate of such economic organizations, he does say:

"The disappearance of price and profit as the dominant factors in the economic system involves a profound modification of the conception of property."

"The liberal society of isolated independent individuals automatically working in the pursuit of their own profit for the good of all is dead; and it was only in that society that the 'laws' of the classical economists were valid. That society and those laws were called into being and justified by a period in which to stimulate an expansion of production was the primary condition of progress. From that period—the period of 'scarcity economics'—we have now emerged. Rightly or wrongly, it is now commonly believed that civilised man has mastered the problem of scarcity, and can produce without undue strain on his capacity all that he needs or wants to consume. Not poverty, but unemployment is the scourge of our social system. Our most urgent economic problem is no longer the exploitation of the producer but the equitable distribution of consumption and the control of the growth of prices. Our productive capacity all that he needs or wants to consume. Not poverty, but unemployment is the scourge of our social system. Our most urgent economic problem is no longer the exploitation of the producer but the equitable distribution of consumption and the control of the growth of prices."

"The second essential of economic reconstruction is the substitution of welfare for wealth as our governing purpose, and the consequent abandonment of considerations of price and profit as the determining factor of production."

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"Finally, the war has brought the final period of the bankruptcy of the political, economic and moral system which did duty in the prosperous days of the nineteenth century. "There is no guarantee that out of it will grow a more permanent purpose to create in time of peace a new world based on new principles and new social philosophy. All that can be said with certainty is that the war will not leave us where it found us."
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Credit Union National Association

Madison, Wisconsin

FRATERNAL MEMBERS

The Bridge
From an economic standpoint, what we are involved in, according to an article by Father Hugo in the Catholic Worker, is a three-way fight between the economic systems of Monopoly, Fascism and Communism. Internally, our economic problem today is the Abolition of Monopoly, as before it was the Abolition of Slavery. We must never lose sight of our own internal economic problem. As a British writer, Jennie Lee, indicates in the New Republic, an internal war within the external war must be constantly waged against the barbarians inside our own gates.

The famous New York Times book reviewer, John Chamberlain, says that "if Germany keeps its cartel system it will be eternally armed for war." So will we if we retain our monopoly system. We will never be economically free internally or nationally free externally. Monopoly economic dictatorship at home must be abolished. Cooperative economic democracy must prevail. We must become economically free at home.

THE NATIONAL PRODUCT AND ITS EXPENDITURE

One of the reasons for the superiority of the economic education of the people of Sweden, as compared with the people of the United States and other countries, is clearly stated by Kellstrom, author of the section on Sweden in the book, "Price Control: War Against Inflation":

"Academic economists in Sweden enjoy probably more respect and influence with their people and their government than anywhere else in the world. They write regularly for newspapers and periodicals. Some of them are members of Parliament and leaders in various political parties. Public interest in the views of the economists has been encouraged by Sweden's program of adult education, especially in the social and economic fields. This adult education has contributed in no small manner to one important fact—the Swedish public itself has a good understanding of broad economic policies."

In the United States the basic economic facts which everyone should know are only found in complete form in such publications as "The Survey of Current Business" issued by the U.S. Department of Commerce, "The Federal Reserve Bulletin," issued by the Federal Reserve Board, and in similar publications issued by the Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor, the Treasury, etc., which comparatively few of the people see and read.

There is also "confusion confounded" in the manner in which the statistics are issued. Some are based on index figures of 1910-14, some on 1923-25, some on 1926, some on 1933-39, some on August 1939 just before war started in Europe. Furthermore, the government's fiscal year is not the same as the calendar year, but ends on June 30 of each year. Again, reports cover both national product and national income and confuse the reader, who is unfamiliar with the variations between them.

Cooperators should be the most intelligent economically of all because they start from the right point of view, the viewpoint of the consumer. We are endeavoring, from month to month in CONSUMERS' COOPERATION, to interpret some of the vital national statistics with which cooperators should be familiar.

The National Product is much more than the National Income. Included in National Product are the billions of taxes paid direct by corporations to the government, the billions of dollars paid out for plant rehabilitation, and such items. These are all deducted before the National Income is computed. National Income only includes the amounts paid out in dividends, interest, rent and wages to the people. The government publications stress the importance of thinking first in terms of the National Product as we are doing here.

In the fiscal year of 1943, or the twelve months from June 30, 1942 to June 30, 1943, which is not yet completed, the estimated total National Product will be about 164 billion dollars. Of this amount, the government's share is estimated as 84 billion, and the civilians' share as about 80 billion. Do not confuse these figures with those in the President's message to Congress early in January, 1943 calling for a government expenditure of some 107 billion dollars, which has to do with the 1944 fiscal year beginning on June 30 of this year.

Of the amount of 84 billion allocated to the government, only 21 billion is provided from taxes and 3 billion from trust accounts such as social security, or 24 billion in all. This leaves 60 billion to be borrowed out of the 84 billion. Of this amount of 60 billion, about 12 billion is being borrowed direct from the public bonds, leaving 48 billion to be borrowed from the banks. These are round figures, and estimates subject to change.

The principal problem is not that of producing plenty for both the maximum needs of the government and the minimum needs of civilians. The greater problem is the education of the people to pay for more of the government's share in taxes, instead of by borrowing, in order not to lose the war against inflation at home. The income which the people, as a whole, get for the production of war goods should be turned over to the government to pay for the war goods, without hesitation. The amount of each one's share should be graduated above a survival minimum. During an all-out war such as this, little more should be kept by the people than the minimum necessary amount for food, clothing, shelter, transportation, medical and other

March, 1943
services. That would be enough money to pay for all the civilian goods and services that are available. If more than that amount is "held-out" by the people and they attempt to spend it, it will mean that the goods will be worth more and the money will be worth less (or be worthless since no more actual goods will be gotten) but that a much higher inflated price will be paid for nothing. The money had far better be turned over to the government immediately than to get nothing for it now and to build up a debt burden for the future.

If we, the people, require our government to borrow from the banks, then we cannot blame anyone but ourselves when the money we hoard is duplicated through the banks and we become self-imposed victims of wild inflation and deflation after the war.

The President’s seven point program to prevent inflation and deflation had, as point number one, to increase taxes, and, as point number seven, to pay off our own debts. We should do both to prevent economic disaster to the nation and to ourselves.

SHALL WE PUT PERMANENT PLASSTERS ON OUR ECONOMIC CANCERS?

When Beatrice Webb reported early in the 1900’s, as chairman of the minority committee on the Revision of the Poor Law in England, she advocated a National Minimum which would guarantee to everyone a minimum of income, leisure, housing, health and education. As President Roosevelt has more recently said, there must be a floor beneath which no one can fall. We must no longer continue to maintain a sieve through which countless of our fellows sift down into degradation. In England the idea of revising the National Minimum is again raised by the Beveridge Committee Report.

We should recognize the proposal of a National Minimum, guaranteed by the political government, for what it really is. The "economic royalists" support it as insurance against civil war. In Germany Bismarck developed the idea early and extensively for that purpose. The "dispossessed" support it as a relief from their extreme impoverishment.

Those who see things through, as cooperators, should support the idea of a government guaranteed National Minimum only as a temporary relief measure. They should not be deceived and assume that it incorporates either true economic justice or economic security, or provides for economic prosperity. The permanent solution for the cancers of poverty, unemployment, tenancy, sickness and ignorance, which the National Minimum is designed to alleviate, cannot be achieved through a political government, if it is to continue democratic. A government cannot remain truly democratic and indefinitely be forced to attempt to relieve a dictatorial economy. Either the government will become dictatorial, or the economy must become democratic. When an economy becomes democratic it will, within itself and not as a dependent upon government, provide an abundant and just distribution of income, employment, ownership, health and education.

Plastering social cancers is not the final remedy. Only surgery really removes physical cancers and only surgery can remove social cancers. In the meantime, whatever is done by the government in the way of a relief program should be on the cooperative self-help basis.
length of England, would become political.

Under such a plan, the Amalgamated Housing Society's bus line, carrying its members to and from the railroad station, would be taken over by the New York City government. Our rural electrification projects would relinquish their cooperative hopes. Cooperative housing, the most promising method for supplying homes, would be abolished. Political housing, which in Vienna, Stockholm, Copenhagen, New York and everywhere else has proved its superiority to the cooperative method, would supplant co-operative housing. Cooperative banking and cooperative insurance would be discontinued and the business taken over by the government.

To advocate that "production and distribution" be given over to political control to function "under the cooperative principle of non-profit" is a poor sop to cooperation. When the political machine carries on business on the alleged non-profit basis, it is far from "the cooperative principle of non-profit." Cooperation has developed for something better than finding itself perpetuated in "the cooperative principle of non-profit" in government business. Such an end can never before realized were within their power. This experience of more than a hundred years indicates that no one is justified in saying, "Here cooperation must stop, it can go no farther."

Experience indicates that the people in their cooperative societies can gradually develop the skill to perform for themselves any useful service performed by profit business and by the political state. They can take on the functions of profit businesses because it is a failing and disintegrating system. But business once taken over by the political government does not fail. It does not have to make profits. The taxpayers can make up the deficit. The influence of the political machine which runs it tends to keep it going. Office holders are not prone to resign. The state is strong where profit business is weak. For cooperators to leave the field of cooperation, and proceed to build up a political mechanism to take the place of the cooperative method is a betrayal of the boundless opportunity bequeathed to mankind by the patient efforts of cooperators throughout the world.

WALL STREET MOVES TO WASHINGTON

Monopoly Is on the March
Toward Dictatorship

The economic reason for America's entering the first world war was most clearly expressed in the statements of two of the principal political leaders of that time.

The first statement was made by President Wilson in a speech in St. Louis shortly following the war, in which he said: "Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here, or any woman, let me say, is there any child, who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry. This war was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

Now we are engaged in a second world war. From an economic standpoint the forces engaged, as clearly stated by Father Hugo in 'The Catholic Worker,' are Monopolism, Fascism and Communism. The first world war was economically a struggle between various forms of Capitalism. During the twenty years intervening, Capitalism had, in the large nations, developed into various forms of economic dictatorship. Now the three dictatorial forms of economy represented by Monopolism, Fascism and Communism are engaged in a death struggle between them. If either of these three forms of economy survive in the end, the people the world over will be crushed under economic dictatorship.
What Is Happening Economically in the United States Today?

Senator Harry S. Truman, chairman of the Senate investigating committee, supplied the answer, "I am taking this opportunity to tell the Senate about the biggest business monopoly in the history of the world, which has been created in Washington under the very eyes of Congress. Big business has shifted into our bureaucratic agencies, such as the War and Navy Departments and the War Production Board. It has placed thousands of its representatives in Washington."

Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr. says that "At the beginning of the war small business firms, 175,000 strong, were producing about 70 per cent of the nation's manufacturing. The remaining 30 per cent was turned out by about 100 major corporations that go to make up what is properly known as "Big Business." Now, after two years of the national defense and war programs, the situation has been completely reversed. The 100 major corporations today are holding 70 per cent of the war and essential civilian production contracts."

"The war emergency has given big business its long-awaited opportunity," says Scott Nearing. "It is expanding its manufacturing plant with government guarantees of profits, driving its small competitors out of business, taking a prominent part in running the government, and reducing its income tax payments by presuming to sell democracy to the American people."

Representative Jerry Voorhis recently said before the annual meeting of the Progressive Education Association that "Private monopolies are the antithesis of democratic government and the death of free enterprise. Yet under the emergencies of war monopoly is growing increasingly entrenched in industry and indirectly in finance through control of the agencies of the political government."

"If the ultimate result of our enormous sacrifices of this war," said Secretary Harold L. Ickes before the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association in St. Louis, "shall be to solidify the hold of the monopolists upon this country with an economy of scarcity; if, flowing from the war, there shall be a renewal of the system of international cartelization— if these are the things we are sweating for and crying for and shedding our blood for, then my advice to you would be to seek an immediate peace with the enemy... There is no difference, ultimately, between an economy dictated by Hitler and one imposed by concentrated wealth."

Perhaps William Allen White describes the situation most graphically of all: "It is silly to say New Dealers run this war show," he wrote. "It's largely run by absentee owners of amalgamated industrial wealth, men who either directly or through their employers control small minority blocks, closely organized, that manipulate the physical plants of these trusts. Also, for the most part, these managerial magnates whom one meets in Washington are decent Americans. For the most part they are giving to the American people superb service. They have great talents. If you touch them in nine relations of life out of ten, they are kindly, courteous, Christian gentlemen. But in the tenth relation, where it touches their own organization, they are stiff, mad, ruthless, unchecked by God or man, paranoics, in fact, as evil in their designs as Hitler. They are determined to come out of this war victors for their own stockholders... This attitude of the men who control the great commodity industries and who propose to run them according to their own judgment and their own morals, does not make a pretty picture for the welfare of the commercial man. These international combinations of industrial capital are fierce troglodytes animals with tremendous power and no social brains. They hover like the old silurian reptiles about our decent, more or less Christian civilization—like great dragons in this modern day when dragons are supposed to be dead."

What Is Happening Economically in England?

In a lecture "Democracy in War Time," Harold J. Laski describes what is taking place in England which, like the United States, has been increasingly dominated by Monopoly. Mr. Laski says: "It is all grimly reminiscent of 1914-18; and I want to say with all solemnity that unless, before our victory, the word becomes the deed, the disillusion which will follow this war will be as profound as that which followed the last. I do not for a moment deny that there have been a number of small, but beneficial reforms in matters of social constitution. I agree that the status and the strength of the trade unions is higher than at any period in our history. But I am bound to point out three things. First, there has been no change in the fundamental character of economic power since 1939; its ownership remains broadly in much the same hands; its motives to effort are still, even in the context of war, geared to the overriding principle of profit-making. Secondly, it is clear that the necessities of war-production have immensely strengthened the power of the big unit as against the small; without safeguards which depend upon the inner character of the post-war state—which will be set by relations of production—the impact of these necessities may easily be in an anti-democratic direction. Thirdly, it is clear that the present compromise between laissez-faire and planned capitalism fails to give us either the coherency or the unity of direction which maximizes production."

"I say with emphasis that we have got to begin now the organization of a revolution by consent or we shall drift, after the war, to a revolution by violence which will destroy the major ends for which we fight."

The Advance of Monopoly

Before Thurman Arnold was "kicked-up" into a judgeship, he exposed before the American people the ramifications of the connections of our American Monopolies with German Fascism represented by the I. G. Farbenindustrie. One of the most tragic and revealing reports which has been made during the war was by the Truman Committee in describing how signed agreements have been made for the international cartelization of the industries of the world after the war. "Even after Dunkirk," when democracy was fighting with its back to the wall, the Truman Committee reported, the international cartels planned for the increasing retribution of their activities in binding the world with their chains. "For a few pieces of silver" the people were betrayed.

Berey and Means first clearly and statistically described the march of monopoly in the United States in their book "The Modern Corporation and Private Property." In it they reported that 200 American corporations controlled over 50% of the capital of our non-banking corporations. This was followed by "Dividends to Pay" written by E. D. Kennedy, and presenting statistics from the U.S. Treasury Department's Statistics of Income and from a compilation by the Standard Statistics Company. In this book Mr. Kennedy compared the results of the 960 largest corporations with those of the other 450,000 corporations. He showed that during the four years of 1926 to 1929, the 960 corporations made over 15 billion dollars profit, which was about the same as was made by the 450,000 smaller corporations. During the six years after the collapse of 1929, however, or the years of 1930 to 1935 inclusive, the 960 corporations never went into the red as a whole and together made over 9 billion dollars, while the 450,000 corporations..."
EVERYBODY CAN ACT

James Norris

(EDITOR'S NOTE: James Norris, professional dramatic producer, has been on the staff of the National Cooperative Recreation School for the past six years.)

TO GROW or develop physically we must stretch ourselves. If we wish to portray a character different from ourselves, we must reach and stretch beyond our own personality. Acting is playing the very characters who typify human personality at its most convincing. What we do is to play a character different from ourselves, and we must arise to stretch beyond our own personality. It’s much easier for a shy young girl to play a tough character than it is for her to play a shy young girl.

If we’re just being ourselves in a play we’re not acting. We’re either showing off, or being embarrassed and often in plays people are just given the opportunity to become embarrassed. I think that is one of the reasons why so many people say they can’t act, or don’t like acting. It’s because they never have acted. I say that everybody can act and I have yet to find the person who couldn’t.

But two things happen when we first try to act. First we’re frightened because we’re afraid we’ll make fools of ourselves—and almost at the same time we’re afraid to get outside ourselves because this is the only personality we’ve ever had and we hold onto it for dear life getting more and more scared all the time. For this reason it seems to be much better to start by playing a character who is so far away from us that there is no danger of getting ourselves in the spot. If the tough character the shy young girl is playing is awkward or a little too short or too tall, or too wide or thin, well that’s too bad for the tough character but she’s far away from the young girl to embarrass her, and besides everybody knows that she couldn’t possibly behave that way anyway. Sometimes it’s wise to start by playing something that isn’t even human. In the simpler forms of improvised dramatics I have seen certain individuals working very happily and comfortably in a sketch or charade as a swinging door, a tree, a rat or a water cooler, while if they had been pushed into a part where they had to use their own voices, they would have been tongue tied. But the squeak of a rat or the gurgle of a water cooler comes as freely and vocally as you please.

Acting is a ticklish thing and it’s impossible to lay down hard and fast rules, human personalities varying the way they do, but there are a few points that seem to apply generally.

Acting Develops Understanding

Why bother getting outside your own skin, you may ask? Well, when a baby yawns and stretches, it never quite bounces back to where it was before that has long stretch, otherwise it would never get any longer or broader. When an actor really has an experience in acting someone outside his own skin, he comes back home with an emotional and even spiritual understanding of something he didn’t know about before. A something which he incorporates as a part of his own self and growth.

I have seen sensitive shy people become articulate through a real acting experience. I have seen habits of bad posture and carriage have their causes removed by the right choice of characters for individuals, over a period of time. I have seen people gain tolerance by playing the very characters who typify the race or creed or group they despised, simply by finding out thru acting what makes the other fellow tick. I have seen a boy who stuttered stop stuttering by playing the part of a man with poise, assurance, and the ability to hold people’s attention under great difficulties.

These things don’t always happen. And they will never happen without the right method and leadership. But the do happen—and many times sublier and more intangible results accrue. Results that are just as important but not so showy.

I think it is possible thru acting to go back to an understanding of that free and creative imaginative state we all had when we were children and never should have lost in the first place.

* * *

Dr. Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California, writing in the SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH, lists nine reasons for hobbies in an article entitled "Hobbies in War and Peace." The summary of these reasons is: (1) Hobbies are useful ways of spending a portion of the 2,000 leisure hours that each person has each year; (2) they are significant because of the zest, often new zest, which they give to life; (3) they afford a balance to personality, especially if they are well chosen; (4) hobbies make the old young and the incapacitated well again; (5) hobbies are of inestimable therapeutic value; (6) unsuspectingly many hobbies prove to be of marvelous social value; (7) they can be carried on at little or no expense.

Consumers’ Cooperation

March, 1943
HOW ARE YOUR STUDY-ACTION GROUPS, TODAY?

C. J. McLanahan
Educational Secretary
The Cooperative League

The shoulder of any cooperator nowadays, and he will tell you straightway that the best manner in which to educate people is to start Study-Action groups. Given time, this same cooperator will inform you that Study-Action groups are not only good for building cooperatives, but that there is nothing better for democracy than these small home meetings where people come together and talk over their interests and problems.

It's in the air, this belief that such small units of people are fundamental in growing a sound democracy. Here are two recent pamphlets: "Group Discussion and Its Techniques" by the Department of Agriculture and "Democracy by Discussion" by E. S. Bogardus. Popularity of the Chicago Round Table, Town Meeting of the Air and other forum groups is a reflected tribute of the people's evaluation of an open discussion of their affairs.

A Series of Ups and Downs

But experience with these small Study-Action groups has not been too successful. Ohio cooperatives and a few other regional associations have had a good experience; many have not. In some areas a new stage of despair has been reached and instead of thinking of them as a must form of education, cooperative leaders are about to write the idea off as a bust. A note of discouragement has been creeping in—let's not deny it.

Yet the theory, and yes, the practice where successful, are both strong in saying that this Study-Action, small-group technique is so valuable and so full of possibilities that we simply cannot afford to abandon it. Rather we must explore and experiment until we do find how to make the idea work.

Some New Wrinkles

What have we learned that might help us overcome some of the headaches that have been encountered? Let us study this as though you were the one who was about to start a group.

Invite in a group of your friends. Stick to your friends, not the people who live near you, or people whom you know casually or those whom you think ought to come to such a meeting. They should be the kind of friends that you and your wife know very well and that you might be inviting to your house for any evening. Contrary to ordinary belief, purpose of the group is not to increase one's acquaintances or to "sell" the cooperative movement. If the people you invite are your friends, the "meeting" can never be a flop. Even if you don't have any planned discussion or reach any conclusions, you have had the same "Successful" evening that you would have had on any occasion when you would have invited these people to your house. Since the members of the group are all "friends," there is a natural social cohesion. You will never have to worry about this kind of group continuing.

Keep the group small. Don't invite in more than 4 or 5 families and maybe never grow beyond that number. Bury the old American idea that a thing must be big to be successful. Probably nothing has worked more to defeat the Study-Action group than this worship of size. Sometimes your group may have a good meeting and invites in 10 to 15 families. Fifteen to thirty people arrive. Everyone is elated—"a lot of people came." But what kind of discussion did they have? Could all of the people take part? Could they arrive at a real group discussion?

Find the lobster. As early as possible help the group ferret out its main interests. What does it want to do? You might start with questions such as these: "What don't we have here in Westmont that we should have for good community living? What about our educational and recreational facilities? Are we able to buy our food conveniently, at the right price and of good quality? Is the medical care adequate? What state and national and world problems are there that affect us in this community that we ought to do something about?"

Next Steps Follow Naturally

As soon as the group decides what it wants to do, the next steps are logical and simple. Before acting, you will need information. Secure literature from your regional wholesale or from a local library. Discuss this at your second meeting. That the Study phase. Decide what you want to do. That's the Action phase. After the first problem is solved, go on to the next one. Started from problems of vital interest, you won't need to worry about a program.

FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF COOPERATION
TO BE OBSERVED BY YEAR-LONG CENTENNIAL

The consumer cooperative movement will celebrate its one hundredth anniversary in 1944 with a full year Centennial Campaign, according to a decision made by the board of directors of The Cooperative League of the USA at its quarterly meeting in Chicago March 23-24.

Quoting Vice President Henry A. Wallace who has described cooperation as "the dominant economic idea of the future," the sponsor, General Secretary of the League, outlined preliminary plans for the Centennial Campaign and suggested that the Credit Union National Association and the National Council for Farmers Cooperatives be invited to participate in the centennial. The board voted to recommend that the regional cooperative associations appropriate special funds to lay the groundwork for the greatest drive in co-op history.

The League board authorized the appointment of a Cooperative Post-War Housing Committee to make plans for a greatly expanded program of cooperative housing to be launched at the close of the war. Representatives of present cooperative housing developments, of the Building Materials Committee of National Cooperatives and of the National Cooperative Women's Committee will make up the committee which will devote its attention not only to plans for apartment and single home developments but also to landscaping and beautification projects.

Articles of incorporation for the National Cooperative League were approved at the meeting. The League will incorporate to maintain its present status under the cooperative principle and to facilitate the development of the cooperative movement. The members of the League will continue to be the various cooperative associations of the country.

Always serve light refreshments. It adds more than you can measure to an evening. Plan recreation, cards, singing, games, anything that you do naturally when you invite a group of friends to your home. Maybe talking is enough.

In addition

From the regional's point of view, several other steps should be kept in mind. Minutes or some form of report should be sent by each group to the educational department of the regional. Only in this way can guidance and coordination be provided. There should also be a close working relationship with the field staff. A representative from the regional should meet at least every two months with representatives from the Study-Action groups.

Try these ideas. If they don't work, try others. We have a lot to learn about Study-Action groups. In time we will master the technique. Then, with confidence, every cooperative will place the organization of Study-Action groups on its list as a must activity.
BUSINESS OF 16 REGIONAL COOPERATIVES
TOPPED HUNDRED MILLION MARK IN '42

SIXTEEN regional cooperative wholesale having membership in National Cooperatives, Inc., had combined sales of $103,488,956 and net savings of $3,764,018 in 1942, it was reported by Howard A. Cowden, chairman of the committee and the board voted to offer the services of U.S. cooperatives to the Lehman Committee on Post-War Rehabilitation and Relief.

Officials of The League voted to take part in the creation of an American Country Life Conference to be made up of twenty-five organizations interested in rural life problems. The board also offered to assist in any way possible the Cooperative Committee of the National Education Association which is now collecting material on "The Place of the Consumer Cooperatives in Protecting the Consumer in Time of War."

A special feature of the two day session was an evening program of premiere showings of three new cooperative motion pictures. The Walnut Room of the Hotel Morrison rang with applause for all three productions: "Our Heritage," the story of the Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, "The Credit Union—John Doe Bank," produced by the Harmon Foundation and the Credit Union National Association; and "Turn of the Tide," a five-reel story of the organization of credit unions and cooperatives by the lobster fishermen of Maine. The latter picture was produced by the Harmon Foundation under the direction of Mary Arnold for the Edward A. Filene Good Will Fund and The Cooperative League.

The dramatic story of Maine lobster fishermen who have been called "the sharecroppers of the sea" is told in TURN OF THE TIDE, a 16mm. movie released by The Cooperative League.

Written by Mary Arnold of the Eastern Cooperative League and photographed beautifully in technicolor by Jamie McInnes, the film is in itself a cooperative feature, featuring the fishermen and their families as actors and narrators.

The story pierces beyond the seemingly humble conditions of a lobster fisherman's life to show him fighting the almost unbeatable combination of a low-price market and a dangerous sea.

Gradually, these men who have a tradition of staunch individualism learn the lesson of cooperation and form credit unions to tide themselves over lean days. Although a lobster fisherman may average $1600 a year, the tremendous cost of his equipment leaves him with an actual income of something like $500 a year.

A network of credit unions has sprung up along the coast of Maine within the last year and cooperative stores have been introduced in several villages. Next step is the introduction of cooperative marketing associations, the film predicts.

TURN OF THE TIDE made its debut here April 8 and is slated for performances at schools and union halls throughout the U.S. Inquiries should be addressed to The Cooperative League, 167 West 12th Street, New York.
FOOD — A WEAPON FOR VICTORY

A short time ago President Roosevelt appointed former Governor Herbert Lehman as Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations of the Department of State. This appointment focused attention upon the problems a war weary, disease-ridden and starving world will face the day that peace is declared.

Bertram Fowler’s book is the first to deal with these problems and in a very readable 185 pages he explains the critical nature of the problem, and in bold strokes traces a plan for United Nations action. The author recalls how after the last war we withdrew into our shell of isolationism and left starvation and disease to plant the seeds of the present conflict and how in our isolation we suffered deflation, foreclosures on farms, closed factories, and unemployment.

The book is a ringing challenge not to let this happen again. If anyone is wondering what is meant by the phrase “Win the War but lose the peace,” the answer is found here. The effect on each of us—farmer, city workers, professional man, and housewife is explained. Consideration is given to the role which cooperatives might play in the solution and cooperators are challenged to accept their responsibility.

Right now this book should be required reading for every cooperative study group in the country. Cooperators are well acquainted with Mr. Fowler’s other books on “Consumer Cooperation in America” and “The Lord Helps Those,” but I believe the reader will agree that this book is the best he has written or is likely to write.

—JAMES C. DRURY
Professor of Marketing
New York University
WHAT'S AHEAD FOR '44?

Our generation will have only one opportunity to celebrate a Centennial of the birth of the cooperative movement. Let's do it right.

E. R. Bowen, general secretary of The Cooperative League, has mapped out a year-long campaign to take advantage of this unique opportunity. The May issue of Consumers' Cooperation will bring you in detail the "Preliminary Plans for the 1944 Centennial Campaign."

If your subscription is almost out—renew it. If you got this copy as a sample issue—subscribe today. If you are a regular subscriber, give a subscription to someone you think should be reading this national magazine for cooperative leaders.

$1 per year — 27 months for $2

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AFFILIATED REGIONAL AND NATIONAL COOPERATIVES

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Central States Cooperatives, Inc.
Consumers Book Cooperative
Consumers Cooperative Association
Consumers' Cooperatives Associated
Cooperative Distributors
Cooperative Recreation Service
Cuni Supply Cooperative
Eastern Cooperative League
Eastern Cooperative Wholesale
Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
Farm Bureau Mutual Auto Insurance Co.
Farm Bureau Services
Farmers' Union Central Exchange
Grange Cooperative Wholesale
Indiana Farm Bureau Coop. Association
Midland Cooperative Wholesale
National Cooperatives, Inc.
National Cooperative Women's Guild
Pacific Coast Student Co-op League
Pacific Supply Cooperative
Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Coop. Ass'n
Southeastern Cooperative League
Southern California Cooperators
United Cooperatives, Inc.
Workmen's Mutual Fire Ins. Society

Address
St. Paul, Minn.
815 Lydia St., Oakland
Superior, Wisconsin
1355 S. Peoria St., Chicago
The Co-op News
720 Grand Blvd., N. Y.
Amarillo, Texas
13 Astor Place, N. Y.
Delaware, Ohio
Madison, Wis.
135 Kent Ave., Brooklyn
135 Kent Ave., Brooklyn
Columbus, Ohio
Lansing, Michigan
St. Paul, Minn.
Seattle, Washington
Indianapolis, Ind.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Chicago, Ill.
Box 2000, Superior, Wis.
Berkeley, Calif.
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Madison, Wisconsin

The Bridge

CONSUMERS' COOPERATION
OFFICIAL NATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

PEACE - PLENTY - DEMOCRACY

Volume XXIX. No. 4
APRIL, 1943

PREPARE TO PUSH CO-OP SERVICES!

This issue is largely given over to the subject of cooperative services of two kinds—medical and housing.

We are making rapid progress in the distribution and processing of commodities through cooperatives but are only slowly entering into the important fields of services such as medical, burial, housing, eating, etc. A real start has been made, however, by those who have pioneered in these fields and have proven their practical possibilities.

Planning is the order of the day. The Cooperative Movement needs to plan ahead for a far more rapid growth of cooperative services. It cannot be done overnight. It has become quite evident that it requires more effort generally to organize successful medical, burial, housing and eating cooperatives than to organize a successful commodity cooperative. The rewards may, however, prove to be greater and more than the extra effort. In fact, it would seem that the nearer cooperation comes home to one in his personal life, which it does in connection with such services, the more cooperation means to a member.

The groundwork should be laid now in every community. Study-action groups should include the study of such service cooperatives in their programs. Some material is already available and additional material is underway. Write for literature and a list of the present cooperative service associations in these fields. You can then correspond directly with those you wish to learn more about or make a trip to see them.

An organ to spread the knowledge of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, in voluntary association, purchase and produce for their own use the things they need. Published monthly by The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th St., N.Y. City. In alternate years, however, published monthly excepting Nov.-Dec. issues bi-monthly. E. R. Bowen, Editor, Wallace J. Campbell, Associate Editor. Contributing Editors: Editors of Cooperative Journals and Educational Directors of Regional Cooperative Associations.

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WAKE-UP AMERICA! Study These Statistics—Then Act!

If any cooperator questions the space we are giving to statistics and statements about the financial stability of the national economy and what cooperators and cooperatives should do under the circumstances, we would only point to what happened in other countries after the first world war where debt and deflation brought on dictatorship, and dictatorship destroyed cooperatives. As Thomas Jefferson said, "I place...public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared."

The March number of The Survey of Current Business, published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, has just been issued containing the first summary of 1942 statistics and estimates for 1943. From the elaborate tables in this publication we have boiled down for our readers the following vital figures.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT BY USE (Billions of Dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943 Est.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross national product</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>97.1</td>
<td>119.3</td>
<td>151.6</td>
<td>177.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government purchases</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Available for consumers</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private capital formation</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@ Consumer expenditures</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of their net savings the people voluntarily loaned to the government about $9 billions in 1942 and it is estimated will voluntarily loan about $12 billions in 1943. The balance is being kept by the people in cash or in checking and savings accounts and represents potential inflation dynamite during or, more particularly, after the war. The government is forced to duplicate these savings which are needed to pay for war expenditures by borrowing from the banks.

"The country is asleep to the inflationary dangers of present war financing," says Chairman Marriner S. Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board. "We haven't..."
gone to war with our tax system at all,” said three noted economists, Jacoby, Simon and Hart on the University of Chicago Round Table. (Read their discussion and a round robin signed by leading economists on taxation in “Bigger and Better Taxes,” price 10c.)

“The nation ought not to have to learn the evils of inflation the hard way all over again after having paid for the same costly lesson three times since 1800,” says the Survey of Current Business. “The history of inflation in all countries at all times solidly establishes three clear reasons for avoiding it: first, spiralling prices impose an unnecessary and inequitable burden on the majority of consumers; second, they tend to diminish, rather than increase, the supplies coming to market; third, the certain collapse of resulting top-heavy price structure brings disastrous depression.”

So we say again: for immediate self-preservation from dangers of possible political upheaval and economic collapse inherent in a large national debt, cooperators and cooperatives should prepare themselves for storms ahead by getting out of debt insofar as possible, and also support sound governmental efforts to prevent them.

WHO RECEIVED, SPENT AND SAVED THE MONEY IN 1942?

On March 1, the Office of Price Administration released a study on “Civilian Spending and Saving in 1941 and 1942,” from which the following statistics and comments are taken:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level</th>
<th>Per cent of Money Consumption Units</th>
<th>Money Income (Billions of dollars)</th>
<th>Taxes and Gifts (Billions of dollars)</th>
<th>Savings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $1,500</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>$13.7</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>$14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,500 to 3,000</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 and over</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Spending units with incomes of $1,500 or less in 1942 had an average outlay per spending unit for current consumption of $845. Their average income was $862. In other words, people in this class were just barely able on the average to maintain even their usual low living standards out of current income.”

“The average income of the group with incomes between $1,500 and $3,000 of $2,139 and the average consumption of $1,763 probably are not much above the levels which, under existing conditions will adequately preserve the health, efficiency and morale of civilian families.”

Apparently the three-quarters of the spending units receiving under $5,000 in America are not getting rich—in fact are little more than breaking even as a whole. Their average income is only $1,441 and their average expenditures for consumption, gifts, and taxes is $1,250, or an average savings of $191, which is surely a very small amount for insurance premiums, payments on mortgages, payroll deductions, etc.

IS THIS THE WAY OUT?

Paul G. Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corporation, and Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, said in a recent address that to solve unemployment, “We have got to have a rip roaring, hell raising, risk-taking economy.” Some, at least, think that is what we have now and why we have unemployment. The question might also well be raised as to the likelihood of any plan proposed by this businessmen’s committee offering any real solution.

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO PRIVATE BUSINESS?

The mortality of private business has averaged about 20% per year over the course of many years during so-called good and bad times. However, others normally take the gamble and start new businesses even faster than those in business just out.

This trend was reversed in the early months of 1942, according to Dunn & Bradstreet’s figures for 1942. Their reports made for comparative two months periods in 1942 and 1943 and for the full year of 1942 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Additions</th>
<th>Obliterations</th>
<th>Gain or Loss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec.-Jan. 1942</td>
<td>53,664</td>
<td>52,082</td>
<td>1,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.-Jan. 1943</td>
<td>28,700</td>
<td>46,800</td>
<td>18,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full year 1942</td>
<td>245,021</td>
<td>312,604</td>
<td>67,581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have no comparable statistics covering cooperatives. The reports, however, from regional cooperatives indicate that there have been very few mortalities (obliterations) among local cooperatives. In North Kansas City, as an illustration, it is reported that the last private retail grocer has succumbed and that the competition is now between the chains and the cooperative.

WE PAID MORE AND GOT LESS

The Survey of Current Business reports: “Revised figures now available for 1942 show total retail sales at $56.4 billion dollars, an increase of 4 per cent from 1941. After allowing for price rises, retail sales in constant dollars declined 8 per cent. This figure, however, does not reflect the full extent of the decline in physical volume of retail trade. Data both on production for civilian use and on inventory changes, although not complete, show a considerably larger decline in units sold, indicating that trading up or quality deterioration or both occurred on a substantial scale during the past year.”
SEVEN families of us have learned that building our houses together and living in a cooperative community pays material and spiritual dividends every day. We have learned by trial (and some tribulations) that we can have better-quality houses, and more beautiful houses, at lower costs—and that the intangible personal rewards are probably even greater than the tangible results.

There is no need to over-estimate what we have accomplished by cooperating together as a group. The spiritual rewards and material results do not need embellishment. We feel hesitant to endeavor to describe them. We have done nothing that other groups might not do, and perhaps do even better. We are not telling our story just for the sake of telling it—we are telling our story because we believe that we have found a better way of life and feel an obligation to share it with others—we would also like to pay tribute to those who have pioneered in cooperative housing and who helped us on our way.

The Lord Helps Those

The inspiration for our efforts may have come down to us through some such admonition as “Take up your bed and walk,” which stirred some dormant desire and led to a determination to endeavor to help ourselves out of our housing difficulties. The idea of cooperating together to do so may have been transmitted down to us from another admonition “The Lord Helps Those—who help each other.”

And What Are the Actual and Potential Results?

By a member of Cooperative Community, Inc., Glenview, Ill.

There are many potentialities, but we would list six which are certain and which others might anticipate or exceed from similar cooperative action.

1. Freedom. Just what does freedom really mean to us now as a result of owning our own homes?

From the standpoint of the fathers-of-the-families who are employees, we might quote John Dewey for a negative comparison. He describes our increasing loss of ownership in America by an illustration of a man who works for a corporation of which he is not part owner, who rides past stores on the way to and from work in which he has no investment, and who lives in an apartment or house which he does not own. Such a person, he says, is something less than a man.

To the fathers-of-the-families, ownership of our homes begins to mean a realization of economic freedom and security, on which we know that all other freedoms are dependent.

Let the mothers-of-the-families speak for themselves: “We are relieved from the uncertainties and efforts of moving; we rejoice in the greater opportunities for our growing children; we are experiencing daily the enjoyment of freedom in having homes we can call our own.”

And what does the freedom resulting from home ownership mean to our children, of which our homes are full? Some are too young to answer, and the others are too young to clearly realize the difference. Their fathers’ and mothers’ hopes for their stronger physical growth, their mental stimulation and their spiritual development will have to serve as their answer today.

Consumers’ Cooperation, Aprl, 1943

2. Solidarity. While individual freedom based on ownership is the foundation of democracy, we have found that it can be greatly enhanced by group solidarity. We are still somewhat astonished at the total of our achievements as a group, compared with what we thought we were able to do when we had tried to build as individuals. Our accomplishment is even stronger when we remember that the total might have been zero, for, as individuals, we could not conceivably have built at all. Group purchase of land, group installation of utilities and roads, group selection of an architect and contractor, group arrangement of houses—all of these and other necessary group decisions have welded links of solidarity around and between the members of our cooperative community that are both tangible necessities in taking joint action, and intangible attitudes toward one another.

What these will mean in meeting the task which now confronts us is not yet determined, but they may mean much more than we even anticipate.

3. Creativeness. Our houses are not huge or oblong boxes, designed by an architectural draftsman and built cheaply on contract for a real estate promoter. An architect was selected who had evidence of having advanced ideas and a sense of the meaning of living close to nature—who anticipated the future in the selection of materials—who had a sense of understanding of the living close to nature—who was neither radical nor conservative—who had the spirit of working with a group who endeavored to draw out and as a result of working with a group who was so much else in expressing their own individual desires and needs.

What it means to a family to struggle together to lay out a site, according to their own ideas, after looking at innumerable houses in the process of erection, before consulting an architect—then of interviewing an architect and being so taken off their mental guard by newer and better, although perhaps still expensive, ideas that they were ashamed to even present their own original amateur layout—then of starting over again with the suggestions of the architect mingled with their own ideas—then of arriving at an agreement after a number of consultations and repeated changes—then of finally having the plans drawn up and submitted to a contractor, only to be told that the lowest bid is at least a couple of thousand dollars more than the family can afford—then of almost giving up and finally, after fitful nights of wakefulness, having the shape-of-a-home-to-build crystallize in the family’s mind—then of having the plans redrawn and finding that it is not only possible to cut the cost down to within the family budget, but also that the revised design is far superior to the previous one—well, perhaps this description of the months of effort of one family may indicate to you that there is such a thing as a largely undeveloped spirit of creativeness dormant within each individual, but this is not the case.

And not only the house as a whole, but the fixtures and the furniture, which we keep on building, are expressions of ourselves as individuals and as a group. For there is no competitive secret and no spirit of superiority in a true cooperative group—what one does becomes the example for the rest, if the others desire to duplicate—ideas are freely exchanged in advance of action—joint appraisals are made afterwards—and the others are helped to do even better than the first.

4. Economy. We list economy fourth, after freedom, solidarity and creativeness, because it is so often emphasized first when cooperative housing is discussed. Just to build something cheaper is not so important as it may seem. The truth is that we have in the United States

AND MAKES HAPPIER HOMES

By a member of Cooperative Community, Inc.

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What these will mean in meeting the task which now confronts us is not yet determined, but they may mean much more than we even anticipate.

3. Creativeness. Our houses are not huge or oblong boxes, designed by an architectural draftsman and built cheaply on contract for a real estate promoter. An architect was selected who had evidence of having advanced ideas and a sense of the meaning of living close to nature—who anticipated the future in the selection of materials—who had a sense of understanding of the living close to nature—who was neither radical nor conservative—who had the spirit of working with a group who endeavored to draw out and as a result of working with a group who was so much else in expressing their own individual desires and needs.

What it means to a family to struggle together to lay out a site, according to their own ideas, after looking at innumerable houses in the process of erection, before consulting an architect—then of interviewing an architect and being so taken off their mental guard by newer and better, although perhaps still expensive, ideas that they were ashamed to even present their own original amateur layout—then of starting over again with the suggestions of the architect mingled with their own ideas—then of arriving at an agreement after a number of consultations and repeated changes—then of finally having the plans drawn up and submitted to a contractor, only to be told that the lowest bid is at least a couple of thousand dollars more than the family can afford—then of almost giving up and finally, after fitful nights of wakefulness, having the shape-of-a-home-to-build crystallize in the family’s mind—then of having the plans redrawn and finding that it is not only possible to cut the cost down to within the family budget, but also that the revised design is far superior to the previous one—well, perhaps this description of the months of effort of one family may indicate to you that there is such a thing as a largely undeveloped spirit of creativeness dormant within each individual, but this is not the case.

And not only the house as a whole, but the fixtures and the furniture, which we keep on building, are expressions of ourselves as individuals and as a group. For there is no competitive secret and no spirit of superiority in a true cooperative group—what one does becomes the example for the rest, if the others desire to duplicate—ideas are freely exchanged in advance of action—joint appraisals are made afterwards—and the others are helped to do even better than the first.

4. Economy. We list economy fourth, after freedom, solidarity and creativeness, because it is so often emphasized first when cooperative housing is discussed. Just to build something cheaper is not so important as it may seem. The truth is that we have in the United States
plenty of materials to build fine houses for every family. We even had, in the early years of the 1930’s, according to the National Resources Planning Board’s study, enough unused idle manpower to organize ourselves cooperatively to build a $6,000 house for every family in the nation. But we did not build them. Why? The answer is simple. We do not, as yet, generally appreciate and understand the potential significance of economic freedom and solidarity well enough to organize ourselves cooperatively to achieve their possibilities. What we require first is to develop a new spirit of cooperative plenty to replace our age-old spirit of competitive scarcity.

Of course we built our houses more economically by building them together as a cooperative group. We saved at least half in the cost of our land, which made it possible for each of us to have a minimum of a third of an acre, which is all we can handle in our off hours as a group of office workers and teachers. We saved in the initial fee of the architect and the contractor, and then divided additional savings with the contractor in the final settlement when he assumed the role of Santa Claus. We saved by doing much of our own work in decorating, landscaping, roadmaking, and in other things that we could do ourselves. We own some of our yard and garden tools together and freely exchange every other tool that we own individually. A seven dollar investment for each family, and one more trees than others. Those who need one on his own lot afterwards for exercise. The sun rises inside our bedrooms, it shines during the day inside our living rooms, it sets in beautiful cloud effects which we can witness inside or outside our homes. The moon comes up and keeps us company during the night as it shines through our windows. Birds, squirrels, rabbits, chipmunks and other creatures become tamer and attract both old and young.

Our houses are reversed from the ordinary approach when seen from the back yards which are as spick and span as any front yards. The living rooms open out on the front yards, where you are isolated from traffic, of which there is little since we are at the dead end of streets, and are among the flowers and trees. The bedrooms encourage rest and the business. All have fireplaces, sliding closet doors, built-in bookcases, red oak floors, convenient electric outlets, ceiling lights and stand lamps, plenty of attic storage; some have furnaces in the attic and easily handled hidden staircases. In short, we built both for beauty and utility. They can be combined and both are necessary to good living.

Glass windows extend around as much as 60% of the circumference, which makes one feel like living and sleeping out of doors. Our utility rooms which house our gas furnaces, water heaters, wash tubs and washers, storage shelves and work benches are immaculately clean and inconspicuously located in our designs and as much a part of the house as any other room. Forced circulation of air heating in winter and ventilation in summer keeps the temperature as pleasant as possible. Our kitchens are “dreams” in which to work with linoleum covered floors, linoleum covered and natural wood worktables, large double sinks, plenty of cupboard shelves with easy opening doors and drawers.

6. Beauty. We might have been called idealists when we began to believe that cooperation ought to result in homes of greater beauty as well as of greater economy and utility. We built for beauty and we submit the results for your inspection and judgment. All redwood exteriors finished in natural color with clear creosote as added protection from the weather. All fir plywood interiors, decorated largely in natural colors, finishes, which tone down the variations in the grain of the wood.

Our children and ourselves do not fall up or down stairs. Our utility rooms which house our gas furnaces, water heaters, wash tubs and washers, storage shelves and work benches are immaculately clean and inconspicuously located in our designs and as much a part of the house as any other room. Forced circulation of air heating in winter and ventilation in summer keeps the temperature as pleasant as possible. Our kitchens are “dreams” in which to work, with linoleum covered floors, linoleum covered and natural wood worktables, large double sinks, plenty of cupboard shelves with easy opening doors and drawers.

In our cooperative community, we who live there are each trying to realize more out of life by helping one another. We seem to have succeeded in some measure in our initial beginnings. We hope to continue to do so. But whatever the outcome of our experiment in better living, we are sure that others will perfect the techniques and that, in time, it will be proven that such cooperative communities are the necessary primary foundation of organizing society so that there will be peace among all men and to all a rightful share of the plenty that is possible, heaped up and running over with freedom and fellowship.

We believe we have demonstrated, as Madam Chiang recently said in a radio address, “Whatever an individual can do is picture, as compared with what a group can accomplish.”

We feel that we are playing a modest part in trying to realize the challenge of Frank Lloyd Wright when he says that “The philosophy of the freedom of the individual expressed by Jesus Christ two thousand years ago has never been reflected in an architecture based on freedom of the individual and an economic order which makes that freedom possible.”
THE STORY OF ONE HEALTH COOPERATIVE IN THE MAKING

George W. Jacobson
Group Health Mutual
Minneapolis, Minn.

I T IS true in our relations with the institutions of consumer cooperation, as in all other endeavors of life, we are conditioned most deeply by experience that affects us personally. If such experience comes at a time of great personal need, is a favorable experience, and is properly conditioned, it will leave a lasting impression on us. Such an effective and economical manner, we will remember it as long as we live. Such an experience is a favorable experience, and comes at a time of great personal need, is a favorable experience, and affects us personally. If such experience is a favorable experience, and comes at a time of great personal need, is a favorable experience, and affects us personally.

Just another such field is found in health service, particularly in the field of medical care. Here is an opportunity to create through the cooperative method a service which is desperately needed, that of budgeted preventive and curative medical care. In this field lies an opportunity for cooperative effort to help the average family incomparably in a time of great need, when health and often life itself hang in the balance. It is a virgin field that cries for attention. To develop it, established cooperatives should devote the prestige of their support and some of their capital and talent.

It is with this thought in mind that a description of one effort to build a broad, flexible, health cooperative is presented here. There are other successful health cooperatives in the United States besides Group Health Mutual of Minnesota; and some of them might seem, by reason of their experience and their success, to be even better illustrations to be described in this article. Such as this is probably no other group health organization in the United States that was more deliberately planned and built by its directors and staff, to incorporate cooperative principles and practices, to provide comprehensive health care through the use of existing hospital and medical institutions. Such as this is probably no other group health organization in the United States that was more deliberately planned and built by its directors and staff, to incorporate cooperative principles and practices, to provide comprehensive health care through the use of existing hospital and medical institutions.

The credit union is a striking example. Through this cooperative instrument ordinary folks, folks without credit, folks who for years had been victims of loan sharks, created for themselves their own source of personal credit. They have made this credit available to themselves with less red tape and at lower rates of interest than the mightiest banks in the land. Their cooperative endeavor provided them with urgently needed credit at times of personal crises—when garnishment threatened wages, when the baby arrived, or when unexpected illness ran up a burdensome doctor-bill.

Note how credit unions have grown! You find them everywhere, and in the most unexpected places. Why? Because they have met and satisfied a great personal and community need that no other institution had undertaken to meet. As a result, the credit union movement is probably the most united, integrated, powerful and useful consumer cooperative enterprise on this continent today.

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The original idea was to provide medical care through a clinic or medical center like that established by government employees in Washington, D. C., the now nationally famous Group Health Association of Washington. But there were many obstacles. It was found that in our state it would be illegal for laymen to employ doctors and to collect monthly premiums with which to provide medical care. Organized medicine stood arrayed with all its funds, prestige and legal advantages to harass with litigation any attempt that a group of laymen might make to build a medical cooperative, and also ready to intimidate any group of doctors who indicated a willingness to work with such an organization. Furthermore, while there were many doctors who had a strong personal interest in prepaid medicine, we were unable to find any group of them who were ready to take the professional risk involved in going against the will of their professional organizations. We soon realized that we could not raise the money required to equip a modern medical center, to guarantee an income for the doctors who would risk their professional lives to work with us, and to sustain the initial losses that almost every prepaid medical care venture had to suffer in the beginning. Finally, we found that even if we could have financed a clinic and obtained a competent medical staff, we would face the probability of being without hospital facilities, since organized medicine would probably have prohibited our medical men from practicing in established hospitals just as they had done in similar instances in Milwaukee, Chicago, and Washington.

In view of this situation, we decided to start by pooling all the money that the interested groups were then paying into the fund of a regular insurance plan, and provide our members and their families with full hospital care. We would postpone prepaid medical care for the time. But there were still legal barriers. We found that it was illegal to set up a simple cooperative association to pool monthly dues for the payment of hospital expenses. Under the law such a cooperative could do this, but not laymen. We were compelled to organize an insurance company under the mutual health and accident insurance laws of the state, which required that we raise $10,000 to deposit as a guaranty fund with the Commissioner of Insurance. We raised this amount and sold $6,000 more. It was raised by a most unique method through credit unions, which is a story in cooperative finance all by itself, too long to recite here. Later we found it necessary to get the state insurance laws amended in order to write the kind of contract we wanted to provide our members.
Group Health Mutual received its license to provide hospital care protection on March 7, 1939. After just a few months of operation it became clear to the staff and the Board of Directors that our original schedule of rates was inadequate to provide full hospital care for dependents. When we had calculated our first schedule of rates, we had made use of available statistics on the cost of hospital care for employed persons, but we were pioneering in the field of providing full care for dependents and there had been no figures available to us in this classification. The losses which we sustained cut deep into our surplus, and many of us were convinced that the organization could not survive unless the members would consent to an increase in premiums.

Such an increase was authorized by the membership at the first annual meeting. The increased rates were put into effect gradually in a manner that would not result in too large a loss of members. The loyalty of the membership was a surprise to even the most optimistic members of the Board and staff. The lapse in membership due to a raise in rates was only about three per cent. Since the increase in rates, the membership in the hospital plan has doubled, until today there are about 9,000 members. The original surplus fund has been gradually replenished since the higher rates took effect.

Although the provision of hospital care insurance was our first achievement, we had constantly in mind our original purpose, that of providing prepaid medical care. From the beginning we had a committee on medical care. Members of this committee read books and articles, interviewed sympathetic doctors, attended local and national meetings, all to the end of finding a basis of providing medical care for the members of Group Health. At the second annual meeting of the Group Health Federation of America in the winter of 1940, we received a suggestion which led us into a very practical course of action.

Dr. M. D. Ogden, Medical Director of the successful prepaid medical care plan at Little Rock, Arkansas, suggested that we contact an established medical clinic in Minneapolis to see if they would be interested in helping us work out a prepayment plan. We did. At first the leaders of this clinic, which has a staff of 18 doctors and specialists, were skeptical. After months of negotiation we agreed on a plan that would work and probably be sustained in case of litigation. But the medical staff of the clinic insisted that they would go ahead only if they received the approval of the county medical society, to which they submitted the plan for consideration. The Hennepin County Medical Society refused to approve it.

Our first medical care plan, on which we had spent much time and effort, was, therefore, dropped. But the Medical Economics Committee of the clinic consented to continue to meet with our Medical Care Committee to see if a plan could be devised to which the county medical society could not object on either "ethical" or legal grounds.

In an interim between meetings of these committees, an idea occurred to one of our members which impressed everyone as being one that would work. We would provide medical care under an insurance contract. We would limit the service to a small group of practitioners, we would become their exclusive provider of care. With the experience was accumulated, by providing that the insurance was available to pay for medical care furnished by physicians practicing in medical clinics, which were carefully defined in the contract. To keep control over the plan in order to keep it actuarially sound, we defined a method which, though novel, is legal under Minnesota insurance laws—that of requiring our members to assign their medical care benefits under the contract to a specific clinic and authorizing the insurance fund to pay the medical bills directly to the clinic. By this requirement we need accept applications only from persons who would assign their benefits to clinics in the state that we knew would be friendly to the plan and that we could trust to exploit it. To further safeguard the plan, we would provide in the contract for co-insurance for dependents, that is, such dependents would be required to pay specified amounts at the time medical service was rendered.

The committee from the clinic, with which we had been negotiating for over a year, was as agreeable to our new plan as was our own committee. The plan for providing medical care through insurance in order to overcome legal obstacles as well as objections of organized medicine, had many advantages. We had eliminated restrictions as to "free choice of physicians." The clinic with whose committee we had originally worked was no longer singled out, nor would it have anything to do with the plan in a contractual way. All it or any other clinic in the state would have to do would be to render bills to Group Health for the medical services which it had provided for such members of the Group Health medical plan as had assigned their benefits to the clinic. Group Health would pay these bills or benefits, not to the member, but to the clinic, by virtue of the assignment of benefits. In this way we merely pay a routine insurance benefit in a legal manner, and no county or state medical society can stop us. They tried, but they got nowhere. We were able to provide our members with the medical services of the finest and most reputable medical groups in the state of Minnesota without having to invest our money in clinics or in funds to guarantee benefits at the salaries of doctors. We were also able to start the operation of our medical care plan with only a handful of applicants.

With the inauguration of our Clinic Medical Care Plan early in 1942, we had achieved our original goal of providing full preventive and curative medical care. A family of three or more (husband, wife, and minor children) pays $3.75 per month the first year and $2.75 per month thereafter. In addition, special payment at the time of medical service must be paid for dependents, but not for employed persons. These payments range from 50¢ for an ordinary office call to $30 for a major operation.

If applicants join singly or in small groups, their applications are underwritten and accepted on the basis of previous health records, although the premium rate is lower for those joining in groups of 10 or more. If applicants join in large groups, as, for example, 80% of a group of 100 employed persons, they are accepted into the plan with restrictions as to individual health defects.

Medical clinics in four Minnesota cities, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, and Virginia, now serve our members.

In addition to the clinic plan, two more medical care plans have been worked out under the insurance and medical care operation. One is called the Personal Physician Plan. It provides a restricted amount of medical care through any family doctor, and was worked out in cooperation with officials of the state and county medical societies. The other is called the In-Hospital Medical Care Plan. It has just been inaugurated, and indications are that it will receive wide popular approval. It provides for payment of medical bills in cases serious enough to require surgery or care in a hospital.
hospital, at very low monthly premium rates.

In closing, a word must be said about the democracy of Group Health. It is owned by its members through more than a hundred groups organized among groups of employees, members of labor unions, cooperatives, credit unions, churches, fraternal groups, and professional groups. These groups participate in district meetings held throughout the state several times a year, and in the annual meeting in St. Paul in February, through elected delegates. Each group has one basic voting delegate and one additional vote for each 100 members. In the four annual meetings that have been held, there has never been less than 70% of the members represented by elected delegates and individual members.

The annual meeting elects a Board of Directors chosen from nominees named in the six district meetings. It also elects a Supervisory Committee of five members, who employ the auditors and who check on the performance of directors and officials to protect the interests of the members. The Board meets bi-monthly, the Executive Committee meets in the months intervening between Board meetings, and the Supervisory Committee meets on call of its chairman.

RECREATION NEWS NOTES

Ellen Linson

Up to the close of 1942 Group Health had provided hospital care for its members worth $110,000 and medical care estimated at $3,500, out of earned premiums of $186,000. Its surplus now equals more than $1 per member covered. It is a member of the Group Health Federation of America, which has the good will and support of the leading central labor bodies in Minnesota, of regional cooperatives, and of the state credit union movement. We have members scattered all over the United States, and organized local health groups in two states besides Minnesota.

We believe that we have laid a sound foundation on which to build cooperative and voluntary groups in other areas, through development of similar organizations or through the use of services provided by our organization. We have proved to ourselves that in the provision of health care, as well as in the provision of other goods and services, we can meet our needs through democratic cooperative methods.

The Rural Youth of Lancaster and Westchester Counties, Pennsylvania, will hold their annual get-together to play talk and the week-end of May 28-31 at Camp Greble, Pennsylvania. Shortage of help and transportation difficulties have affected the recreation program of these youth groups, but the need for recreation is greater than ever and these young people are carrying on.

Out in Ohio, many of the county-wide Youth Councils, meeting twice a month for recreation and discussion, have found it necessary to hold only monthly meetings. Home Councils, drawing from a smaller radius, are being organized to meet between regular sessions. The Brown County Home Youth Council of Carroll County, reports the Ohio Farm Bureau

Consumers' Cooperation.

New Jersey and New York attended the session which was held at the New York University Camp, Slootsburg, New York. Members and alternates of the steering committee of the Eastern Recreation School squeezed in a meeting to plan details of time, place and publicity for this summer's session. Games, folk dancing (even before breakfast), singing in front of the big log fire, a charade, all heighten and the essential satisfaction of the weekend—the pleasure friends have just being together.

May 14, 15 and 16 cooperators and associates interested in the Philadelphia, Lancaster, Wilmington and Arden areas will get together for a leadership training institute at Arden, Delaware. The decision to hold such a training week-end grew out of the Eastern Cooperative League's Pendle Hill conference is September. A committee representing cooperators in the Philadelphia area and of the state credit union movement.

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a greater degree or less degree" included forestry, housing, rural resettlement, credit and banking, property insurance, life insurance, social insurance, medical service and health care, and recreation.

Out of this vast range of institutions studied the authors came to this conclusion: "In a so-called capitalistic democracy ... the primary factors in socialization are to be found in the pressure of consumer and general public interests, not in pressures applied by labor groups. For example, "Tax supported schools were established with the interests of the children and the community at large in view, not the interests of teachers (the labor group directly concerned); electric power is gradually being socialized in response to the interests of power users and general public, not the interests of electric power workers or of wage-earners in general."

Cooperators reading this book will be struck with the fact that the field of retail and wholesale distribution, the principal field of cooperative activity, is excluded from the inquiry, chiefly, it is to be assumed, because the cooperatives occupy so small a segment of it. The recent rapid growth of cooperatives, however, has a special significance in the light of the fact that group ownership proceeds primarily from consumer or citizen interests. Recognition of this fact is given in a special chapter on "Consumer and Producer Cooperatives," written by Dr. Hilden R. Gibson, himself an active cooperator. Dr. Gibson finds that consumer cooperatives are accepted because "...they conform to the prevailing American pattern. They present the form of a business enterprise. They own or rent real estate, pay taxes, hire managers and employees, and do business as usual. In short, they proceed in an eminently American Way."

Dr. Eldridge finds that even the producer cooperatives support his general thesis, for "the farmers are the customers (of their cooperatives). The members do not produce the service, they buy it." Interpreting "consumers" to mean "buyers or users in the broadest sense, including users of producers' goods," he finds that "consumer interests in our society, transcending as they do all economic class divisions and indeed all political, religious and racial cleavages in the population, are a unifying national force of the utmost importance."

For the record, consumers and citizens are the building of a collective economy in this country, and one, as their own influence attests, is that essentially democratic in its foundations.

Some will feel that occasionally the authors fail to give adequate recognition to the place of the consumer cooperative movement in the current process of peaceful change. All, however, will do well to ponder the observations made regarding the importance of competent administrators, of efficient personnel, and of sensitivity to free consumer choices, in the promotion of any type of collective enterprise (cooperatives included). They may well ponder, too, the repeated warnings that enterprises in the public interest can be built only when the "times are ripe," that "voluntary collectives" (again including cooperatives) grow by the "piece-meal step-by-step procedures ... to which our political folkways commit us," and that their chances of success are greater as they avoid the use of such all-embracing and unpopular terms as "socialism or the cooperative commonwealth."

MERLIN G. MILLER

THE TWILIGHT OF CAPITALISM, by Dr. Walter John Marx of The Catholic University of America. Published by B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. $2.75.

Dr. Marx writes for intelligent men and women who want to study the way we get our living, and why we waste our time and our resources in doing so.

Morals are what matter beneath economic systems—human selfishness is to blame. Our economic activities today result in "epidemics of over-production," for which "war expenditures offer a sort of a safety valve." He describes the personal and economic results of capitalism in graphic words: "the big businessman chained to his desk like a galley slave to his oar; about all the great masses in our overgrown urban centers can do is to apply to a relief agency; the rural proletariat almost as degraded and persecuted as the English farm laborers at the end of the 18th century; the small businessmen ruined, or absorbed by a combination or monopoly."

Compulsory savings are no solution to the problem of providing the necessary buying power at the end of the war, since "to back these savings and stimulate buying power, the government will have to raise a similar amount of buying power from the masses through heavy taxes."

Nine chapters of 266 pages are summarized quite simply: "And so we see the end of industrial and financial capitalism. The economic freedom which characterized capitalism as a result of the freedom to become a millionaire as well as the freedom to let one's neighbor starve, is gone forever."

Only one chapter of seventeen pages is devoted to "A Democratic Solution," which, unfortunately, consists largely of general statements about Local, Regional and National Economic Councils. One specific statement is made, "Consumer and producer cooperatives will probably perform much of the work now done by the government." Dr. Marx suggests that another book is in preparation. We hope it will discuss solutions in detail. He has laid the groundwork well in his first book.

Consumers' Cooperation

Growing Toward the Centennial of Cooperation—1944

CO-OP MANUFACTURING BOOSTS SAVINGS
PRELIMINARY PLANS FOR 1944 CENTENNIAL CAMPAIGN

ARE YOU STARVING YOUR CO-OP? C. J. McLanahan
A FAULTY TRANSLATION CHANGED ECONOMIC HISTORY

John Carson
Co-op Advertising -- Campus Co-ops -- and Post War Reconstruction

The June issue of Consumers Cooperation will contain a wide variety of articles you will not want to miss. Here are a few of the titles:


Renew your own subscription today if it is about to expire. Send a subscription to someone who should be reading the National Magazine for Cooperative Leaders. Price: $1 per year; 27 months for $2.

The Cooperative League
167 West 12th Street
New York City

Plan for a New America

The Centennial of the Cooperative Movement will occur in 1944, as every co-operator knows. It will give us our greatest opportunity to tell everyone else what the Consumers' Cooperative Movement means and to invite them to join with us in building a Cooperative America.

In this issue you will find some Preliminary Plans for the Centennial Campaign as presented to the Directors of the Cooperative League. A Centennial Campaign Committee has now been appointed which will work with the Staff of the League in revising and adding to these plans and organizing to carry them out.

Suggestions are invited from every reader. Do not hesitate to write us and tell us what you think should be done.

Plan for a New World

In a later issue we will publish an article outlining the preliminary plans of the Committee on International Cooperative Reconstruction of the Cooperative League, appointed at the 1942 Biennial Congress.

Surely these two projects which we have ahead of us are enough to challenge the very best thinking in the Movement. It is not altogether easy to appreciate to the full the great responsibility which rests upon us as a Consumers' Cooperative Movement. Ours is to take the lead in the cooperative economic reorganization of America and the World.

May we be worthy of our great responsibility and opportunity.
BUILD A NEW WORLD BY BUILDING COOPERATIVES

To have the New World of which we all dream, it is probable that a reorganization of religious, educational and political institutions may be necessary. But the primary necessity is to build a new economic organization.

Today three economic systems are battling it out for supremacy—Monopoly, Fascism and Communism. All three have many common characteristics. In all three, a few control the many dictatorially. All three depend upon compulsion, rather than persuasion. All three restrict individual ownership of productive property. All three destroy human personality.

Growing slowly, steadily and surely to replace them is the alternative system of democratic Cooperation. Cooperation is the way to realize life, liberty and happiness—it is also the way to realize a fair income, a good job and the ownership of property.

All of these facts have been abundantly proved by the results of each system. The difficult thing for many people is to visualize a new world through the windows of a cooperative store. But it is there for those who have eyes to see the future in the present. Russell Conwell used to lecture on the subject "Acres of Diamonds". In his lecture he told of a man who traveled around the world in the search of fortune, only to find that the farm he had left behind contained a diamond mine which he had failed to discover. Our diamond mines are in the communities where we live. To discover the diamonds it is only necessary to organize a cooperative store. In time, the way to organize additional cooperative activities to serve everyone's needs will be discovered by every group of people if they explore the possibilities of cooperative action. At last a New World will grow out of the building of cooperatives in every community. Cooperation is the only system of permanent plenty and peace. There is no other way.

LEWIS M. BALDWIN, Rochester, N. Y.
Farm Bureau Insurance Agent
PRELIMINARY PLANS FOR 1944 CENTENNIAL CAMPAIGN

(The following preliminary plans for a 1944 Centennial Campaign were presented by the General Secretary before the Directors of the Cooperative League on March 23 and 24 and enthusiastically received. They will be revised and carried through under the direction of the national Centennial Campaign Committee. Your suggestions are invited.)

THE Centennial of the Cooperative Movement should be approached with a full appreciation of the unique opportunity which it presents for the Movement to publicize itself. It should not be looked upon simply as an anniversary celebration, but as a year-long campaign.

Our Unique Opportunity

If Vice-President Henry A. Wallace is right, the late twentieth century is destined to be dominated by cooperative concepts. "How is this to come about?" he asks. He suggests, in answer, that we "take a leaf from the book of our forefathers—the young men of 1787. Their confidence in action grew out of the moral certainty that their purposes were in line with the stream of destiny of their time. They were motivated by the idea of a democratic political society."

We are today "motivated by the idea of a cooperative economic society." We have an equally strong motive, as did our forefathers. We also have hold of a great idea whose time has come. Ours has been proven by 100 years of trial, while theirs had not. Although there are many people to reach, there are still more aggressive advocates of economic cooperation than there were of political democracy. The means of reaching people have also been greatly multiplied.

A centennial of any idea—religious, educational, political or economic—is a tremendous event. It proves that the idea is one of the few enduring ideas in the world's history. It should be capitalized upon to the limit by every possible method.

It is certain that we, today's cooperators, will never have another equal opportunity as we now have ahead of us. Let us make good to the limit upon the fact that we are members of the Cooperative Movement when such a great opportunity presents itself.

The World's Urgent Need of Cooperation

We have the great light in our hands. "If abundance and brotherhood are to produce poverty and war they prevent plenty and peace. If abundance and brotherhood are ever to be realized, they can only be through cooperative organization." Will we hold the torch of Cooperation high enough so that all men will see and rally round it? We not only have ahead of us the greatest opportunity of doing so, but there is also the greatest need today.

I. PUBLIC MEETINGS

Every opportunity should be taken to get the message of Cooperation to the people through Public Meetings during 1944. Some of the possible ways would be:

1. National Speaking Tour. As an illustration, the Federal Council of Churches has held a large number of meetings in key centers as a part of what they call A National Preaching Mission. Their best speakers, headed by their outstanding leader, Dr. E. Stanley Jones, have gone from city to city on these speaking tours. We have organized similar speaking tours on a small scale with Helberg, Beaton and others as speakers, which could be expanded.

2. National Demonstration Tour. Either together with the speaking tour, or separately, and of course depending upon war conditions, we might conduct a National Demonstration Tour. The regional cooperatives might supply trucks as a part of a cooperative train, on which would be displays of the material accomplishments of the Cooperative Movement, with band speakers, movie projectors, etc. which would carry the visual evidence of cooperation into both small and large communities.

3. Special Centennial Campaign Meetings of Local and Regional Cooperatives. Not only should the regular meetings of cooperatives in 1944 be planned as Centennial Campaign Celebrations, but special meetings should also be held for the purpose of reaching those who are not already members and the programs planned accordingly.

4. Centennial Congress of The Cooperative League. We should let our minds be bold in thinking of the 1944 Congress. Speakers at the Congress should include top ranking leaders of national religious, educational, political, labor and farm organizations. It should be recognized that, like the treasured pattern in the stream, cooperation must first be imbedded in our hearts and then expanded until it becomes the living structure of every social organization. It should be realized that business democracy must be as vital a part of American life as political, educational, or religious democracy. The Congress offers the greatest opportunity of recognizing and expressing these facts through the participation of the leaders of all national groups.

5. Other Organization Meetings. Every effort should be made to get cooperative speakers on the programs of local, regional and national meetings of other organizations to present the subject "A Century of Cooperation." It is often possible to reach non-cooperative members even better by arranging for speakers on the programs of other organizations, than by inviting them to special cooperative meetings.

6. School Contests. Schools ought to be induced to encourage students of every age to write essays, orations, songs, dramas, etc., on cooperative subjects during the year.

II. LITERATURE

The six months tour of Toyohiko Kagawa in 1936 demonstrated what could be done in attracting people to meetings, as well as in stimulating the publication and sale of cooperative literature. On that tour Kagawa spoke directly to at least one million people, in addition to his radio addresses. The sale of cooperative literature jumped from $3,000 to $17,000 in one year. This was undoubtedly because "the time for Cooperation had come in America" and the people, particularly in the cities, who were so lacking in knowledge about the Consumers' Cooperative Movement, had reached the point of disillusionment about the private profit and public relief system and were ready to act on the cooperative idea.

The uncertainties of the length of the war make it impossible to predict as to the psychological condition of the people's minds in 1944, but the aggressive advance of finance and industrial monopoly in America, which is becoming generally evident to most people, should make it opportune to turn their minds toward Cooperation as the only hope for democracy, for peace, and for plenty.

The Swiss Cooperative Movement has already begun to publish special Centennial literature. They have already announced two leaflets under the titles "28
Men Help Each Other” and “Seven Principles Conquer the World.”

Some suggestions of possible special Centennial Cooperative Literature are offered below, which are divided into four classifications: Inspirational, Historical, Descriptive and Organizational. These might be in the form of books, pamphlets or leaflets, as deemed best.

1. Inspirational Literature
   The Coming Cooperative Man
   A Cooperative Community
2. Historical Literature
   The Century of Cooperation
3. Descriptive Literature
   100 Years of Cooperation in the U. S. A.
   Cooperation Around the World
4. Organization Literature
   A cooperative Association
   A cooperative Economy
   A cooperative Society
5. Library Displays of Cooperative Material. The libraries all over America should be induced to display cooperative literature during the Centennial Year.

III. RADIO—MOVIES—DRAMAS—POSTERS

All of these modern forms of publicizing the Cooperative Movement should be taken full advantage of as a part of the Centennial Campaign.

1. Radio Programs
   a. There should be international radio broadcasts from Rochdale.
   b. We should raise the funds necessary to put on a national centennial radio series of programs.
   c. All of the broadcasting companies should give us sustaining time for centennial celebration programs.
   d. All of the various Forums of the Air should include the subject of Cooperative and should use cooperative speakers in their series of programs.
2. Movies
   a. We should have an international historical film starting with Rochdale.
   b. We should have a new national film dramatizing the meaning of Cooperation to us as individuals.
   c. We should have a new national film demonstrating the methods of organizing cooperatives—from the study-action group, to the buying club, cooperative store, credit union, health association, housing association, burial association, wholesaling and manufacturing, etc.
   d. Each regional cooperative should have a new film of their own activities.
3. Pageant and Drama
   There should be at least one centennial pageant or drama script written for use by cooperative groups everywhere.
4. Posters
   a. The U. S. Government should issue a special cooperative stamp.
   b. Cooperative mail should carry a special cooperative cancellation stamp.
   c. We should have a special centennial calendar of cooperative scenes.
   d. We should have special centennial holiday cards.
   e. We should have a special centennial series of posters.

IV. PUBLICATIONS

1. Magazine Articles. There should again be an opportunity of getting cooperative articles into magazines of wide circulation in every field because of the significance of the cooperative centennial and its meaning in the preservation and extension of democracy.
2. Newspaper Stories. Both special and syndicated stories should be acceptable to newspapers.
3. Endorsements. We should be able to get endorsements from the most prominent leaders in every field.
4. Cooperative papers should publish special centennial issues.

V. COMMODITY ADVERTISING

The various methods of publicity and education previously discussed will tell the general story of Cooperation to the American people. In addition, the commodities which cooperatives distribute should be used effectively to tell the practical story to back up the general story. Some such methods are:

1. Demonstrations. The most effective method of presenting the merits of cooperative products is a demonstration of their use. The method will vary necessarily with the product.
2. Mailing Lists. Where people cannot be reached economically with demonstrations, the next best method is direct mailing. Such mailings should use special centennial campaign stationary, together with special printed matter on “Cooperation after 100 years” as well as special commodity advertising.
3. Broadcasts. There are two common ways of reaching people in the mass, both of which are effective and should be employed in the centennial campaign. They are, naturally, newspaper advertisements and radio programs. We have used radio programs to quite an extent, but have not used newspaper advertising generally.
4. Pictorial Presentations. The use of
visual advertising is constantly on the increase. The Consumers’ Cooperative Movement is improving its pictorial material and should do so still further. Pictorial advertising naturally includes such mediums as moving pictures, printed calendars, posters and labels, painted banners and billboards, etc.

5. Slogans. There is a heart appeal in souvenirs which is sometimes more effective than either the words or pictures which are used to describe and illustrate a product. The souvenir method of advertising should not be overlooked.

VI. PERSONAL CANVASSING

All of the various kinds of general publicity are dependent for their final results on a well organized and active personal canvassing campaign. Every member of a cooperative should be enlisted as a part of the centennial campaign.

2. Cooperators should be encouraged to invite their friends and neighbors to their homes to “Let’s Get Together Cooperative Dinners” at which some cooperative label food would be served.

VII. ORGANIZATION AND BUDGET

To do the job of using the Centennial of Cooperation to the fullest degree to interest people in joining the Cooperative Movement, it is necessary to have a capable and sufficient organization structure amply financed.

1. National Committee. A working National Centennial Campaign Committee should be appointed with which the staff of the League might consult. All recommendations of the Committee and actions of the Staff will naturally first clear through the Directors of the League.

2. Organization Secretary. In addition to the work which the League staff can and will put in on this job, there will be needed a special organization man to do the job right. Special centennial campaign stationary and explanatory folders will be one of the first things necessary to prepare.

3. Prizes for Ideas. In order to create a wide interest in the Centennial Campaign among all the present cooperative members as well as others, it is recommended that prizes be offered for the best ideas in such things as:

- Slogans
- Literature
- Radio programs
- Movies
- Dramas
- Posters
- Magazine articles
- Poems
- Songs

Commodity Advertising

4. Budget. Consideration of a budget should be based on a full realization of the fact that we are celebrating the founding of every cooperative association whether local, regional or national. What we do should be worthy of that vital fact. We should look upon the Centennial as an opportunity for “a great turning movement on the part of humanity toward the ideal,” as George W. Russell describes Cooperation.

We recommend that every regional provide a fund of not less than $10,000 in their 1944 budget for this purpose. How much might well be spent together in a national centennial campaign, and how much should be spent regionally, should be determined by joint discussion. The amount suggested for each regional is less than the savings made by many single local cooperative associations in every regional territory. Compared with that fact, and compared with the total savings made by any regional and its local associations together, it is an infinitesimal sum for each regional to spend for such a purpose. How the money is to be raised should be left to each regional to determine.
STUDY GROUPS PROVE TO BE ACTION GROUPS

The vast majority of farm problems are of such a nature that they must be solved in the local community by farmers themselves. While this fact is generally recognized, the type of social organization best suited to this purpose has received too little attention.

Thinking Out the Answers

The Ohio Farm Bureau has been experimenting in the field of rural, adult education through the organization of informal "home groups" known as "Advisory Councils." In a sense this program is an attempt to restore some of the qualities of mutual self-help of the earlier American community. Believing that this friendly, face-to-face experience in small groups is an essential condition to the solution of many of our current problems, the Ohio Farm Bureau to date has helped to develop over 1100 Advisory Councils, and contemplates a considerable increase this year.

In a variety of ways these groups are proving that if common people organize themselves in a social environment where they can use their collective intelligence, they can find the answers to many of their problems.

Acting on the Answers

For example, in Ohio a number of Councils indicated an interest in some form of group medicine. Consequently, early in 1942 the Farm Bureau made available to members a policy in group hospitalization. Councils studied this program, welcomed insurance representatives to their meetings, and as a result 68 counties qualified the first year. This was several times the number anticipated.

Early in 1942 the supply of petroleum to our Cooperative Association was threatened and it seemed advisable to consider obtaining our own oil refinery. This problem was referred to the Councils, and after study and discussion they agreed 9 to 1 that we should build a refinery. In answer to the question, "How shall the refinery be financed?", the Councils replied, "By the people themselves." In the campaign which followed, three-fourths of all Council members solicited purchased shares. A total of $265,000 was subscribed by 2,000 purchasers.

Advisory Councils have actively promoted Farm Bureau membership. The experience of Franklin County is typical, where all but two of the 130 Council families had joined the organization before the end of the membership roll call.

Education Service Staff

These groups are sponsored and serviced through the Education Department and a staff of five Organization Fieldmen. Approximately one-third of the 84 organized counties have full-time workers who carry on the program in local communities. Other counties have workers operating on a part-time basis.

The rest of the leadership, for the most part, comes from the Councils themselves, which select their own chairmen, secretaries, and discussion leaders.

Broad Programs

Councils are set up, not on the basis of any special interest, but with broad social objectives in mind. On this basis they are able to mobilize their interest and energy to meet a wide variety of problems. During the present war crisis they have given attention to numerous issues involving the farmers' part in the war. In their meetings they frequently share ideas and pool effort in order to meet production quotas by pooling labor, and planning the use of machinery. They also discuss the threat of inflation and face the urgency of buying government bonds, liquidating debts and paying taxes.

Democracy Based on Voluntary Groups

It is a significant fact that when Hitler set out to force the German people into a Nazi mold where they could be controlled from the top down, he first disbanded all voluntary groups which expressed the ideals and ideals of the people. He prohibited small group assemblies in order to create a society which would respond to the control of a dictator. In democracy, control rests in the people who calls for a different type of social structure. Just as mass meetings and mass demonstrations are effective procedures in making a Nazi state, so the small, informal groups united around the mutual interests of its members provide the most favorable environment for democracy to function.

Freedom of Action

While these groups need the stimulation and sponsorship of a central organization, they must be encouraged to exercise a great deal of freedom in the conduct of their meetings and in the exercise of activities. A good test of the vitality of a study-action group is its initiative in developing its own group life. When a group is pushed into action from the outside it loses its own initiative, but the group that provides its own motivation will rise above defeat. Study-action groups, if they are to flourish, must be free; free in their achievements and to learn from their failures. For this reason Advisory Councils are encouraged from the start to take responsibility of making their own decisions and of shaping their own group life. This freedom is the secret of Council vitality. Our groups meet monthly throughout the year and in spite of the numerous pressures of farm life today, relatively small per cent of them have disbanded.

Two-Way Contact

Contacts between the state organization and the local groups are maintained not only through the field staff, but also through the discussion material which goes to the home of each Council family. This material appears in the center spread of THE OHIO COOPERATOR. The Councils in turn send in carbon copies of their minutes, which provide an excellent basis for keeping in touch with their interests, ideas, and activities.

Thus, through the exchange of Advisory Council minutes coming daily to the central organization, and the discussion material going out to the groups, a two-way communication is maintained between the Councils and the state office.

Education—Not Promotion

We have discovered that where Councils have a share in making decisions regarding the program they more readily assume responsibility for action. Attempts at direct selling in Council groups tend to be self-defeating, since such pressure is an invasion of their rights to draw their own conclusions. However, if the material is presented at a problem to be solved, rather than an article or idea to be sold, the psychological situation becomes one in which study-action groups readily respond. To impose on the freedom of the group is to invite resentment. At the same time, these groups are open to suggestions which leave the question of merit to judgment of the group. In this way the customary promotional techniques are displaced by educational procedures.

The Springs of Mutual Action

Total war in a democracy calls for an intelligent citizenry with enough unity of spirit to overcome differences and difficulties. Community-wide cooperation calls for a sense of comradeship and mutuality in a common cause. Until this is accomplished we cannot have the power of a united people behind a common purpose and program. Only as people know what they are fighting for and have a sense of fellowship in a common cause will they sacrifice without compulsion. Where people can deal with their problems in an intimate, friendly, neighborhood group they release the emotional mainsprings of mutual action.

Consumers' Cooperation

Carl R. Hutchinson

Education Department

Ohio Farm Bureau

May, 1943
ARE YOU STARVING YOUR CO-OP?

Is your co-op achieving a balanced diet or is it living on meat and potatoes? Of course, it can exist on a long time on steak and French fries, but it won't have the strength and resistance for the long haul. You need to feed it vitamins, minerals and an occasional salad. And the whole cooperative will be in the best of trim. Lots of co-ops are well financed — why they lump of tummy — full of good solid beef and potatoes. They are doing a bristling business and all is right with the world. But what about the bone and muscle building process inside? It isn't so apparent to the naked eye, but it is all important.

You need to spend money for education. It is the life blood of this movement. You need to inform and enlighten your members, and it is up to you to provide the wherewithal to do the job. Too few cooperatives are willing to spend money for education. Somehow they don't consider this balanced diet business and if the co-op has a better year than last year, no matter what it might have had or should have had, why worry?

You Are What You Eat

Don't starve your co-op. See that you allocate sufficient money for educational activities. Membership understanding may mean the difference between life and death when the going gets rough. Many cooperatives have it in their by-laws to set aside 5% of the net savings for an educational fund. Sad to say, though, many of them never use this money. Year after year money accumulates. Ask them about it and with embarrassment they will say, "We have no educational committee; there is no educational activity." That co-op never knows what fun it is to bite into a nice crisp salad or to quaff a glass of vitamin-rich fruit juice.

There are many co-ops that set aside either 1/2 or 1% of their volume of sales for education, and co-ops that move into this bracket are beginning to get somewhere. Ohio again sets the pace. A large number of their cooperatives put aside 1% of sales every year and many of them even supplement this with special grants. They are willing to pay for education, and it is a Number One reason why they have the best over-all educational program of any cooperative in the United States.

Now a word or so about using the money after it is set up. Put a definite sum in the hands of the educational committee for a given period. Then they will know how much they will have to spend and can budget their program accordingly. Don't make it necessary for the educational committee to come to the board and ask for approval every time it needs to buy a postage stamp. If the educational fund is based on a percent of volume, volume can be watched each month and will determine the amount to be spent.

A Balanced Market Basket

With money in its pocket the educational committee will be able to buy many excellent and vital producing foods when it goes to market. It may spend money to put out a news bulletin, it may promote a special mass meeting and rent a movie for the evening, it may buy some literature for free distribution at the store, or it may put on a drive for more members or more capital.

Another idea for building a strong educational committee and consequently a strong cooperative has recently come to light. It is the payment of members of the educational committee for attendance at meetings. Central Cooperative Wholesale at Superior has more than a dozen cooperatives which pay their educational committee members the same as their board members. This gives a standing to the educational committee and enables them to contribute to the co-op without being asked to make an unduly heavy sacrifice of time and energy.

It Takes Money — But Worth It

Some cooperatives are going farther and paying the secretary of the educational committee on a part-time basis to coordinate and supervise the educational work. The next evolutionary step is to put a person on as an employee of the co-op who will devote full time to educational activities. Nearly half of the co-ops in Ohio already have adopted this plan. Be willing to spend money for education. You will get it all back and more too. Your co-op will not only have that well kept appearance outside, but on the inside it will have the stamina and energy to keep on growing, and no epidemic of inflation, price-cutting or lack of loyalty will ever be able to put it down for the count.

A FAULTY TRANSLATION
CHANGED ECONOMIC HISTORY

Some cooperatives are going farther and paying the secretary of the educational committee on a part-time basis to coordinate and supervise the educational work. The next evolutionary step is to put a person on as an employee of the co-op who will devote full time to educational activities. Nearly half of the co-ops in Ohio already have adopted this plan. Be willing to spend money for education. You will get it all back and more too. Your co-op will not only have that well kept appearance outside, but on the inside it will have the stamina and energy to keep on growing, and no epidemic of inflation, price-cutting or lack of loyalty will ever be able to put it down for the count.

THROUGH faulty translation of the famous Encyclical of Pope Pius XI — the Encyclical commonly known as Quadragesimo Anno — Catholic policy with reference to labor-industrial-social order problems has been badly distorted throughout the last decade.

This revelation, made possible through the brilliant scholarship of Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., former editor of the magazine "America," and now director of the Jesuit School at Catholic University, is of utmost importance to post-war planning. The faulty translation influenced, considerably, the New Deal. The correct translation and its philosophy as revealed by Father Parsons should have even greater influence in future post-war planning, and the correct translation calls for a theory entirely contrary to the present apostolic order.

Justifiable conclusions drawn from Father Parsons' revelations in the very eminent magazine "Thought" are as follows:

Pope Pius XI favored a plan for a society which would be entirely compatible with a non-profit cooperative society. More than that, the Pope favored a society which in this day of materialism may be possible only through the development of a non-profit cooperative society.

Pope Pius XI did not propose and favor a social order such as was expressed in the deceased NRA, or by the existing Bituminous Coal Act. He did not favor any theory which would be described by the phrase, "the corporate state." He approved of the organization of labor and of employers and of "the State" but insisted it was the obligation of every good citizen to "raise up and promote the harmonious cooperation of the 'orders.'"

And what is meant by the word "orders"? Father Parsons points out that the 'orders' meant a natural and harmonious group in society, for example a unit such as "the automobile industry." But it was not the "automobile industry" as it is today with wage earners arrayed against employers. It would be the automobile industry with employers and employees working as a family and with their interests mutual instead of opposing.

The literal translation of the Encyclical of the important paragraph in question, as stated by Father Parsons is as follows:

"The supreme interest and purpose of both the State and of every good citizen should be, after overcoming the clash of opposing classes, to raise up and promote the harmonious cooperation of the 'orders.' The social-political art, therefore, must set itself to re-establishing the 'orders.'"

The faulty translation upon which

C. J. McLanahan
Educational Secretary
The Cooperative League

Consumers' Cooperation

May, 1943
Catholic social action programs have been developed as follows:

"Now this is the primary duty of the state and of all good citizens: to abolish conflict between classes with divergent interests, and thus foster and promote harmony between the various ranks of society. The aim of social legislation must therefore be the re-establishment of vocational groups."

The Latin word "ordines." Father Parsons points outs, was erroneously translated in one place to mean "ranks" and in another place to mean "vocational groups." And another Latin phrase "ars politica socialis" was translated to mean "social legislation." Thus, Father Parsons emphasizes, "the whole point of the Pope's doctrine is lost" because through emphasis on the word "ranks," support was given to a plan to recognize and encourage class. Classes, wage earners, and employers, and conflicts between them were encouraged. The history of the word "ordines" shows it should have been translated to mean "orders" and in Catholic church history, the "orders" were family groups, not class groups. Translation of the phrase "ars politica socialis" to mean "social legislation" instead of the correct translation "social-political art" caused, Father Parsons states, the false idea that the Pope wished the vocational groups to be creatures of the government.

"It can be seen, therefore," writes Father Parsons, "that what the Pope is really doing is to present a fundamental theory of society which is at odds with the current capitalistic conception of it. The Pope's main criticism of modern society is that by organizing it on the bases of "classes" we have been trying to introduce a principle which is really one of disorder. For this is to split each "order" into two conflicting parties with interests diametrically opposed to each other. The employer is concerned with two things, costs and prices: the amount he has to pay to produce his commodity or render his service, including the wages he pays and the amount he gets for it. The interests of the employed are just the reverse, wages and the cost of living. The employer wants lower costs and higher prices; the employed want higher wages and lower prices. Their respective interests run directly counter to each other.

"To base a social order on the conflicting interests of classes, as we have done," Father Parsons emphasizes, "is to base it on a principle of disorder. This is our fundamental error."

"To profit from the social legislation which has been developed by "the State," such legislation as we include in the phrase "social security" but he emphasizes that the necessary of the intervention by "the State" developed because of the system which created monopolies and the destruction of the weaker units of industry. In the proper society, Father Parsons shows, these services described by the phrase "social security" would be formed by the "orders," which would be industrial and service "families." The political state's intervention would be unnecessary.

"The whole description of the "orders" or 'vocational groups' is a picture of self-governing bodies," Father Parsons writes, "each cooperating autonomously within themselves and with each other for the common aims of the industry or profession. It is democratic industry and would no doubt, function best in a democratic state."

Father Parsons, unfortunately, does not discuss how the "orders" could be re-established in modern industry, how a family spirit and a mutuality of interest could be developed. It is obvious that the non-profit cooperative system would make such a development possible, encourage it and further it. It is clear thus that the Pope's famous Encyclical would put much emphasis on the development of cooperatives. If there is any other theory for the organization of society which would permit the development of industrial families," it has not yet been disclosed.

MIDWEST COOPERATIVE RECREATION AND EDUCATION INSTITUTE

CAMP IHDUHAPI, set in a sylvan forest on the shores of Lake Independence near Minneapolis, will be the scene of the first Midwest Cooperative Recreation and Education Institute, May 28 to June 6. The Institute is sponsored by four of the middle west regional cooperative associations: Midland Cooperative Wholesale, Central Cooperative Wholesale, Central States Cooperatives and Consumers Cooperative Association.

The Midwest Institute will offer leadership training in a wide variety of recreational activities including folk dancing, play party games, simple forms of dramatics, fundamentals of acting and directing, non-sensical games, group singing, and song leadership as well as music appreciation, and lectures on play activities in terms of social values and techniques of teaching and leadership. There will also be courses on techniques of cooperative education and publicity; techniques of teaching cooperation in the school; and discussions on the place of cooperation in a world of change.

The staff is drawn from the regional cooperatives which are sponsoring the Institute as well as former staff members of the National Cooperative Recreation School. Included are: Wilbur Leatherman, Camp Director, Gwen Goodrich, Frank Shilston, Glenn Thompson, and Carl Eck of the Midland Cooperative Wholesale; Merlin Miller, Consumers Cooperative Association; William Tonna, Central States Cooperatives; Ed Whitney, Central Cooperative Wholesale; Ellen Linson, The Cooperative League; James Norris, New York, and Alice Schweibert, Chicago, former National Cooperative Recreation School staff members; and Harold Paikkers, principal of schools, Fayetten, Wisconsin.

When the decision to cancel the National Cooperative Recreation School was made, emphasis was placed on regional schools where transportation would not...
be such an important problem. In addition to the Midwest Institute, recreation training schools are planned for the East and Ohio in August.

The total cost per person for Tuition, room and meals for the Midwest Institute will be $25, plus the registration fee of $2.50. Registrations should be sent to the Membership and Community Relations Department, Midland Cooperative Wholesale, 739 Johnson Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

BOOK REVIEWS


This book of 440 pages in German recites the life of Robert Owen in the form of a story. The subtitle is "The Romance of a lover of mankind." The story begins with Owen at eight years of age functioning as a teacher of the other children in the little town of New Town in North Wales. It carries him through a great career as successful manufacturer and leader of thought. Owen's visit to America, the establishment of his colony in Indiana, his disappointments and disillusionments, are all graphically portrayed in conversational form. The hostilities which Owen suffered at the hands of the privileged Tories, the attacks of the Church, and the inefficiency of those whom he befriended were compensated for by his consciousness of the right of his cause he promoted and the faithfulness of friends who understood and believed in his aims and ideals.

Owen approached cooperation from the workers' standpoint, but his conceptions of the subject were so large that his work made a profound impression upon the movement. The Rochdale Pioneers were helped by his idealism and educational aims.

This book gives a warm impression of Owen's character. It discovers him in a great variety of human situations in which he always rang true. His contributions to our American civilization are noteworthy. The work of no great teacher such as Owen is lost. The foundation he built is today reflected in the strength of our cooperative movement. He addressed the Congress in Washington in 1825. It was his son, Robert D. Owen, a member of Congress, who was appointed by President Lincoln to investigate the frauds perpetrated upon the Government during the Civil War, and whose report showed that robbing the Government took precedence over winning the War.

Herr Wagner has made a noteworthy contribution to cooperative literature. To read this book is to know Robert Owen.

— J. P. Warnasse

FIRST NATIONAL CO-OP STAFF CONFERENCES

On the beautiful shores of Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, staff members of national and regional cooperative organizations will meet June 15 to 20 to map out plans and programs of activity for the coming year. Mobilizing the experience of cooperative operation under the crisis situations of the last few years, staff members will make plans for "Building Tomorrow, Now."

In the conference will be co-op Education Directors, Editors, Recreation staff people, Sales and Advertising managers, the National Women's Committee and the co-op Personnel Committee. The conferences are designed for full time employees and will be working conferences.

Among the outside speakers who will address the combined groups at evening sessions are Hiram Motherwell, noted correspondent and author of "The Peace We Fight For," Dr. Howard Lane of Northwestern University; Professors Milton Mayer and Neil Jacoby of the University of Chicago. Complete information about the conferences may be secured from The Cooperative League, 608 South Dearborn, Chicago.

Consumers' Cooperation
EVERY CO-OP OFFICIAL—

Every cooperative official, whether he be a member of a board of directors or member of an educational committee, should be a regular reader of the National Magazine, Consumers' Cooperation.

Every co-op manager, educational director, and recreation expert—every co-op official of any kind—will find new material of value for his or her work in the columns of Consumers' Cooperation. This is designed as a national magazine for cooperative leaders. Be sure the officials of your co-op get it regularly. $1 per year; 27 months for $2. Mail your subscriptions to:

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608 South Dearborn, Chicago
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Medical Bureau, 1790 Broadway, N. Y. C.
Design Service, 167 West 12 St., N. Y. C.
Rochdale Institute, 167 West 12 St., N. Y. C.

AFFILIATED REGIONAL AND NATIONAL COOPERATIVES

Name
Am. Farmers Mutual Auto Ins. Co.
Associated Cooperatives, N. Cal.
Central Cooperative Wholesale
Central States Cooperatives, Inc.
Consumers Book Cooperative
Consumers Cooperative Association
Consumers' Cooperative Wholesale
Cooperative Distributors
Cooperative Recreation Service
Cuna Supply Cooperative
Eastern Cooperative League
Eastern Cooperative Wholesale
Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
Farm Bureau Mutual Auto Insurance Co.
Farm Bureau Services
Farmers' Union Central Exchange
Grange Cooperative Wholesale
Indiana Farm Bureau Coop. Association
Midland Cooperative Wholesale
National Cooperatives, Inc.
National Cooperative Women's Guild
Pacific Coast Student Co-op League
Pacific Supply Cooperative
Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Coop. Ass'n
Southeastern Cooperative League
Southern California Cooperators
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Workmen's Mutual Fire Ins. Society

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Cooperator Cooperative Builder
Readers Observer
Cooperative Consumer
The Producer-Consumer
Consumers Defender
The Recreation Kit
The Cooperator
The Cooperator
Cooperative Ohio
Ohio Farm Bureau News
Michigan Farm News
Farmers' Union Herald
Grange Cooperative News
Hoosier Farmer
Midland Cooperator

Publications
Consumers' Defender
The Producer-Consumer
Consumers' News
The Recreation Kit
The Cooperator

WHAT YOU HAVE—LESS WHAT YOU OWE—EQUALS WHAT YOU OWN

When cooperative auditors present balance sheets they often describe the Assets as "What You Own" and the Liabilities as "What You Owe". With all due respect to the cooperative accounting profession, we make bold to suggest that such a generalized description of the Assets and Liabilities is misleading in a cooperative statement.

The Asset side of a balance sheet covers the five general divisions of Cash, Receivables, Inventories, Investments and Facilities. A cooperative usually has all five of these assets. It has them—but it does not necessarily own them. All that the Asset side of a balance sheet tells is "What You Have"—it does not tell whether you own what you have or not. Perhaps the creditors own a large part of the assets—not the members of the cooperative.

To know What You Own, after What You Owe is deducted from What You Have, it is necessary to turn to the Liability side of the Balance Sheet. What You Owe is represented by the two items of Payables and Mortgages. What You Own is represented by the three items of Reserves, Capital and Savings.

As an organ to spread the knowledge of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, in voluntary association, purchase and produce for their own use the things they need.

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F. R. Bowen, Editor, Wallace J. Campbell, Associate Editor. Contributing Editors: Editors of Cooperative Journals and Educational Directors of Regional Cooperative Associations.

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COOPERATIVES SHOULD BE COMPLETELY OWNED BY MEMBERS

When the Rochdale principles are quoted the emphasis is usually on Democratic Voting and Patronage Returns. Just why the basic principle of Member Ownership, which is the primary requirement of a cooperative, is not specifically described in the officially adopted statement of the Rochdale principles is hardly understandable, and is most unfortunate. It is, of course, covered by the principle of Limited Interest on Capital. But this principle would have been better worded as Member Owned Capital—Limited Interest. Member Ownership of the Capital in a cooperative is primary—limitation of interest on capital is secondary to ownership by members.

In altogether too many cooperatives, creditors own more than the members. In other words, debts to creditors exceeded the capital owned by members.

We have recently attended two meetings of cooperative associations—one a regional and the other a local. In both cases the balance sheets showed that the principle of Member Ownership was not taken seriously—in both cases creditors owned more than the members. The members owned the fixed assets but creditors owned the quick assets. Why, by all that's good and holy in cooperation, why should not cooperative members take the Rochdale principle of Member Ownership seriously and put it into effect everywhere? Some cooperatives depend upon commodity creditors and private banks for the money to finance their quick assets—some depend upon commodity creditors and government banks. Yet cooperatives have the money in their own pockets or in the banks to fully own their own cooperatives if they want to do so. This is true of every cooperative group without exception. Why not finance every cooperative cooperatively? That means through enough member-owned capital to cover both fixed and quick assets. Why should commodity creditors or private or government banks own any part of the assets of a cooperative?

The best illustration we have ever found of the awakening of the Cooperatives in any nation to the necessity of following the Rochdale principle of Member Ownership is in Sweden. In 1920 they found themselves in the same position as all too many cooperatives in the United States are today—their creditors owned more than their members. They started to educate themselves to the need of owning their own cooperatives completely. Individual cooperative members and cooperative associations began to invest their savings in the capital of their cooperative distributive and productive enterprises. In time, they reached the point where they were entirely out of debt. Out of their experience they coined the slogan that "cooperators should neither give nor accept credit."

Many cooperatives in the United States are fully member owned and have demonstrated that every cooperative can and should be. But other cooperatives have badly violated the Rochdale principle of Member Ownership. There are dangerous post-war breakers of deflation ahead. We need to accept and adopt the Rochdale principle of Member Ownership everywhere as rapidly as we can educate ourselves to do so. If the members own both the quick and fixed assets of their cooperatives then they can ride out any storm. We need to get our cooperative houses in order—we, the members, have the money in our pockets to do so and it's high time for action. Let's take the Rochdale principle of Member Ownership seriously and act upon it.

WHAT BRANDEIS REALLY BELIEVED ABOUT BUSINESS

Just what did the late Justice Brandeis think about the kind of organization of business that would best serve the interests of all the people? The president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce has quoted him in a widely distributed article in the Readers' Digest. We quote below extracts from the article, and then extracts from Brandeis' best known book, "Other People's Money."

"I am for capitalism; and almost all labor leaders I know are really just as much for it as I am.

"I summon to my aid one of the wisest friends of labor and of business that this country has ever had: the late Mr. Justice Brandeis. Addressing a trade union audience in Boston, Justice Brandeis once said: 'It is absolutely essential that a business be profitable. I do not mean merely that the business should not be run at a loss. I mean that the business should be run under such conditions that the owner is willing to risk his capital in the business.'

"Note: 'risk his capital'. Mr. Brandeis, the sociological and judicial innovator and pioneer, was for capitalism; and, under his great shadow, I am, too, without apology.

"Labor should help management to improve processes and to reduce costs. They should master and memorize one other remark once made by Justice Brandeis. He said: 'The end final way in which we can improve the condition of the worker is to produce more, in order that there may be more to divide.'

"Capitalism has been the greatest force that the world has ever known for increased production. Labor in the future could greatly help to make that force even more successful.'

From "Other People's Money" by Louis D. Brandeis

"England, too, has big business. But her big business is in the Cooperative Wholesale Society, with a wonderful story of 50 years of beneficial growth.

"Now, how are the directors of this great business chosen? Not by England's leading bankers, or other notabilities, supposed to possess unusual wisdom; but democratically, by all of the people interested in the operations of the Society.

"Albert Sonnichsen, General Secretary of the Cooperative League, tells this memorable incident:

'Six years ago, at an international congress in Cremona, Dr. Hans
Muller, a Swiss delegate, presented a resolution by which an international wholesale society should be created. Luigi Luzzatti, Italian Minister of State and an ardent member, was in the chair. Those who were present say Luzzatti paused, his eyes lighted up, then, dramatically raising his hand, he said: “Dr. Muller proposes to the assembly a great idea—that of opposing to the great trusts, the Rockefeller of the world, a world-wide cooperative alliance which shall become so powerful as to crush the trusts.”

“Thus farmers, workingmen and clerks are learning to use their savings to help one another instead of turning over their money to the great bankers for safe keeping, and to be themselves exploited. And may we not expect that when the cooperative movement develops in America, merchants and manufacturers will learn from farmers and workingmen how to help themselves by helping one another and thus join in attaining the New Freedom for all? When merchants and manufacturers learn this lesson money kings will lose subjects, and swollen fortunes may shrink; but industries will flourish, because the faculties of men will be liberated and developed.”

BEATRICE WEBB - A SERVANT OF SOCIETY

At 85 years of age the spirit of the most famous woman economist in the world, Beatrice Webb of England, has passed on from this physical world and entered into the unexplored future in search of new adventures. "It is not for naught," wrote our cooperative philosopher, Dr. Horace M. Kallen, "that heaven is pictured as a place of sheer consumption." After discovering and clearly analyzing for us all the meaning and place of the consumer in this world, it would only be simple justice that Mrs. Webb should be privileged to experience the enjoyment of utilitarian consumption in the world to which she has gone.

There will be natural differences in opinion in the appraisals of her work. For the writer, the appraisal of Justice Brandeis, during his and her lifetimes, is the simplest and most acceptable. When asked the question as to what America needed most, he answered, "A Beatrice and Sidney Webb." We have not, to our misfortune, had any such a team of thinkers in the United States to guide our thinking as had Britain. Their joining together was, as Mrs. Webb said, "a mating of minds." Both Beatrice Potter and Sidney Webb were inheritors of certain spiritual, mental or physical dissipation or laziness. Beatrice Potter heard of the Consumers’ Cooperative Movement and started out to investigate it. Her investigation led to meeting John Mitchell who was president of the wholesale and the original clear interpreter of the consumer idea, and to the incorporation of his and her own ideas in the book, "The Consumers' Cooperative Movement in Great Britain," written in 1891 and now in its tenth edition which is still the primary interpretation of the Movement.

In "The Discovery of the Consumer" she says, "I believe this distinction between the kinds of organisation—between Associations of Producers on one hand and Associations of Consumers on the other—to be no idle fancy, but perhaps the most pregnant and important piece of classification in the whole range of sociology." But, as she tells in her autobiography, "My Apprenticeship," she was unable to satisfac-
THE NEED FOR COOPERATIVE ADVERTISING

ALTHOUGH many would have us believe that all advertising is wasteful, there is a very definite and crying need for more and better advertising by our cooperatives. True, profit business has made some of its advertising disgusting by resorting to half truths, exaggerated claims, various tricky appeals to the emotions, and even outright untruths. But the dictionary says that true advertising means "to call public attention to." And that's exactly what cooperative advertising should do.

Some will contend that cooperatives should not advertise—that it is a waste, born of the capitalistic system. The consumer pays all advertising costs. Why, they ask, should we have to tell the consumer what he should buy?

H. O. Sanders, Advertising Manager Central Cooperative Wholesale

It would be an ideal condition if advertising were unnecessary, outside of a few brief seasonal commodity announcements. But we are still far from such a condition. At least, as long as the profit system of society exists, so long must cooperatives "call public attention to" their wares, to their operating methods and to their ultimate aims. How otherwise are the people to be made aware of the benefits cooperative action offers them?

Cooperators Require Reminding

While we must of course direct much of our attention to those people who are not yet cooperative patrons, we need also to keep reminding our present members and patrons to ask for their needs at the co-op. Too often we find an attitude of indifference or even of plain ignorance of what the co-op handles. The so-called small purchases that are made elsewhere because something was forgotten or it's too small to run to the co-op for, or some other such reason, add up to hundreds of thousands of dollars annually. Our cooperatives thrive on patronage, just as any business does. They grow and expand on it. We cannot place too much stress on the need to constantly remind people of the importance of "buying at the co-op." Loyalty is a meaningless term to some people. They need to be told over and over again of the benefits they get through cooperative patronage. Advertising does it.

This advertising needs to be done by the local cooperatives primarily. They are the ones who contact the public. Even rural co-ops, with the nearest competitor possibly miles away, need to advertise. Too often we overlook the influence of the motor car, paved highways, and the mail order catalog. All co-ops need to advertise, and they need the help of the regionals in doing it.

Must Teach Co-op Merchandizing More

Thus far, practically all stress in our training school has been placed on the administrative subjects, besides cooperative theory. That has been the need. But today managers and clerks need to know more than bookkeeping and margin control. They need also to know modern merchandising, including effective advertising and display. And they look to their regional wholesales for help. Managers of local cooperatives tell us that they are too busy to spend any time on drawing up ads for the local paper or to draw up posters, or to plan and build displays. If the manager is too busy, has the work been assigned to someone else? Often the answer is no. Very often, too, our cooperative advertising is no different from the usual price copy used by profit business. We're too busy to write advertising copy that distinguishes the advertiser as a cooperative.

Coop Ads Must Sell Cooperation

That distinguishing feature can be brought out in many ways. The use of slogans or short educational paragraphs is one way. We must "sell" cooperation to the people on its own merits. Then let us talk of those merits. Every commodity ad could very well include a short bit of educational copy, not to speak of ads built up on the educational angle alone. We in CCW feel that educational (institutional) ads in both our co-op papers and in outside publications have been a definite help in spreading the knowledge and understanding of the cooperative philosophy and in getting new converts. Thus advertising is a valuable aid to our educational work.

National Coordination Needed

The sentiment for national unification and coordination of advertising and sales work by the regional wholesales is evidence of the need for greater promotional effort. The American movement has already been helped considerably by the adoption of a national commodity purchasing program, applied through the various commodity committees of National Cooperatives. Similarly, the national publicity and education program brought about by the Publicity and Education Committee has aided in building and strengthening our movement nationally. Now it is time to tackle our merchandising program. True, we encounter some difficulties be-
cause of the various nature and operating fields of the wholesales. But as the national commodity program develops, a national merchandising program should follow it closely.

Among the national services that are available to us right now are the Cooperative League’s poster service and National Cooperatives’ mat and copy service. The possibilities in the poster field have not yet been exploited to the full. Some of the regional wholesales are not using the posters at all. The distribution could be much larger. The poster is an effective educational and promotional medium when properly used. National Cooperatives can do a big service in making available to the regional wholesales mats of the commodities purchased through National. This work has barely been started. Also, National can obtain from the suppliers pertinent commodity facts that are useful in advertising copy.

These, and other advertising and display materials, the regionals can then pass along to their affiliated retail associations, helping to fill a sore need for just such materials. For another thing, the preparation of these advertising and display materials by the regionals and the Nationals permits the use of expert talent that would not be possible locally. And, nationally, we can undertake programs that will make a strong impression on the public. Our first national radio program was a good example of that.

Education and Advertising Should Be Siamese Co-op Twins

America is advertising conscious to the nth degree. If we are to build a national movement of any importance, we need to advertise. Every local and regional cooperative needs an advertising program, just as it needs an educational program. The two should work well together. Thus we can “call public attention to” a better tomorrow, through cooperation.

First Official Survey by U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Proves Success of Campus Co-ops

Mary Dillman
The Cooperative League

More and more campus co-ops are working together among themselves through student federations. More and more college cooperators are realizing their place in the Consumer Cooperative Movement and its significance as a factor in creating a democratic economy at home. Student cooperative leaders are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of carrying on vigorous cooperative education work side by side with building financially sound organizations.

297 Campus Co-ops Reported

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in its first survey of student cooperatives reports that at the end of 1941 there were nearly 300 active student cooperatives on 144 campuses in 44 states. On the basis of the study, recently completed and made jointly with the University of Maryland, it is estimated that in 1940 about 50,000 students were members of campus cooperatives.

Of 297 student cooperative associations known to the Bureau, 181 furnished reports for the study, which appears in the April issue of The Monthly Labor Review. These represented 113 educational institutions in the U. S. Seventy-seven per cent, or 124, were eating clubs or “living” co-ops; 47 were book and supply stores, 4 were credit unions, 3 were educational bodies, and 1 was a cleaning and pressing association. The largest number of student co-ops were found in Illinois (40), California (24), and Ohio (17). Five other states (N. Y., Michigan, Oregon, Texas and Wisconsin) had over 10 associations each.

Over One Million Dollars

Net Ownership

By the war, housing co-ops were the most rapidly growing form of student cooperative. The survey points out, for they enabled students to cut the cost of their education who might otherwise have had to leave college. Assets of over 2 million dollars were reported by 91 associations and the members of 49 cooperatives owned an equity (members’ capital, reserves, surplus, and undivided earnings) amounting to over one million dollars.

High Student Scholarship, Friendly College Administrations

“...The levels of scholarship attained by the members of these cooperatives is a matter of justifiable pride to the associations. Report after report pointed out that on the basis of the average grade of the students the association was at the top of the list among the various organizations represented on the campus, or placed among the top few,” the survey states.

“A distinctly friendly and encouraging attitude on the part of most colleges toward the student cooperatives on their campuses is evident from the reports on hand... In some cases the college itself has advanced loans as the original capital. Faculty advisers have done a great deal by their interest and advice to keep the local cooperatives operating on an even keel. Only one association reported a really unfriendly attitude on the part of the educational institution whose students it served, and only a few reported indifference.”

Successful Operations

A total business of $4,674,000 was done in 1941 by the 132 student cooperatives that furnished reports on this point. The 38 book and stationery co-ops accounted for 74%, or $3,457,925, of this total. The 89 living and eating co-ops that reported did a combined business of $919,544. Net earnings of $230,779 were reported by 87 associations.

Modern New Student Co-op House in Texas

June, 1943
Consumers' Cooperation

Active Educational Programs

As to educational work, 41 cooperative living associations reported that they had among their members 81 cooperative study groups which met regularly. Thirty-two co-ops made provision for a definite percentage of earnings to go toward educational work. Comparatively few of the bookstores, especially the older ones, however, showed any awareness of the social implications of their enterprise or do any educational work along cooperative lines.

Generally speaking, effective membership control is far more pronounced in the living co-ops than in the book stores, since conducting a co-op house touches the student in his every day life, while the book store represents only a small part of his budget.

Current Problems

The Bureau's survey asked each student cooperative to report its major problems. Among those common to both the bookstores and the housing co-ops were (1) insufficient space in present quarters and the difficulty of obtaining suitable quarters elsewhere near the campus; (2) insufficient capital, for operation at the present level or for needed expansion; (3) obtaining efficient management; (4) obtaining continuity of management and administration; (5) obtaining paid non-student labor; (6) a student body (and therefore membership) too small to provide a volume of business large enough for efficient operation; (7) loss of members to armed services; (8) extension of credit and difficulties in collecting accounts; (9) success of organization dependent on a very small group of members; (10) lack of interest in the cooperative enterprise among the membership and/or among the students; and (11) putting over a really effective cooperative education program to the membership or to the student body.

Problems reported only by the book and supply co-ops were: (1) too high operating costs in proportion to volume; (2) getting funds to pay bills in time to obtain discount; and (3) obtaining stocks of goods. The greatest problems peculiar to the rooming and boarding co-ops were: (1) maintenance of house capacity, and consequently of low proportion of membership to beds; (2) rents too high; (3) raising food costs; (4) getting sufficient variety and balanced diet in low-cost meals; (5) maintaining decent living standards on what members can afford to pay; (6) inability to estimate costs in view of rapid membership turnover and fluctuating prices; (7) getting members to cooperate fully in the duties of the house.

"Aside from the practical problems connected with the actual carrying out of the enterprise, the need for education in cooperation appears to be at the root of the difficulties experienced by a large proportion of the associations," the Bureau's study concludes.

* * *

Read the CAMPUS CO-OP NEWS LETTER
THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE
167 West 12th Street, New York City

DEVELOPMENT

A NEW order of things is what is a large part of the world is fighting for.

Neal Beaton, president of the great Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society, flew the Atlantic by clipper last September to bring greetings to the U. S. Cooperative Congress. To representatives of two million co-op members he declared: "Our boys are not fighting this war to bring back the world of 1929 or 1932. They are fighting for a new world of freedom, security, economic and political democracy." His statement is not one to be brushed off lightly for the British cooperatives today are serving nine million British families. They should play an important part in the British plans for the coming peace.

Cooperatives Officially Recognized by U. S. as Necessary Part of Post-War Reconstruction Program

One event which has focused attention on the cooperatives is the recent appointment of Murray D. Lincoln, who is president of the Cooperative League of the USA, as one member of the five-man delegation to represent the United States at the United Nations Food Conference. Lincoln is the only non-governmental representative in the delegation. This is the first time in American history that an official of the cooperatives has been appointed to such an important post.

Lincoln's appointment followed closely the offer of the U. S. cooperatives to help in any way possible the work of former Governor Lehman, director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation operations. The proposal presented by Howard A. Cowden, vice-president of the Cooperative League, and chairman of the Cooperative League Committee on International Cooperative Reconstruction, pointed out that already one-third of the foodstuffs handled by the Lend-Lease Administration come from the American marketing cooperatives.

Almost automatically the co-ops will come into the picture—for agricultural marketing cooperatives handle nearly a third of the foodstuffs of the United States. And one-sixth of the supplies to produce this food is purchased through consumer cooperatives. That puts a co-op base under a large share of the food that's to be used in post-war relief.

Cooperatives Must Be Reorganized in Europe

Then how about the cooperative machinery of distribution in Europe?

The consumer cooperatives in Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Poland, France, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic countries were handling from ten to forty per cent of the food distribution in those countries before the war. In many of those nations the co-ops were the largest single distributors of food.

Occupation by the Nazis has destroyed many of these cooperatives. But in most of these countries the physical set-up of the cooperatives remains intact although leaders of the co-ops have often been put in concentration camps and "loyal" Nazis have been put in their places. The democracy and the non-profit features of the co-ops have been cast aside. But the members still remember and will restore those principles of economic democracy immediately after the Nazis are driven out.

Let me give you a concrete example. Just last week I had a long talk with Dr. Ledislav Feierabend, Minister of Finance of the Czech Government-in-Exile.
Dr. Feierabend was head of the largest agricultural cooperative federation in Czechoslovakia before the German occupation. He told me that the consumer cooperatives are being slowly liquidated. But that economic life in Czechoslovakia would be unthinkable without the co-ops. To liquidate them rapidly would throw the entire economy of the country into chaos, so the Nazis are moving slowly. One by one the co-ops are being sold out to their competitors, but most of the co-ops are still intact. Democracy, of course, is not tolerated and it is "verboten" for neighbors to help each other to help themselves.

In Poland, underground reports indicate the Nazis are using the machinery that was once the cooperatives to teach the farmers. At the close of the war, however, that economic machinery of distribution of goods and services can be restored to its original purpose and will be the most immediate and effective weapon of relief and of rehabilitation.

Cooperatives—A World-Wide Federation

Those of you who have not followed closely the growth of the co-ops at home and abroad may be amazed to know that one hundred million families in forty countries were members of cooperatives before the war.

They had their own world-wide federation. The International Cooperative Alliance is still in operation in spite of the war. The International Cooperative Wholesale and International Cooperative Trading Agency have suspended operations for the duration.

Before the tidal wave of Nazism swept Europe, one-fourth of the families in Europe were members of cooperatives. Even in Germany more than 3 million families were members of cooperatives which did a business of nearly a billion Reichmarks. That was in the days of the Weimar Republic. The cooperatives resisted the Nazis stubbornly. Nearly ten years were required to liquidate the co-ops—and even today the principles of self-help and democracy that are essential to cooperation are seared on the hearts of many of the common people of Germany. In the occupied countries, many co-op managers have stood by their posts in spite of the ignominy of Nazi domination in an attempt to ease the suffering of their fellows until liberation comes.

In the free countries the co-operatives have grown rapidly throughout the war—Sweden, Switzerland, Great Britain, Iceland, China. The Chinese co-ops have had a very dramatic growth. The industrial co-ops—growing behind the lines as guerrilla industries—have supplied blankets, bandages, food, and clothing for millions in China. Less well known are the credit, consumer and marketing cooperatives with nine million members. Shih-Chi Hu, secretary of the Cooperative League of China, who is now in the United States, points to the co-ops as the basis of a new economy in China.

The United States was once looked upon as the baby of the world cooperatives. But this lusty infant reported 2½ million family members in 1942 and a business that was estimated at seven hundred million dollars.

How International Cooperative Exchange Operates

How does international cooperative business work? Let me give you an example right close to home. Before the war the cooperatives in the midwest were shipping oil compounded in their plants in North Kansas City to co-ops in Scotland, France, Belgium, Bulgaria, and Estonia. The Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society, for example, bought a share in the U. S. cooperative. Savings on the purchases going to Scotland were credited to the account of the Scottish co-ops just as savings to farm and city folk in Kansas or Colorado were paid back to them. International trade was carried on without any profit whatsoever. Since the outbreak of the war, the U. S. cooperatives that used to serve their European brethren have bought two refineries, a hundred miles of pipeline and a dozen oil wells. So oil for the co-ops of Europe, distributing without the war-making profit which has long tainted the petroleum industry, will be freer flowing when the wheels of international democracy start turning over again. This oil will be a lubricant of peace and the refineries that produce it will be as important to permanent peace as the marble palaces at the Hague.

Organize Relief Cooperatively

E. J. Phelan, Director General of the International Labor Office, rightly declares that "In spite of damage and destruction, cooperative organizations have covered Europe with such a vast network that they appear among the most efficient agencies available for such relief work."

As the Cooperative League's Reconstruction Committee points out: "The cooperatives should be used for relief purposes because (1) they carry on business for the purpose of service; (2) they have large experience both in local, rural, and international commerce; (3) they have large warehouse facilities at their disposal; and (4) they represent political, racial, or sectarian groups, but consist of all kinds of people and exclude none."

We advocate that all agencies of relief, whether private or public, plan their programs of rehabilitation on a cooperative basis. By so doing initiative will be developed among the people. As E. R. Bowen, General Secretary of the Cooperative League, points out, self-help, encouraged by the cooperative organization of relief, will result in an expansion of the foods and goods much like the black market story of the loaves and fishes. After the first World War, the French government used the consumer cooperatives for distributing many foods and used their prices as yardsticks for the prices of many other commodities. The Italian Government—before Mussolini—placed in the hands of the consumer cooperatives the distribution of meat and potatoes. At the present the Swedish Government uses the oversea agencies of the Swedish Cooperative Wholesale for the purchase of goods for all types of business and government use in Sweden.

The reconstruction period at the close of World War I gives us precedent and encouragement. The Friends Service Committee in France placed funds for the feeding of the distressed population of the district of Nancy in the hands of a retired army officer. This man, instead of handing out doles, encouraged the people to organize consumer cooperative groups. They set up stores, bought at wholesale and from manufacturers and created what has grown into a great cooperative movement in that district.

To encourage the people to help themselves will be one of the great tools for rebuilding civilian morale after the war is over.

A Cooperative Economic World Plan

Do the cooperatives have plans for the broader problems of the post-war world?

We believe that political democracy alone will not create a sound basis for permanent peace. Economic democracy must accompany and give greater life to our present democratic forms.

On an international scale, we advocate the formation of a World Cooperative Economic Federation, co-equal and independent of, but parallel to a World Democratic Political Federation.

A world political federation is imperative. But a world political federation alone will meet the same fate as the League of Nations unless there is set in operation along with it a world economic union. Cooperatives—with one hundred years of experience behind them and with a world vision and machinery of world economic cooperation already in operation could well be the nucleus
about which such a world economic federation could be built.

We have talked a lot about the Century of the Common Man. Economic cooperation is a formula which enables

**RECREATION NEWS NOTES**

Cooperative Recreation Week-End Conference, Wilmington, Draws 56 Students

_Wilmington, Delaware—_Fifty-six cooperators and their friends participated in the well-rounded program of singing, folk dancing, games, crafts and dramatics at the leadership training conference held May 14-16 at Wilmington-Arden, Delaware. The conference grew out of a similar week-end at Pendle Hill, Pa., in December. Students came from cooperative recreation groups and cooperative societies in Wilmington-Arden, Philadelphia, Westchester County, Pa.; Media, Pa., and Washington, D. C.

The conference got under way Friday night with a party which drew together about 80 people for a rousing evening of American squares and reels and European dances. The party and the Saturday sessions were held at the YMCA in Wilmington. Crafts were on the program for the morning, with folk dancing, singing, discussion, and practice in calling squares in the afternoon. Over one hundred people attended the Saturday night party which had been planned by the students in the afternoon—wall flowers and "sitter-outers" were unheard of as the group went from play parties to reels to squares to polkas or caught their breath in a quiet game.

The Community Hall at Arden, Delaware, was the scene of the group's activities. A session started off with an hilarious two hours of charades. At the business meeting in the afternoon the students decided to form a permanent organization called the Common Man to get into action. Self-help is a formula for freedom. Cooperative self-help is the way for the Common Man to take hold of this century and make it his own.

_Ellen Linson_

---a federation of cooperative recreation groups in the area served by the ECW Philadelphia warehouse. Invitations are to be sent to play-co-ops and cooperative societies to send delegates to an executive committee which will meet in July. Activities which the federation might carry on through this committee include: planning similar recreation weekends; assisting new groups in recreation programs; exchange of new recreation material; list of co-op recreation groups in the area.

_Morton Trast of Wilmington_ was chairman of the committee responsible for the week-end. The staff included Ruth and James Norris of the National Cooperative Recreation School staff, and Ellen Linson, recreation secretary, The Cooperative League.

* * *

**Pasadena Recreation Association Moves to New Quarters**

_Pasadena, Calif._—The move of the Pasadena Recreation Association in March to Eagles Hall, 35 E. Union Street, Pasadena, is the latest in a series of moves necessitated by a constantly growing membership accompanied by growing community interest. The move happened to coincide with the need for additional funds for the Co-Op Radio program, so the housewarming doubled as a benefit.

The Community Hall at Arden, Delaware, was the scene of the group's activities on Sunday when the morning session started off with an hilarious two hours of charades. At the business meeting in the afternoon the students decided to form a permanent organization called the common man to get into action. Self-help is a formula for freedom. Cooperative self-help is the way for the Common Man to take hold of this century and make it his own.

_Ellen Linson_

---a federation of cooperative recreation groups in the area served by the ECW Philadelphia warehouse. Invitations are to be sent to play-co-ops and cooperative societies to send delegates to an executive committee which will meet in July. Activities which the federation might carry on through this committee include: planning similar recreation weekends; assisting new groups in recreation programs; exchange of new recreation material; list of co-op recreation groups in the area.

_Morton Trast of Wilmington_ was chairman of the committee responsible for the week-end. The staff included Ruth and James Norris of the National Cooperative Recreation School staff, and Ellen Linson, recreation secretary, The Cooperative League.

* * *

**North Kansas City Play Co-op 'Hobby Night' Huge Success**

_N. Kansas City—_Over thirty hobbies were on display at the Hobby Night May 15 sponsored by the North Kansas City Play Co-op. "The whole thing went off beautifully and the 125-odd people there had a magnificent time," reports Glenn Haskell, Play Co-op member.

The evening started with a chili supper after which there was a chance to see any or all of the Hobby Horse shows. A program, presented later in the evening, included a wide variety of numbers: an exhibition of trapshooting, songs by the Sextette; scenes from the Broadway stage play, 'I'd Rather Be Right,' by the Drama Group; and a magician. Games and dancing to the tunes of the Hill-Billy Band wound up the evening's activities. A partial list of the hobby horses exhibited included: woodworking, metal work, guns, coins and stamps, paintings, leather working, handwork, and scrapbooks.

* * *

**Dates Set for Eastern Cooperative Recreation School**

_New York—_The third annual Eastern Cooperative Recreation School will be held August 14 to 22 at the New York University Camp, Lake Sebago, near Southbury, New York. The camp provides an ideal setting for the leadership training course in a wide variety of recreational activities. The staff and program for the school will be announced in the July issue of Consumers' Cooperation. Information can be secured from Ruth Norris, Eastern Cooperative League, 135 Kent Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

**BOOK REVIEWS**

A REAL "BOOK FOR OUR TIME!"

_A Cooperative Economy,_ by Benson Y. Landis. Harper Brothers, $2.00. Special Co-op Edition available for $1.00 from the Cooperative League of the USA, 167 West 12th Street, New York City.

A few years ago a high-ranking cooperator said the United States told the present reviewer that the best writing on the cooperative movement being done at that time was by Benson Y. Landis. This was about the time that Dr. Landis published a very complete account of the cooperative movement for the National Association. In his present book, Dr. Landis well sustains this reputation.

Economic cooperation is the ultimate and ultimate in business. A free people with a co-op industry should turn to cooperation naturally as a magnet turns to the North Star. For a long time the United States needed to be an exception to this rule, but in the last decade the American people are proving that this principle is universally true.

Dr. Landis' book gives the story of the cooperative achievement by the American people in recent times. But it does something more than that; it gives us a new interpretation and a new synthesis. All the movements making for a cooperative economy are presented in an integrated whole. Voluntary cooperation, both of the producer and consumer types, according to Dr. Landis, is only part of the democratic movement toward a cooperative democracy. Working along with all this voluntary effort is what he calls public or necessary cooperation. These are the various economic activities carried on by the state. Even taxation and regulation of monopolistic business take on a new significance in the light of Dr. Landis' exposition. In other words, the natural evolution of the state itself is working out toward the establishment of a cooperative economy. Which element, voluntary or state, will be dominant in the future will be for the people themselves to say.

Part Three, in which are discussed the relationships between the professional and old-
line business groups, is particularly able. Professional people and their institutions have been closely tied to the vested interests in the past. They can no longer dodge the peoples' economic movement as represented by cooperation. Dr. Landis suggests the remedy to them:

"And how can professional people of today, who wish to break through the crusts of tradition, best place the honor of their calling above the reach of their own weaknesses? By imposing new codes upon themselves through the creation of influential democratic economic organizations and agencies—voluntary and governmental—that is one answer. And it sums up the message of this book to the professions."

Some of the chapters of this book are heavily freighted with statistics, but the cooperators of North America, who are now numbered in millions, will welcome this. They should be now past the baby stage where they need mere propaganda material. This book gives the real facts of the movement in the United States and clearly points the way for the future both in the national and international field. Cooperators are bound to realize that this is a real book for our time. The well-selected bibliography at the end of the book and the suggestions for study groups give a chance for further investigation of the evolution of our dynamic society.

—M. M. COADY
From "Christendom",
New York, Summer 1943

M. M. COADY
From "Christendom",
New York, Summer 1943

St. Francis Xavier University
Antigonish, Nova Scotia


Here's a breath-taking co-op story for teenage boys and girls. For sheer interest and suspense it is unsurpassed in co-op literature. And it is important to the co-op movement, for—in a real, live story of real, live youngsters—it shows the cooperators of tomorrow how they can cooperate today.

The opening day of the new Kent Junior High School was a sad day for Ted Morgan and his friends. They had just heard the news—no money for football equipment, no team to play against Brandon Junior High.

Luckily, Hank Cochrane, their red-headed history teacher and coach, had an idea. After much discussion and very hard work on the part of the boys—and the girls, too—the Kent Junior Cooperative opened its doors for business.

And then the trouble, and then the learning, began in earnest. Like adult cooperators, Ted, Joe, Larry, Pete, Sally, Nan, and all the rest faced such difficulties as cut prices, credit trade, insufficient reserves, attack by selfish and misunderstanding people, too little membership education.

Guided, not driven, by the wise Mr. Cochrane, these young cooperators worked their way through knotty problems to a successful semi-annual meeting, in which they reported net savings of $311.50. They disposed of their savings in the best co-op practice, by voting $200 to be held in reserve and $111.50 to be paid out in patronage refunds.

Then—to cap the climax—they decided unanimously to loan their patronage refunds to the Board of Education for the purchase of baseball equipment, and, just for good measure, they whipped Brandon Junior High!

The co-op had become a fine little business, which had tied the community together and taught the students the judgment, the responsibility and the fair play that make good citizens in a democracy.

Co-op members will want copies for their teen-age children. They will also want to make sure that their own co-op puts copies in the high school library, the public library, or both.

—From The Cooperative Consumer
FOR COMPLETE DETAILS . . .

The August issue of CONSUMERS' COOPERATION is designed to give you complete details on the 1943 CO-OP STAFF CONFERENCES. Conference reports, committee findings, resolutions . . . all will be streamlined to give you a well-rounded, over all picture of the proceedings of the conference. If your subscription is about to expire renew it today. Send a subscription to someone who should be reading the National Magazine for Cooperative Leaders. Price: $1 per year, 27 months for $2.

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Southern California Cooperators
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AN EDITOR'S DREAM

The unrealized dream of an editor is to have a publisher say just once "Your editorials are so much more significant than the news that we are going to turn the news columns over to you and fill them with your editorials." That could only happen in a dream, or when the editor and the publisher are represented in the same person. The "partial" impartial judgment of the editor of CONSUMERS' COOPERATION this month is that editorials on current events are more important than general articles, because of the high speed schedule of passing time today.

So here goes for the first EDITORIAL SPECIAL in the regime of the present editor. There may or may not be another one. The past two weeks of Staff Conferences and Directors Meetings have lifted us up to a high peak, until it was hard to relax and run down to normal. While the editorial muse was working nights as well as days, the following came out of the mental cauldron. We express the hope that the results will stimulate and inform you and arouse you to greater action. If so, the energy expended will be worthwhile. If not, we will be sorry but will be unable to do anything about it this time—but we will not do it again.

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


"THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION" (Headline of a front page editorial from the Chicago Tribune)

"HALF OF CAPITAL'S DWELLERS FOUND PACKED IN SLUM AREA" (Headline of a news story directly underneath the editorial)

We give credit to an editor and reporter of the Chicago Tribune for the juxtaposition of the two headlines above, which, combined together form the basis for the best comparison we have seen in recent months.

The Tribune editorial, as would be natural, praises the overriding of the President’s veto of the anti-strike bill and declares that Congress has saved the country by staging “the second American revolution.”

The real truth is that big business is no longer scared of big government, as it was in the 1930’s, when profit banks failed and only opened up for business again with government guarantees after a housecleaning had permanently closed one-third of them, and when profit business almost passed out permanently and would have if the government had not subsidized it by WPA’s to its employees. That is why the political representatives of big business now presume to again take over in the interests of their masters, the owners. Monopoly is staging a come-back.

That’s all the so-called and mis-named second American revolution is about.

The second real revolution is still to come. The signs of its eventual coming are seen in the news headline about our Washington slums. They are only typical — just a little more glaring because they are in our national capital. But ugly profit monopoly surely could not be presumed to have any sense of the appropriateness of the beauty of things. To own slums in the national capital is good business-for-profits—if not for the people. The political government in Washington is presumed to represent the people—as it does not today—while big business is presumed to represent profits—as it does.

When the real second American revolution comes—the economic one—then the people will not only be represented by democratic political leaders of their own choosing, but by cooperative economic leaders of their own choosing as well. Speed the day! And may it be peaceful!

RIDE THE PUBLICITY WAVES!

The way to get real publicity for any program is to ride the waves of popular discussion. That’s what the Consumers’ Cooperative Movement did in 1934 to 1936; when it received the compliment of having gotten a million dollars worth of free publicity and of having done the best publicity job of any national organization. The organization of hundreds of successful cooperatives followed. We rode into the limelight on the wave of unemployment, which was on everyone’s mind and in everyone’s mouth.

Now we are beginning to ride still higher waves. The present publicity wave for Consumers’ Cooperatives, which is rolling up, is riding on the current discussions about, first, national inflation, and second, international reconstruction, and will ride the third wave of the hundredth anniversary of the Movement in 1944. Talk it up!

Consumers’ Cooperatives are the answer to national inflation—deflation.
Consumers’ Cooperatives are the answer to international reconstruction.
Consumers’ Cooperatives are celebrating their 100th anniversary which proves that the idea is sound.

Let’s go, everybody! And don’t be afraid! Let’s express some of that divine imperativeness we all have in our systems.

One moral: we don’t need a high-powered deceptive publicity agent like profit business uses. We are all publicity agents of cooperative truth, if we will all speak up and out!

THE WAY TO POLITICAL PEACE IS THROUGH ECONOMIC COOPERATION

The famous George Russell, poet-cooperator of Ireland, of which we need a duplicate so badly in the United States, said that “The light out of heaven is not vouchsafed to groups, but only to individuals.” In Biblical language, it was not a group of people, but an individual, who was struck by lightening on the Road to Damascus. Just so it is today and always will be. True conversion does not take place in mass meetings or by masses. Such conversions are froth and the foam vanishes quickly.

Of what is all this apropos? A simple truth. That the thing that must happen, and be repeated over and over again, is for individuals to reject their social sins of profit-competition and start building new lives as followers of cooperative-service. I won’t compete—I will cooperate—is the mental and physical process simplified.

Then, after one has become converted to non-violent economic cooperation, then and then only will one be ready to quit fighting as a political citizen. From economic competition, to economic cooperation, to political peace, is the road to the Promised Land.

WALL STREET WARRIORS IN WASHINGTON

It’s high time that we Americans brought the Rochdale principle of political neutrality up to date, as the Swedes brought all the principles up to date twenty years ago. Otherwise we will probably lose out in time—and not long hence.

Sure, we are a politically neutral group and will continue to be. But what does political neutrality really mean? Does it mean keeping respectfully silent while Wall Street steals our government from us, and throws us into an American brand of Fascism? Well, not for this editor, at least.

I will not discuss politics from the standpoint of whether one is a tweedle-dee this or a tweedle-dum that. Each of us has our individual right as cooperators to choose whatever political party we vote for and support. But to confuse politics with policies, and fail to discuss policies is, to me, social treason, so long as I have a voice and a typewriter.

Shall we be silent when Knox admits that he “muffed it” in signing the contract, as he testified before a Congressional Committee investigating the Standard Oil-Navy lease, which smells like the fumes from another Teapot Dome?

Shall we be silent when the story comes out of Wall Street of corporation shareholders and others reaching out into the agricultural State of South Dakota (which the farmers could control in their own interest as consumer-citizens if they would get together economically and politically) and contributing to the campaign fund of a Senator? Such contributions are reported as having been made by shareholders of General Motors, and the Chicago Tribune. How do you cooperators of South Dakota like it for them to determine your Senator for you? And the same thing goes on in other States.

Shall we be silent when Barney Baruch is announced as an advisor to Byrnes, as he has been to every President since Wilson? Are we political mice or cooperators?
tive men when we see a cartoon in the Washington Star of Justice Byrnes, sitting on the ground at the feet of Baruch who is clothed in ancient righteous robes of justice, or a cartoon in the Chicago Tribune showing Baruch as a Park Bench Oracle surrounded by political jackies? He is described by Time as an "elder statesman." God save the mark! True statesmen are those "elected" by an economically intelligent people to represent them and not "selected" by Wall Street to represent it in Washington. Those who would question such a statement should study, if they can dig up the hidden facts, as to how it happened that two so-called Baruch men, in the persons of General Johnson and George Peek, were chosen to head the NRA and the AAA, or to control industry and agriculture respectively. It might be illuminating.

Must we hush-hush, because of our political neutrality? Must we hush-hush because of national unity? Must we? Really! Then goodbye to the political democracy we have and the economic democracy we hope to have, as we blindly fly towards our fascist fate, as moths fly toward a burning candle.

**COOPERATIVE LEAGUE DIRECTORS MEETING OPENS WITH POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY**

Disclaimer any pretense of being a poet or a philosopher, the president and secretary of The Cooperative League respectively proceeded to open their reports to the recent Board meeting with poetical and philosophical quotations. Seldom does the Board have such an opportunity, and perhaps never again, even though they seem to have enjoyed the experience.

President Lincoln's poetical contribution was "The People," by Tomasso Campanelle, whose life spanned the years from 1568 to 1639.

"The people is a beast of muddy brain
That knows not its own strength, and therefore stands
Loaded with wood and stone; the powerless hands
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein;
One kick would be enough to break the chain;
But the beast fears, and what the child demands
It does; nor its own terror understands,
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
"Most wonderful! With its own hands it ties
And gags itself—gives itself death and war
For pence doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven;
But this it knows not; and if one arise To tell this truth, it kills him unforgiven."

Secretary Bowen's philosophical contribution was from an autobiography by Eric Gill, an artist who died in 1940, and whose life extended the philosophies of former artists, John Ruskin and William Morris, into today's mad world.

"All capitalism really is . . . is a scheme for making chickens lay more eggs than they had inside them. In the hope of increasing your product beyond human limits, you borrow money (from some robber) and employ some wage slaves. Then you have not only to pay their wages, and your own salary for looking after them (and naturally they won't want to do more work than they can help), but also interest on the money you've borrowed (or a share of your takings). You can only go on doing this as long as the people who buy whatever it is you turn out or produce (you can't call it "making") do not see that your eggs, for example, are becoming more and more sterile and diseased and, in fact, are not really there at all, but only a more or less fraudulent imitation.

"We live in a world which is ruled by men of business, and ruled therefore according to business men's notions of what is good. This is a simple fact and it seems to me, and to the few who think likewise, that it is an insufferably monstrous, iniquitous and vile state of affairs.

"We place those who have successfully amassed money in the highest seats of government and give honour to the rich as to the saints of God. Do I exaggerate? No words that the most eloquent could write could make this enormity more enormous than it is. Hence it is that we must go down into the dust disgraced and infamous, with no monument to our prowess but the filthiness of our cheap idols; for even our idols are filthy, having no reason for existence but the money profit of those who sold them.

"The man of business, as such, is a parasite. In the nature of things there is no reason for his existence. There is no reason whatever why there should be any men of business at all. But, be that as it may (and any civilization can endure a certain small proportion of pimps and thieves without succumbing —just as a man can endure a few warts and spots on his body without dying) what is truly monstrous and disruptive and corrupting to our life and virtue is that such persons should be our rulers that they should have usurped the seats of kings, that their hideous teaching should have replaced the Gospel. That is what is unendurable; that is what is unforgivable; that is what God will neither endure nor forgive."

In addition, the Secretary prefaced his report with the statement that "What we need to do in America is to put a new crack in the Liberty Bell—made by ringing out the news of economic freedom, as the first crack was made by ringing out the news of political freedom."

**SIGNS OF "THE MARCH OF FASCISM" IN AMERICA**

Those who were privileged to hear him will never forget the address of Stephen Raushenbush, author of "The March of Fascism" on the same subject before the delegates to the 1940 Congress of the Cooperative League. All too many of the same tragic steps he described, about the blind march of the people to their doom in other countries, are being reproduced in America today. The principal single sign of the march is the "buddying-up" of industrial and farm leaders against labor. Every time I see an official of a farm organization and an industrial organization on a platform, not only arm in arm but with arms around one an-

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other, as I have done more than once, I cringe for the common people on the farm and in the factory. They have something coming to them, of which they are largely unaware, in such a gesture of other-worldly brotherliness on the part of a farm and an industrial leader.

"We are all brothers under the skin." Yes, finance and industry are, and farmers and workers are. But when monopolistic finance and industry lie down with dispossessed farmers and workers, it is a case of the lion and lamb lying down together, and today the lamb had better look out or he will lose some of his vital organs, as he has already lost his wool shirt.

THE "DEFECTIVE" PROFIT-DEBT SYSTEM

Some of the "defects" of the profit system are being exposed even though the war is still on, and we need unity so badly that we attempt to cover up the truth. For example:

Manufacturers can still refuse to tell consumers what's in the can behind the high-sounding advertising label. They won out behind the lines in an OPA battle to save this "defect" of the profit system.

Did we not hear something about ship plates having been found "defective" as a result of an attempt to make more profits?

And now the news leaks out that attempts have been made to sell "defective" cartridges for profit to the Russian, Chinese and French governments.

Also profit-minded banking and business leaders protest against the government's taking their "seed" money in taxes, and thereby put the government into greater debt. But this is only natural, as debt is on the opposite side of the coin of profit.

Why should one imagine that a leopard can change its spots, or that profits are "patriotic"? The profit system is by its nature "defective." So why should not its products be "defective"? The means and the end are always the same.

WHICH IS THE MOST IMPORTANT—AN EDUCATIONAL OR A COMMODITY MAN?

We hasten to answer—neither—lest we start a violent debate.

A decade ago there was only one regional department head with the title of Educational Director, though every regional had a Commodity Manager. Today every large regional has both Educational and Commodity Department Heads.

Five years ago there was no regional which had district Educational Fieldmen, though every regional had Commodity Fieldmen. Today five regionals have both Educational and Commodity Fieldmen, and others intend to follow suit.

A new educational phenomenon has now appeared in the person of local Educational Men—and don't overlook Educational Women as well. Ohio brought twenty-five or more of such local employees to the National Staff Conference just held at Lake Geneva, which will be reported on in a Special Staff Issue in August. Whet your appetite for some real educational organization news.

At to make your appetite all the more watery, there was a discussion at one regional annual meeting by the delegates as to whether they could not eliminate the Commodity Fieldmen—but never a word about eliminating the Educational Fieldmen. Commodity Fieldmen, look out for your ration books! Education may have a real priority over commodities in cooperatives in time—as it, of course, always should have.

But it is not "more" important—just of "prior" importance.
LISTEN! THINK! ACT!

When you listen to "Information, Please" you are compelled to listen to Heinz commercials—then you should go right on thinking about the Maxon Advertising Agency which handles the Heinz account—then on about the OPA Assistant whom Brown brought in—then on about the breakdown of grade labeling under Maxon’s direction—then on about the $10 tips which Winchell reports Maxon gives to hatgirls—then on about the rationed goods which the United Automobile Workers charged were being delivered to the Maxon Agency’s summer camp—and then on ad infinitum to the simple conclusion that the profit system rules American economic and political life—and then on to the right kind of swearing to do more about it.

PAY ONCE OR PAY THRICE FOR THE WAR

In resigning as Food Administrator, Chester Davis said in his letter to the President, among other things:

“I do not believe such subsidies will be effective in controlling inflation unless they are accompanied here, as they are in England, by current tax and savings programs that drain off excess buying power and by tight control and management of the food supply.”

The President, in his reply to Davis, expressed his agreement in these words:

“I agree with you that we cannot fully or effectively enforce our price or rationing programs or fully or effectively stabilize the cost of living without an adequate tax savings program to drain off excess purchasing power.”

Note that they both agreed that more income taxes was the vital necessity underneath price controls.

That is what we have been trying to say ever since the war started in 1939. In "Facts about War Debts and Taxes" (Price 10c., read it) we showed six positions of a moving chart we made to illustrate how to prevent inflation and deflation.

We can either pay ONCE NOW for the war in TAXES NOW or we can pay THRICE LATER in INFLATED PRICES, INTEREST ON BONDS, and finally in TAXES.

Take Your Choice! Will you, as a consumer, help to educate America to pay ONCE NOW in TAXES?

A ROBIN CO-OP

“Believe it or not” it’s true, that in the Glenview Co-op Community, the birds have begun to follow the example of the people, and have organized their own “Robin Co-op.” When one mother robin had completed her motherly duties by cheeriao-ing her brood of babies off the nest she had built, and had led them out into the warm co-op world around, another mother robin took over and relined the co-op nest and is now raising a second crop of co-op baby robins which will soon be old enough to become active co-op members themselves. Thus does the example of cooperation spread in cooperative housing projects, even to the animals. They become quite tame, as do the people.

There are signs that cooperation is about to spread to the thrashers and the grosbeaks, about which we may report in time.

As Dr. Allee, president of the Zoological section of the American Association of Science, indicated in a previous issue of CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION “Cooperation is natural in both the animal and the human world.” All that is needed is for animals and humans to act cooperatively according to their nature.

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FOUR GREAT STEPS IN CO-OP HISTORY

(Wallace J. Campbell, Publicity Director of the Cooperative League interviews E. R. Bowen, General Secretary, at the conclusion of the Directors’ meeting on June 24-25, 1943.)

Mr. Campbell: Will you please summarize for the half million dues paying members of the Cooperative League the highlights of the Directors’ meeting which has just concluded?

Mr. Bowen: I think, Mr. Campbell, that as we crystallize in our minds the highlights, we will all find that they were the brightest that ever shone at any meeting which we have attended. In other words, I think that time will prove that this meeting was the most constructive in the last ten years of history of the Cooperative League.

Mr. Campbell: That is a very strong statement and when supported by the data would surely be a most interesting story for all of our members to read and would justify a far more complete account than we have been accustomed to making in our short summaries in the League News Service. Won’t you please elaborate on your statement.

Mr. Bowen: Well, Mr. Campbell, you and I have been employees of the Cooperative League almost the same length of time—I am only about six months older than you. We have seen many important events take place during the past decade of our employment. I submit to your judgment as to whether what we have just witnessed at the Directors’ meeting does not justify my broad statement.

Mr. Campbell: Well, shall we start?

Mr. Bowen: Why not? I should say that the report by Mr. Lincoln, president of the League, on the United Nations Reconstruction Committee has presented to Governor Lehman a proposed program of cooperative relief and reconstruction.”

Howard Cowden—"The Reconstruction Committee has presented to Governor Lehman a proposed program of cooperative relief and reconstruction."

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Conference on Food Production, of which he was the only civilian member appointed by the President of the United States, and which was the greatest public honor ever accorded an official of the League, was the No. 1 highlight which our members would wish to know about.

In his report, Mr. Lincoln recounted how the sowing of the seeds of Cooperation into the conversations of the delegates eventually resulted in such intense interest that he extended an invitation to those who wished to do so to attend a special Cooperative dinner which proved to be so popular that it almost broke up the general meeting and had the State Department worried lest the Conference swing over to a Cooperative Conference in its discussions. He also recounted the inside facts as to how the ban on reporters was broken as a result of his having talked to one, who then brought together two others and the three with Mr. Lincoln agreed on procedures and by phoning to the powers-that-be in Washington succeeded in breaking the ban, as has been credited to him by the Editor and Publisher, Mr. Lincoln concluded by saying that apparently the people of the world are ready for economic cooperation, if and when the political rulers will permit them to act.

MR. CAMPBELL: Well, that was a real highlight. And what more? You said there were several.

MR. BOWEN: Second, I would place the adoption by the Directors of the Code of By-Laws of the National Cooperative Finance Association and election of temporary officers by the Directors, who are the same Directors and the same officers as those of the League. It will be recorded that, when Mr. Green, chairman of the Directors Finance Committee, moved the adoption of the By-Laws, which motion was unanimously passed, it brought to conclusion a most important series of democratic discussions over the course of several years as to how best to begin to enter into the cooperative finance field. Mr. Green is to be highly complimented on having piloted the discussion smoothly to a successful conclusion. As a result, we now have three incorporated national bodies covering the three fields of Education, Finance and Business, in the Cooperative League, the Cooperative Finance Association, and National Cooperatives.

MR. CAMPBELL: This story gets more significant all the time. What next?

MR. BOWEN: Well, anticipating the probable conclusion of the long discussion to launch the Finance Association, and realizing that that would bring into sharp focus at once the question of the coordination of the three national bodies, the General Secretary had prepared a large blow-up chart, based on first hand analysis of the functional organization of Cooperatives in the European countries as well as the regional organizations in the United States, which was the culmination of eight organizational charts that he had presented over the course of the past decade. He recommended, in brief, a double-democratic control of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement in the form of a policy control by a Congress which would elect an over-all policy making Board of Directors, and an operating control of each of the three national bodies through those who became members of each with separate operating Boards of Directors. This, the General Secretary said in substance he believed offered a superior type of organization of any in the world because of the double-democratic control feature. The presentation of the matter evoked intense interest and discussion which crystallized the recommendations and
The United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, Virginia, June 3, recommended to the United Nations Food Conference, interested in the cooperative movement, a project of the Cooperative League of the USA and one of six U.S. delegates to the conference, reported on his way back to Columbus.

The conference, in developing a report on food and nutrition standards and in presenting plans for the establishment of a permanent conference body established a goal towards which the world must strive and created machinery to facilitate progress toward that goal, Mr. Lincoln pointed out. Among the many important recommendations of the conference was one on cooperatives presented by the section on “Expansion of Production and Adaptation to Consumption Needs” and adopted by the food conference as a recommendation.

**UNION NATIONS FOOD CONFERENCE RECOMMENDS CO-OPS TO CUT FOOD COSTS**

**WHEREAS:**

1. The cooperative movement has been of great importance in many countries, both urban and rural populations, especially in agricultural districts where farming is based on small units and in urban areas of low-income families.

2. The proper functioning of cooperative societies may facilitate adjustments of agricultural production and distribution, as members have confidence in the recommendations and guidance of their own cooperative organizations, which they know operate in the interest of their members and of society in general.

3. The democratic control and educational programs, which are features of the cooperative movement, can play a vital part in the training of good democratic citizens, and assist in inducing a sound conception of economic matters.

**THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE RECOMMENDS:**

1. That, in order to make it possible for people to help themselves in lowering costs of production and costs of distribution and marketing:
   
   (a) All countries study the possibilities of the further establishment of producer and consumer cooperative societies in order to render necessary production, marketing, purchasing, finance, and other services;

   (b) Each nation examine its laws, regulations, and institutions to determine if legal or institutional obstacles to cooperative development exist, in order to make desirable adjustments;

   (c) Full information as to the present development of cooperatives in different countries be made available through the permanent international organization recommended in resolution II.

**NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION GIVEN CO-OPS IN NEW BLAZE OF PUBLICITY**

Mr. Lincoln came from the conference with great confidence in the future and greater enthusiasm for the future of cooperative effort.

Wallace J. Campbell

Nations governments throughout the world that they encourage the organization of consumer and marketing cooperatives as an important way of cutting the cost of food production and distribution.

Co-ops at the Food Conference

Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Cooperative League of the USA and one of the six men delegation to the Food Conference from the United States, held an informal dinner for delegates at the conference interested in the cooperative movement. Thirty delegates from twenty-nine nations attended an informal dinner to discuss cooperatives May 28. Murray D. Lincoln, president of The Cooperative League was host at the informal dinner. He told the other delegates, many of whom are associated with cooperatives in their own countries, that "although the cooperatives in the U.S. are smaller than they are in Great Britain, Sweden and many other countries, that several million U.S. families are now members of consumer and marketing cooperatives which are bringing economic democracy to the people" and he predicted that the day would come soon when "cooperatives in my country will trade directly with cooperatives in your country to make more goods available to more people with less profit." Delegates discussed a proposal which would urge the creation of a special section on cooperatives in the international food organization which is expected to grow out of the United Nations Food Conference.

Mr. Lincoln came from the conference with great confidence in the future and greater enthusiasm for the future of cooperative effort.
two countries took part in the discussion and expressed keen interest in the establishment of a continuing body to forward the work of cooperatives throughout the world.

Mr. Lincoln's appointment to the United Nations Food Conference brought editorial comment in The Nation, New Republic, Common Sense, and Commonweal. The New York Post devoted a full-page picture story to Mr. Lincoln and his work with the cooperatives. Feature stories appeared in the Boston Globe and several other papers. The Associated Press carried several stories on the conference to papers throughout the United States. A particularly long AP story was devoted to the results of the cooperative dinner. In addition to the recognition of the Swedish cooperatives for having eliminated the black markets in Sweden, Marquis W. Childs in a syndicated column for the Chicago Sun, New York Herald Tribune, and the Denver Register and Tribune Syndicate, devoted an entire feature article to the cooperatives and pointed out in a preceding dispatch that the cooperatives were one of the most important factors in fighting against complete freezing of the Swedish economy under government restrictions. Charles Gratke, foreign editor of the Christian Science Monitor, devoted his front page dispatch to the cooperatives and their battle against growing nationalism in Sweden. He concluded with a statement that the cooperatives are playing a major role in reminding free enterprise that its role in life is to maintain a free economy.

The New York Times devoted much space to the plans for Cooperatives for post-war reconstruction. It also gave important stories to Mrs. Shih-Chi Hu and his appraisal of the U.S. cooperatives, to the Eastern Co-op Wholesale Annual Meeting, and to the speech of Jerry Voorhis at the recent northeastern conference of the Farm Bureau Federation.

Business Looks to Co-ops

Roger Babson, noted economist, declared in his recent news letter: “Cooperative production and distribution continue to grow in under-restricted economy. Look for rapid development of cooperatives after the war along lines that may bring producer and consumer closer together than ever before.”

Oilgrams, a special news service of the W. C. Platt Company, devoted nearly a column to the cooperative trend into the purchase of refineries, in an issue May 17. This brings to mind a kind of recognition which can’t fall into the classification of publicity. The Standard Oil Company has put its researchers in the field to find out the growth and extent of U.S. co-ops in the oil business in recent years. The Curtis Publishing Co., publishers of the Saturday Evening Post and other publications, has just announced a survey of U.S. Co-ops available to its advertising clients.

These are but a few of the articles, news stories, and broadcasts which have grown out of increased recognition of cooperation as one of the important factors in a wartime economy, and which have brought attention to the need for an organized system of cooperative work in post-war times.

Consumers’ Cooperation

Raymond Clapper, who does a syndicated column for the Scripps-Howard papers, gave credit to the Swedish cooperatives for having eliminated the black markets in Sweden. August 31, 1943, which devoted a page two-story to the growth of cooperatives, basing its report on the annual meeting of National Cooperatives.

Dr. M. C. Coady’s trip to the Eastern Cooperative Wholesale’s annual meeting was greeted with a full column story in the New York Herald Tribune and a full-page feature story scheduled for appearance in the New York Post. Dr. Michael Shadid was the subject of a full column interview in the Newpaper PM at the time of the luncheon in his honor in New York in May.
EASTERN COOPERATIVE RECREATION SCHOOL

The third annual Eastern Cooperative Recreation School will be held August 14 to 22 at New York University Camp, Sloatsburg, New York. Most of the time will be spent "learning by doing" in the fields of games, design and crafts, dramatics, group singing, instrumental music, and folk dancing. There will also be discussion of leadership techniques, of what makes a group tick, and the kind of organization and leadership which help a group to be harmonious and creative.

Chester L. Bower, assistant professor of Group Work, Western Reserve University, will lead the discussions on leadership techniques and will be in charge of group singing and instrumental music. Others on the staff include James and Ruth Norris, Gertrude Corfman, Jack Stein-Bugler, Ellen Linson, and Elsie Sexton all of whom have been students or staff members of the National and former Eastern Cooperative Recreation Schools.

The cost for the nine days—the first meal is Saturday lunch, August 14, the last meal, Sunday dinner, August 22—will be approximately $30 for room, board and tuition. For further information or registration write to Ruth Norris, Eastern Cooperative League, 44 West 143rd Street, New York 30, N.Y.

BOOK REVIEW OF THE MONTH

NOVA SCOTIA—LAND OF COOPERATORS—Sheed & Ward. 207 pages.
Co-op Edition, $1.00.
Available through The Cooperative League, 167 West 12th Street, New York 11, N.Y.

Father Leo Ward, during his numerous visits to Nova Scotia, has succeeded in grasping and presenting to us in dramatic fashion the spirit of the “little people” of that picturesque but poor country, who have made the cooperative movement a workable philosophy in their everyday living.

We have met before, in various books and pamphlets, the leaders of the “Antigonish Movement” and the names of Cosdy, Tompkins, Machntyre and the various MacDonalds have become synonymous in our minds with the cooperative movement. We have even experienced a friendly feeling of warmth for the lobstermen of various sizes that have figured so prominently in this great saga of cooperation.

But not until now have we been taken into the homes, invited to sit down, drink tea and talk with the people about the cooperative movement and listen to the story of how it changed the lives of the thousands of people living in the Maritime Provinces.

Father Ward is a man to avoid if you would prefer to keep your philosophy of life a “deep dark secret.” He has a way of drawing people out, making them lose their self-consciousness and talk. In “Nova Scotia—Land of Cooperators,” he relates for us in detail what he saw and heard as he went around the country, talking with individual people, attending meetings and visiting the homes of cooperators. He himself does very little talking, making only occasional remarks as a “lead-on” for further discussion. His ability to observe and “take-in” the characteristics of people is unique. Ed Power and Old Ben Marchand, Johnny and Jean LeClair, The Labens and Curries and the others to whom he has so fittingly dedicated the book, are not just names to the reader. They live and talk and are very real indeed. The reader will come to know them well. He will converse with them and will be told in their simple phrasing that cooperation in Nova Scotia does not mean merely stores and credit unions and lobster canneries, that it means learning to work, to live with and for one’s neighbor; or as one good cooperator phrased it, “The man who is good only for himself is no good” and another “This cooperation is kinda on God’s side.”

This book hits a new high in human interest appeal. Following the pattern of the lobster which moves forward by going backward, Father Ward begins his story in New Brunswick and traces the cooperative movement to its source of inspiration at St. Francis Xavier University. During our tour through New Brunswick we are constantly being prepared for what we are to see and hear in Nova Scotia and we do a mental act of stepping on the gas as we hear more and more exciting stories of what has happened there.

All of us who have heard and read about the Nova Scotia cooperative movement have wondered what makes it “tick.” Here is the answer—the people. —MARY MACMILLAN

Consumers’ Cooperation
CONSUMERS' COOPERATION
OFFICIAL NATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Prepared under the Act of March 3, 1879. Price $1.00 a year.

THE 1943 NATIONAL CO-OP STAFF CONFERENCE

Cooperators learn by doing, as most people do. By holding seven previous National Staff Conferences, one each summer, those who have attended have learned a lot. Not only a lot of facts from others, as well as a lot of inspiration, but a lot about how not to and how to hold a conference. As a result, each Conference gets better and better. This year, there was more than the ordinary step-up. The reasons were primarily these:

First, since the 1942 Conference there has been added an Educational Director to the national staff who could and did devote a lot of time to the program and the advance preparations and handling of the Conference;

Second, the national, regional and local paid staffs have now grown so large in number that the attendance was largely limited to paid staff members which stepped up the quality of the discussions.

Third, the number of addresses was limited. Those who spoke were carefully selected.

Fourth, time for as many as eight two-hour meetings of each group was provided for, if they so desired.

Fifth, reports were made by two from each group to the whole Conference: one on national and regional activities and plans, and the other on local programs.

Sixth, the latter part of each evening was given over to recreation, singing, dramatics, etc.

Seventh, the place selected for the Conference was ideal—the George Williams Camp of the YM and YWCA's at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin.

An organ to spread the knowledge of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, in voluntary association, purchase and produce for their own use the things they need. Published monthly by The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th St., N. Y. City. On alternate years, however, published monthly excepting Nov.-Dec. issues bi-monthly.

E. R. Bowen, Editor, Wallace J. Campbell, Associate Editor. Contributing Editors: Editors of Cooperative Journals and Educational Directors of Regional Cooperative Associations.

Entered as Second Class Matter, December 19, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Price $1.00 a year.
The development of co-op journalism in America for the past two decades is encouraging—just as encouraging as is the development of the whole Movement. From three publications with possibly 10,000 readers to 20 with a million readers within the last 13 years is quite an achievement.

Editors Fight Co-op Battles
1. They helped collect the fund that put the Movement on a nationwide radio hookup for the first time.
2. Conducted a nationwide protest drive of such proportions that it made the radio industry back down.
3. Conducted one nationwide drive which we lost—the battle against the anti-co-op application of the Cuffy Coal Act.
4. In several of the regionals, co-op subscribe can take credit for helping to win local battles, such as: a) Railroads’ attempt to outlaw petroleum transport by truck in Minnesota; b) attempt by reactionaries to repeal the co-op teaching law in Wisconsin; c) Cooperative Consumers’ (CCA) drive for use of grain alcohol in manufacture of synthetic rubber; d) MIDLAND Cooperators’ and Builders’ constant drive to draw MIDLAND and CCW cooperators into closer working relations; e) The Cooperators’ (ECW) help in the successful fight against the proposal in Massachusetts to stifle co-ops by special taxes.

Construcrive Technical Services
We try to interpret the numerous and voluminous orders on commodity restrictions. We keep the consumer posted on rationing information. We try to help "Modern" get wise to the clothing— and-food savings ways of Nanny Nine- ties. We try to show her how to mend her meager meat ration stretch out to keep her family healthy and strong.

Tasteful Desserts with Co-op Meals
The semi-monthly and weeklies also have the space and frequency of issue to be able to garnish the calories of education with a little fancy-writing and better technical make-up, so as to make the calories more palatable to the Johnny-Come-Latelies. They can occasionally throw in some out-and-out dessert, such as a good piece of fiction or a human interest feature that has nothing whatever directly to do with Cooperation.

We must sugar-coat the education pill with good make-up, interesting stories, cartoons, and human interest features. If we don’t, the patient will cast the pill aside. If we do, he may swallow the pill SOMETIME, even though he may merely lick the sugar coating at MOST servings.

We try to do that on the Builder—in fact, our constant ambition is to be the all-in-all paper to every subscriber family. We can’t, of course, make it, but it’s a nice goal, and it keeps the scribe on his toes.

A Co-op S.E.P.
I vision a Co-op Saturday Evening Post coming Rochdale Centennial year will be a four-page tabloid, printed at some central point and shipped to the various regional papers, for insertion with their regular issues. There will be at least three editions, maybe even 12, and, more dramatic still, the insert may well become a regular thing. That’s if we tie the Swedes’ record, we’ve got to build a co-op periodical that has 13 million subscribers.

"VI" is not the Swedish Movement’s only official organ. For the organization staff, for articles on "cooperation" and general economic subjects they have "KOOPERATOREN." It is a forum for the exchange of ideas within the Movement. It is a fortnightly magazine with a circulation of about 15,000 copies, which reach committee members and other officeholders of the Movement...”

A Co-op Daily
Other long-term publication needs of the American movement include a truly free daily press—free from control by advertisers or producer pressure groups. In other words, a press that would treat news as a commodity, and would control that commodity through co-op consumer ownership, as Paul Greer proposes.

Co-op Editors’ Next Year’s Plans
A national rotogravure insert for the coming Rochdale Centennial year will be a four-page tabloid, printed at some central point and shipped to the various regional papers, for insertion with their regular issues. There will be at least three editions, maybe even 12, and, more dramatic still, the insert may well become a regular thing—it may be the beginning of that national paper that we’ve been dreaming about. The editors’ conference estimated that we will be able to tie a printing of about half a million copies, and this should bring the costs of the insert to within reach of every regional paper.

An expanded co-op feature service from the League to the regionals, with regional editors helping by interviewing of prominent cooperators in each area and syndicated material on home economics and consumer information (for each paper’s "Women’s Page") are also on the fire. A Washington news service, which
would be made self-supporting by sale to liberal political, labor, and cooperative papers throughout the nation is another plan.

Finally, there is the plan for the national technical magazine that will give

**WHAT CO-OP EDUCATORS ARE DOING AND PLANNING**

We regard our elementary and secondary school system as the best in the world. But even in the face of this only 46% of our children complete the first eight grades. We must also realize that in comparison with other professions our school teachers are very poorly paid. This means, for the most part, that the best qualified people have been going and will continue to go in the direction of better paid jobs. We also seem unwilling to spend money for adequately equipping or providing the necessary school buildings.

In studying trends on the college educational level, we find that only 54% of our young people ever go to college and only 46% of them ever complete their four-year course. The broad cultural, liberal arts training has also been abandoned for the duration. President Hutchins of the University of Chicago and others see the traditions of our culture and civilization if this kind of training is now to be denied to them?

In the field of adult education in the last few years, strides have been taken more rapidly than ever before. All kinds of agencies, both private and public, are undertaking training programs for adults. They are going to want to continue to have this privilege after the war.

There is also a growing awareness on the part of the colleges that they have a responsibility to educate the people in the communities in which they exist. We may presently begin to see the kind of friendly relationship that will make the colleges, especially in smaller towns, something like the folk schools of Sweden and Denmark.

**Co-op Education and the Schools**

On the elementary and secondary school levels, very little is being taught directly about the cooperative movement. The best teaching about the cooperative movement is that taking place where school cooperatives are in existence.

Activity has stepped up of late on the college level, and today we find campus cooperatives in colleges from coast to coast. Not only are students enabled to live more economically while in college, but students engaged in cooperative housing, cooperative eating clubs and other kinds of cooperatives are learning about the cooperative movement.

**Our Own Co-op Educational Activities**

In almost all of our regionals there is a well worked out employee training program. These same regional cooperatives have also mapped out a rather comprehensive and complete method of bringing essential information to the members through newspapers, membership meetings and special mass meetings. When it comes to basic education of the members, however, in a continuous participating program, we have a long distance to travel.

Every regional cooperative board of directors should commit itself to an educational program. It should follow this commitment by the appointment of an educational committee, and one of the board members, at least, should be on this committee.

The first responsibility of this educational committee is to help in the organization of an educational department if such a department is not already in existence.

Working through the field staff, it is the educational department's first job. The next job is to organize an educational committee in every one of the local cooperatives. This committee of three or five members should meet and map out a program for the local community.

The regional should be ready to place a WORKBOOK of suggestions in the hands of the educational committees for their guidance. This educational committee should be encouraged to develop a sound program built around education, publicity, recreation and relations. Above all, they should be encouraged and helped in the organization of Study-Action groups.

A next step in the organization of the local educational program might be the payment of the members of the educational committee on the same basis that board members are remunerated.

We ought to note the trends of the time, be aware of what is happening on the various educational levels and be ready to adapt our techniques and methods for greatest effectiveness. We should take steps to see that at least the bare essentials of the cooperative movement are brought before our young people in the elementary and secondary schools. We should see that courses are taught in the colleges. In addition, we should be quick to follow up and aid the present interest in campus cooperatives. On the adult level, our job is unlimited. We must not only educate our present members, but we also have a responsibility to inform the public at large of the advantages which lie in consumers cooperation. In the next year our big job is to organize a fundamental educational program that will convert our members into cooperators at a much more rapid rate.
WHAT CO-OP RECREATION LEADERS ARE DOING AND PLANNING

Wilbur Leatherman, President
Ruth Norris, Cooperative Society of Recreational Education

The importance of training leadership in the field of recreation has been recognized by cooperatives. For the past seven years The Cooperative League has sponsored a two weeks National Cooperative Recreation School which is democratically run and entirely financed by the students who attend. Because of the war it was felt advisable to suspend the school this year and to concentrate on regional schools.

Regional Recreation Schools

These regional schools, usually one week to ten days in length, have aimed to maintain the same basic approach to recreation and the high quality of material as the National School. The Eastern Cooperative Recreation School was set up in 1941, endorsed by the Eastern Cooperative League and the Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Cooperative Association. Twenty-five students attended the first year, forty-three the second year, and prospects look very promising for this year. The Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Association sponsored a one-week recreation training school in 1942 attended by fifty-three full time students. Four regional cooperative associations, Midland, CCA, CCW and CSC cooperated in sponsoring the first Midwest Cooperative Recreation and Education Institute this year which was attended by forty students. The structure, methods of financing and relations to regional cooperatives for each of these schools differ but the programs and approach to recreation is basically the same.

Week-end Conferences

Week-end Conferences have been one of the most effective means of creating an interest in group recreation as a part of the cooperative program and in providing an opportunity for recreation leaders to meet to exchange experiences and discover new material. Such week-ends have been held in all of the various regions. In some cases these have been youth groups; others have been reunions of former students and staff of national and regional recreation schools; others were stimulators or refreshers for leaders.

Helping Other Groups

As leadership in cooperative recreation has developed in various sections of the country, other groups have turned to the co-ops for assistance in recreation. This is a recognition of both the quality of the leadership and the type of recreation material. In asking for a recreation leader for three Business and Industrial Conferences this summer, the National Board of the YWCA said they were turning to the cooperatives because they felt that the cooperatives were the outstanding group in the country providing the type of recreation leadership they wished. Other groups in which cooperative recreation leaders have helped are: American Red Cross, New York School of Social Work, USO centers, Welfare Council of New York, Home Bureau of Illinois, Wisconsin Recreation Lab, Chicago Community Center, Capital University Physical Education Department, to name a few. In addition, high schools, church groups, labor unions, settlement houses, Coast Guards, Extension Departments, etc. have turned to the cooperatives for recreation leadership.

Play Co-ops

The last few years has seen a widespread development of groups of consumers organized on a cooperative basis to provide their own recreation. The name "Play Co-op" seems to have caught on to describe this cooperative development. Varying slightly in form and organization, there are now Play Co-ops (and there may be others not reported) in New York, Minneapolis, Washington, Wilmington, New Haven, Los Angeles, Pasaden, Ridgewood and Trenton, Philadelphia, Kansas City, Harrisburg, County Line, Waukesha and Milwaukee. Word has just arrived that Play Co-ops are being organized in the Japanese Reelation centers.

Recreation in Cooperative Groups

In addition to groups organized specifically to provide recreation, recreation is now an important part of practically every cooperative group — youth groups, study-action groups, guilds, membership meetings, and annual meetings.

At all kinds of educational and business conferences and camps, recreation is becoming an accepted part of the program. Examples of this type are: ECI's Amberst Institute, Pennsylvania's Newton-Hamilton, CSC's Circle Pines Camp, New Jersey-Cooperative Federation's Lake Shawnee Camp, CCW's Brule Park, CCA's Estes Park, Ohio's summer institutes, and Rochdale Institute.

Community Recreation Mixers

Recreation can be the means of breaking down barriers between the cooperative and the rest of the community (which exist in some cases) and in helping to integrate the cooperative way of living as part of the community pattern. In several instances, cooperative recreation groups have taken the leadership in setting up community recreation programs through either building or "fixing up" old community hall and making leadership in all types of recreation available to the community. This is especially true in sections of Minnesota and Wisconsin and is a pattern which all cooperative recreation groups hope to follow.

Program for Tomorrow

One of the first steps, looking to the future, is the resumption of the National Cooperative Recreation School just as soon as conditions permit. A similar training session might be set up during the winter months to suit the needs of farm people for whom summer is a bad time. In the meantime, regional schools should be organized in more places and oftener.

The possibility of an exchange of staff from one regional to another for limited periods for specific occasions such as regional schools has been suggested.

A great deal more time and attention should be given to working with children and young people than has been done in the past. Group play activities can help to make the cooperative way of living a part of the social pattern which children will naturally follow.

Cooperative Cultural Living

Beyond the immediate future we look toward developing a pattern of cooperative living in other fields than economic. We would like to put in a plea for this as one of the most important frontiers of the movement and yet as uncharted. Man may live by bread but does not live for bread. A cooperative economy is essential and each person contributes to it and benefits from it in proportion to his individual ability to do so. Cooperative art, cooperative culture is also essential and it is just as important for each individual to develop along artistic lines to the fullest extent of his capacity as along economic lines. We should develop them together. We do not agree with the Communists who hold that "Culture is post-revolutionary activity." Our recreation programs are a start along the long road toward the emergence of an art which will be the expression of cooperative human values.

New patterns of human relationships require new techniques of artistic expression just as they require new techniques of economic organization. If we turn to old line experts we will get old line techniques that are often not applicable to what we want to do. These new techniques will be developed by the people who have the new things to
WHAT CO-OP MERCHANDISING MANAGERS ARE DOING AND PLANNING

G. E. Nevins, Chairman
National Co-op Sales and Advertising Committee
Midland Cooperative Wholesale

FROM the standpoint of sales promotion and advertising, we have very few problems at present pertaining to the selling of merchandise. Our problem to day and for the past year is like a great many of the larger corporations who spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in advertising, to keep our co-op name before the public. We should not go too far in cutting advertising appropriations for the simple reason that even in this Cooperative Movement the public forgets. Not cooperators, but people we should be constantly appealing to to join this movement. We should do institutional advertising along with advertising on different commodities such as fertilizer, farm machinery, petroleum products.

What We Have Been Doing Is Relatively Unimportant

By comparison what we have been doing is relatively unimportant with what we are going to have to do in the post-war period. It has been my privilege and pleasure in the past three or four months to go on short research trips to try to determine what our competition is going to do. In other words, what the big boys are going to do.

There is going to be a lot more competition after the war with the big boys getting bigger and getting ready to advertise more efficiently both from the sales promotion and price angle. The big boys will be getting bigger if the little ones aren't careful—and the co-ops aren't little—but we are going to have to be prepared to do impossible things.

We know there are both small and larger concerns which have purchased heavily of merchandise and have gotten higher prices for it, but as we go into this next 6-8-month period, there will not be such plentiful amounts of merchandise. Inventories of manufacturers and dealers are being depleted.

Everyone is trying to increase efficiency by hiring more women to replace men. In about 50%-60% of the instances they find many of the jobs thought impossible to be held by women are now being done by women more efficiently.

Immediate Merchandising Plans

At our sales and advertising committee meeting yesterday and this morning we discussed many joint activities that might be possible. For example, the national calendar and poster service. The committee favored the establishment of an Advertising Department in National Cooperatives and it was very pleasing to me to hear that the Board had already made appropriations to employ an advertising man.

We should analyze our consumer dollars and on that analysis should determine how to further diversify our program. Obviously when you analyze the distribution and spending of the consumer dollar, groceries, for example, run very high. Almost every one of the cooperatives represented have some definite plans for expansion in the grocery program. Another program of expansion will be building supplies.

WHAT CO-OP WOMEN ARE DOING AND PLANNING

Helmi Lake, Secretary
National Co-op Women's Committee
Central Cooperative Wholesale

Chairman, as she called the meeting to order on Tuesday, June 15 at 3:00 p.m.

Youth work, efficient communications between all women's groups, publicity of all women's activities, inflation and deflation, representation on price and ration boards on local, regional and national levels are important problems in the women's committee program that call for immediate action, the conference decided. First step in the youth projects will be a survey of cooperative youth activities
throughout the nation. The Committee will work on nursery-school plan aids and will arrange for reference material from those regional groups that already have Junior groups established.

A census of women’s activities had been taken, and according to returns received, there are 93 women’s guilds, 1189 mixed groups (clubs consisting of a membership of both men and women). Women are also active as shareholders, participate at annual meetings, serve on boards and serve as employees. In the Central States area, there are 23 women cooperative store managers.

This conference was a more representative meeting than the former ones in the matter of delegates from the different regions. The respective areas were represented as follows: Consumers’ Cooperative Association, Indianapolis, Indiana; Northern States Co-op Guilds and Clubs, Helmi Lake, Wisconsin; Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Mrs. Ruth Steva, St. Mary’s Point, Ohio; Central States Cooperatives, Mrs. Julian Perkins, Columbus Station, Ohio. The National Women’s Committee was first organized at a meeting in Chicago on November 8 and 9, as a result of decision made at the National Co-op Women’s Conference in Minneapolis, September 27.

A “Handbook of Women’s Activities” containing a list of women’s projects in outline form has already been printed with assistance and cooperation of the Cooperative League staff. Supplements to the original handbook will be printed where space will be devoted to the techniques groups can use for organizing women for the work and for carrying out specific projects.

**WHAT CO-OP PERSONNEL DIRECTORS ARE DOING AND PLANNING**

Carl Eck, Secretary
National Co-op Personnel Committee
Midland Cooperative Wholesale

1. All departments within the regional area are alike in selection and promotions;
2. Inter-office routines as set up within the personnel departments;
3. Personnel administration is now considered a major function in some regions;
4. No department head has authority to hire personnel, but the hiring is a joint function of department head and personnel director;
5. Job introduction is a joint function of department and personnel director;
6. One of the regionals requires a school for new employees on company time 1½ hours per week for three months;
7. One personnel department gets a periodic report from the library as to what books, pamphlets, and other reading materials the employees are using;
8. Job classification makes administration easy;
9. A personnel audit is being made at intervals of three months, six months, and each year;
10. Salary increases are made on the basis of accomplishments;
11. Employees within the structure should all be graded and every class have an in-training period of six months, promotions and salary increases to be made on the basis of accomplishment within the six months;
12. One regional reported the taking of a draft census of the employees of the wholesale and local, thus giving more time to get ready to replace the man being called into service;
13. One regional is going to use a personnel round-up and dramatize the cooperative work to get prospective employees’ names on file;
14. One regional asks locals to register for personnel service;
15. A proposal was made that a group of local associations be selected as training centers and when the personnel department finds a likely candidate he would be sent immediately to this association who pay 3/5 of his salary and
there would be an understanding between the training local and the regional that they give certain training and both the local society and employee report to the regional. After this employee is ready and a permanent position opens up the hiring society would pay the regional one week's salary to reimburse for expenses;

16. One regional gives each employee one month's pay and vacation money when employee goes into service with armed forces;

17. Part-time work for students;

18. Field staff always to hunt for likely candidates;

19. Someone from regional to visit college freshmen and sophomores and to help them outline their course of study;

20. One regional makes a blanket commitment of twenty college graduates from the colleges within its area each year even though they may not know at the time where they will place them;

21. All agreed that Japanese evacuees should be placed in small numbers. Our reaction to the Japanese evacuee is to be a test of our co-op faith;

22. Herbert Evans, Personnel Director of the Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, was appointed to contact General Hines of the Veterans Bureau and bring to the other personnel directors something concrete as to getting returning soldiers into co-op work, and further to contact Mr. Studebaker of the U. S. Department of Education to determine steps necessary to train these;

23. Finally it was agreed that the care of the old and physically handicapped employees who are now working in the co-ops must be considered one of the costs of war.

Rules Adopted by Committee

Before adjournment, those in attendance adopted the following rules:

1. All personnel directors, managers or representatives named by the regions, provided the regional is a member of the League or National Cooperatives, are to be considered members of the personnel committee. The committee is also to include people responsible for employee training.

2. Present officers to hold office for one year.

3. Future meetings to be called by the chairman. Two meetings should be held each year.

There was a man who sat with his wife before the fireplace every evening. She knitted and he "played" the cello. He had only one string and he always rubbed it in one place and sawd back and forth. After six years she raised her head: "Eustace, this afternoon I went to a show they called a concert, and I saw a lot of men playing things like you've got here. They had a lot of strings and they kept moving their fingers this way," then she tucked her head.

He raised his: "Maria, when those men were fooling around with all those strings and moving their fingers up and down like this, they were hunting for something."

Exultantly, "I've found what I want!"

Having found what we want, many of us co-op editorial fanatics are impervious to the adverse effect our method of approach may have on others.

Three Publicity Rules

There are three rules in any sort of publicity: (a) contact the prospect where he is; (b) Demonstrate that his problem is also your problem, and (c) show him that your answer can also be his answer. Most of us start with point "c" without ever inquiring into the prospect's interests or what he considers to be his problem.

Four Publicity Outlets

There are generally outlets for publicity for a local cooperative: the regional paper, a mimeographed bulletin, the local newspaper, and displays.

1. Every member should get the re-
What is news? News is whatever interests the most people at the moment. It is not necessarily the most important event but usually it is something that touches the daily lives of all of us—such as food rationing. Try to tie in your news story to "whatever is interesting to the people at the moment."" Get to know your local editor. He may have thrown you earlier stories because he thought your organization was "communist." Several of you call on him. The best time is about three in the afternoon, because on a morning paper, the assignments have just been made, and if it is an afternoon paper, the day's work is done.

4. Bulletin boards calling attention to meetings and frames for holding educational posters should be as scrupulously displayed and cared for as any merchandise display in the store.

DEVELOPING A LOCAL CO-OP EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Hanford Olson
Educational Department
Central Cooperative Wholesale

LOCAL conditions and the abilities and talents of people vary so much in different communities that it is unsafe to 'draw a blueprint, or set up a master plan' of an educational program for the local community intended to apply equally well in all communities. Recognizing these differences, perhaps the best approach to the local educational program is a search of illustrations describing effective projects in a limited number of typical communities. These illustrations are selective rather than inclusive.

The illustrations will be chosen from communities where the dominant idea in educational effort is the securing of membership participation, were the result of projects sponsored by Guilds and Clubs, Youth Leagues, Junior groups, employees, Boards of Directors, and Educational Committees.

Co-op Guilds and Clubs
At Kettle River, Minnesota, a mixed group meets in the homes of members with an average attendance of 30. The group is a "husband and wife" for all cooperative planning in the community. Currently it is discussing merits of merging two regional federations, recruiting students for two-week youth courses and vocational training institutes, arranging to finance students to children's summer camp, sponsoring a community-wide consumer information center, and helping to find employees for local cooperatives.

The Floodwood, Minnesota, guild and mixed club owns a medical loan chest available to anyone in the community. At Superior, Wisconsin, a well-organized and active consumer information center located in the cooperative store is sponsored. Co-op Youth Organizations

At Cromwell, Minnesota, the Youth League arranges for its members to help meet man-power shortage by working in store. Chairman of League and manager of store make arrangements for such work. The Tamarack, Minnesota League recently conducted a panel discussion before local student body on Vice-President Wallace's film "Price of Victory."

Co-op Junior Groups
At Tivola, Minnesota, a Junior group, with aid of local school authorities and the Women's Cooperative Guild has established a school supply cooperative patterned after a streamlined model store.

Co-op Employees
Employees quite generally take part in local educational planning as members of guilds and clubs, youth leagues, and educational committees. With technical help practically non-existent, the board and

Consumers' Cooperation

Bill Torma, new president of the Publicity Committee confers with George Tichenor, retiring secretary

drawer covered with frosted glass and a light bulb under it.

The bulletin should eschew any pretense at covering national news which is properly done by the regional Co-op paper. Gossipy items with the names of many persons, editorials, household hints, and particularly information about commodities handled by the store and notices of meetings will very well fill a one- or two-page bulletin.

Don't use paper less than 16 pound, in which case mimeographing should be on one side only. You shouldn't mimeograph on both sides on stock less than 20 pound. Cheerful colored stocks are desirable, rotated to indicate to readers that this is a new issue. The staff should be well trained and the A. B. Dick Co. gives free instructions to mimeograph owners. For the sake of appearance, the paper should be laid out before it is written with indications where illustrations are to go. You can trace on typewriting paper the area to be filled and write to fill without wastage. Typing should be done before drawings are filled in as they might otherwise be ruined in the typewriter. An ideal staff is an editor who does most of the writing, an expert stenographer, and an artist who can also letter.

Have your bulletin entered under Section 562 PL&R at your nearest post office. This enables you to send out bulletins at one cent apiece using precancelled stamps which can be folded over the edges of the bulletin to keep it together.

Eastern Cooperative League thinks so highly of the effectiveness of bulletins that each year we have a bulletin round-up and display at our annual meeting. Competent newspaper men divide entrants in the three categories: highest merit, merit and mention. Since anyone can qualify, no one "loses." Insignia with the proper class designation can be carried by the bulletin for the ensuing year.

3. The technique of writing a story for a local newspaper can be learned in half an hour. Expertness comes with experience. The first paragraph of a news story, called the "lead," tells who did what when and where. Newspapers say they don't like stories that editorialize, avoid opinionated writing unless you are quoting someone directly. Stick to the facts. You don't have to use the word "beautiful." If you describe the person or incident accurately the impression is unassailable.

4. Bulletin boards calling attention to meetings and frames for holding educational posters should be as scrupulously displayed and cared for as any merchandise display in the store.
the manager must also arrange for the training of technical employees. Technical courses in clerking, fruits and vegetables, merchandising, meat cutting, and clothing knowledge have been and will continue to be held at CCW.

Co-op Board of Directors
Regional organizations should conduct boards of directors schools, bringing information and interpretations right to the local board. Very measurable results from such boards schools have been observed, such as detecting bad management practices before irreparable harm was done, putting cooperative operations on cash basis; establishing better relations between board and employees, etc.

Co-op Educational Committees
Members of educational committees should represent different elements in the cooperative. Such members should be compensated and responsible to the board for committee activities.

The Kettle River, Minnesota, educational committee is composed of representatives from the co-op store, creamery, REA, regional federation, guild and club, and credit union. Thoroughly co-operatized community and consequently committee has charge of community affairs. Committee is compensated and its members are responsible to the various cooperative boards. Quite thorough integration of the purpose of different committees is accomplished.

The Superior, Wisconsin, educational committee has arranged for phone calls to shareholders urging attendance at membership meetings, planned and carried out discussion at membership meeting at a time when to move to larger quarters and self-service were contemplated, sponsored appearance of speakers in community, arranged for showing of movies in local fire halls, arranged for discussion meetings in local homes to publicize services of the local retail cooperative, published a pamphlet on services and commodities of the store.

Some Suggestions for Regional Educational Departments
A fundamental weakness in local cooperatives is the absence of any method that orients newcomers—new patrons and shareholders—to an understanding of cooperative opportunities. This process will be more complete and speedy if such new shareholders are formally welcomed into the cooperative at a social, or if their first evidence of cooperative ownership—the share certificate—is delivered to each in a personal manner.

A breathing spell for hardworking recreation leaders

Another fundamental weakness of cooperative membership is its inability to understand the financial condition of its organization or to grasp the significance of current operating results. Regional organizations can help by having educational representatives present such financial conditions and operating results graphically through the use of charts.

Just a Few Samples
These illustrative samples of local cooperative activity do not cover the field of educational work. They are but samples taken from the field of local co-op educational programs.

DEVELOPING A LOCAL CO-OP RECREATIONAL PROGRAM

Leadership is the yeast that raises the dough in the development of a recreational or play program in the local co-op. With leadership understanding the unique contribution play holds for cooperative interaction among local cooperatives, we can be reasonably sure of a sturdy foundation for good social relations.

And, of course, the local co-op should constantly strive to see that in an educational way situations for the common good are promoted. It is the mutual satisfactions which the consumers absorb in relation to their own business that makes for volume, patronage savings, and wholesome feelings.

Qualifications of a Recreational Worker
A word about qualifications to be considered by the local co-op in taking into its employ an educational-recreational worker. This worker by all means should have a theoretical background in group work, techniques of play leadership, an unlimited amount of practical experience in games, play parties, folk dances and dramatics, and experience in the organization and leadership of integrated groups. If we were on the Board of Directors of a local co-op and we were expecting to employ a person to do educational work through recreation, I would request that such a worker be required to prove his capacity for getting better social relations among people by putting on a party with the cooperators. If, in the party, we observed this working getting the folks to really put themselves down temporarily in the play situation and wholeheartedly lose themselves in fun through group participation, we could be reasonably sure of getting our money's worth from such an employee. In the past our local co-ops have been assuming that an educational worker should carry on a recreation program, even though, in many cases, he has had no training in recreation. We fail to realize that recreation is a specialized field in education. As administrators, you wouldn't think of hiring a bookkeeper who had never prepared a balance sheet, but too often we have expected results in recreation from workers who haven't had training and experience in group recreation.

Co-op Play Program Vital
The local co-ops cannot afford to disregard the tremendous need for bringing to pass an adequate play program, not only for adults, but also for the children of its members. Look, if you will, toward the highly individualized play and sports, with emphasis upon rewards and best players, taking place in our local school programs. The playgrounds of our schools are more and more becoming conflict areas and delinquency spots in our communities. Feature, if you will, good feel-
ings among school children and later as adults, coming forth when youngsters are segregated as to sex upon the playground and then after segregation you see see seesawers, swings, whirl-arounds and slide boards constituting the sole provision for their fun. This system of play breeds the philosophy of "everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost." We are leaving our children wide open for the commercializer. Organized play for children with a program including competitive games without rewards, cooperative games such as play parties, folk dancing and simple dramatics, will do the trick.

**Why Not a Co-op Recreation Center?**

Many such parties, by their very nature, might eventually lead to the purchase of a few acres of ground upon which a recreation center could be founded. This may sound idealistic now, but it must be considered if we ever hope to compete with commercialized recreation as we are now competing in our other cooperative services. Careful, long-time planning to have a center would result in the demolition of a modern building with air conditioning, proper acoustics, and a refreshment bar. The basement of the center could be used for handicrafts, billiards, table tennis, card playing and many such games. The first floor could be used for all types of dancing, and the second floor for an auditorium for dramas, musical activities and co-op membership meetings. On the ground outside the center one might find courts for tennis, badminton, volley ball, croquet, and a specially constructed court for basketball and roller skating, etc. The recreation program would need to include group activities for children of various age levels. Family night for group fun could be instituted. A special time should be turned over to couples over age 50. Family night for group fun could be provided for adolescents in many types of dancing, play parties, square dancing and ballroom dancing.

In summary: first, well qualified trained leadership in group recreation is a must; second, we dare not hold off too long in organizing co-op play for our children; third, we need to build cooperatively owned recreation centers to cover most phases of recreation for all age groups. Such a recreation program in a local co-op would insure a social education that would bristle with group action, and would result in a widespread interest in the welfare of the community.

**Developing a Local Co-op Sales and Advertising Program**

**Harvey Sanders, Secretary**

**National Co-op Sales and Advertising Managers Committee**

**Central Cooperative Wholesale**

SALES and advertising program is as essential to a cooperative as an educational program. We cannot hope to build one without the other. Unfortunately many local cooperatives even today are satisfied to go from day to day without really formulating any program of advertising or selling. We need to tell the people about the cooperative, and then we need to follow with a planned program of merchandising.

There are some who contend that a cooperative should not advertise, that advertising is an evil born of the capitalistic system and that cooperatives should not resort to such an economic waste. Our advertising departments are prone to say, "Advertising money should be spent only when reasonably certain it will bring a return." But we say, "Keep on advertising but make it pay." How can we build cooperatives by keeping silent?

**Why Should a Cooperative Advertise?**

Cooperatives have two main objectives to accomplish through advertising: 1. to sell merchandise, 2. to "sell" cooperation.

Being a part of a world-wide social movement, cooperatives have far more to sell than mere material goods. We have a social aim. We must tell the people about it through our advertising as well as through our educational work. Cooperative advertising can and should be a valuable supplement to cooperative education.

**Co-op Advertising Should Be Budgeted**

How much should we spend? The exact amount to be spent depends on local conditions. Throughout the country the average expenditure seems to be a little more than 1/3 of 1% based on sales. When the total allocation for the year has been determined, it should be budgeted—how much to use for newspaper space, how much for handbills, how much for radio time, etc. That budget is the beginning of a sound advertising plan for the entire year.

**Popular Co-op Advertising Methods**

1. Demonstrations—one of the most effective methods of presenting any commodity to the people. Through demonstrations they can know exactly what it is and what it will do.

2. Direct Mailing—a means of reaching people directly with our advertising message. Very effective for both commodity and educational advertising.

3. Broadcast and Mass Advertising—newspapers, handbills, and radio which reach the mass of people. Cooperative publications are our first concern because they are our regular spokesmen. But when we want to speak to all the people in the community we must turn to the local press. To control the distribution of our message, we might use printed or mimeographed handbills. Another method is the use of radio time, now being done both locally and nationally.

4. Signs—one of the most effective and most important methods of advertising, and yet often the most neglected. The sign on a store front is our spokesman to the public, giving the people their first impression of the cooperative. Our store front sign should create an atmos-
The attitude of our employees today is quite a problem. Even in normal times it is absolutely essential that cooperatives maintain a consistent program of employee training, and it is doubly important today because of the high turn-over in cooperative personnel. Cooperatives should hire cooperators. A program of cooperative and business training needs to be started before the person is hired, and must be continued afterward. It should not be allowed to stop when he is on the cooperative payroll. One reason why cooperative employees require special training is the fact that it is up to them to promote the sale of Co-op merchandise in preference to the nationally advertised profit brands. Profit business in America is extremely advertising conscious and this advertising has built up a demand for certain brands. Our employees should be prepared to explain the advantages of our movement and the Co-op brand name.

Aid from Regionals

No local cooperative can hope to carry on a successful advertising and sales program without help from the regional organization. With the movement now organized on a national scale, it is possible for the regionals to give more and more aid to the local cooperatives in their advertising and sales problems. Some regional cooperatives employ advertising personnel. When they are set at loggerheads, as they are unfortunately now, they present mis

Effective Co-op Sales Programs

When we advertise merchandise through newspapers, handbills, or over the radio that merchandise will sell better if we display it simultaneously in the store, either in our window, on the floor, on the counter, or on the shelf. Each method of display has its place and all are important.

The second item in our sales program is stock arrangement, store planning, and cleanliness. Our stores must be arranged so as to provide the maximum amount of efficiency and enable us to give the people the best possible service.

The national importance of the movement is also emphasized through the use of uniform store front colors. The cooperatives nationally have adopted light ivory and forest green as a uniform color scheme.

Truck signs are almost as important as our store front signs, for they are traveling billboards. We are overlooking a golden opportunity if we don't make maximum use of the space provided on the sides of our trucks to advertise our commodities and our movement.

Posters are also an effective medium that can be used to promote the sale of merchandise or to publicize our principles. The educational posters issued each year by the Cooperative League serve an excellent purpose and we feel that all cooperatives should make full use of them.

5. Souvenirs—cooperatives can add to the effectiveness of their other advertising by the use of souvenir items in connection with special events, such as anniversaries.

Section 3

WHAT THE SPEAKERS SAID

TRIAL BALLOONS THROWN UP AT GENEVA

E. R. Bowen, General Secretary
The Cooperative League of USA

May part of the annual Staff Conference, held at Lake Geneva in 1943, was to throw up some trial balloons in the hope that they would land in the minds of those who were present and cause them to take mental flights upward toward better truths and greater accomplishments.

Get Out of Debt

I am greatly concerned over the dangers of the rapidly increasing public debt. At the close of the fiscal year on June 30, it had reached over 140 billions, or nearly double the previous year. I hold that in an economically intelligent people—a people as economically intelligent socially as we are individually—would not permit their government to go into debt to any such a degree, but would insist that the savings of each year be taxed out of their pockets equitably by a graduated income tax, and adequately enough to pay for all or nearly all of the cost of the war. In the calendar year of 1942 we saved a total of 43.5 billions of dollars. We permitted our national government to go into debt to the extent of 39.3 billions. Suppose, instead, we thought of these figures as dollars and of all of us an individual. Suppose any one of us saved 435 dollars and went into debt 393 dollars. What would we naturally do? Why pay off the 393 dollars and have the difference, or 42 dollars, left, of course. If we were economically educated as a social group, we would do the same thing—pay off the 39.3 billions out of the 43.5 billions and have 4.2 billions left as savings. We might find it advisable to keep a few billion more of our savings in our pockets and go into debt as a nation to the same amount, for the time being, in order to make convenient adjustments between us, but that would be all.

The reason we do not do this is because we have been inoculated with the virus of profit to such a degree that we do not realize generally that debt is the opposite side of the coin of profit. Unless and until we learn to build non-profit cooperatives to replace profit business, we will not learn to get and keep out of debt personally and nationally. Until then, cooperators and cooperatives should get their own houses in order and get themselves out of debt, while the getting is good, to withstand the storm of depression that is brewing. We are in an inflation period and deflation will inevitably follow. If we are not intelligent enough to prevent inflation, we will not be intelligent enough to prevent deflation.

Prevent Farmer and Worker Antagonisms

I am also greatly concerned over the growing antagonisms between farmers and workers. We try to show that the other is receiving an excess income. Such practices lead straight to an American brand of Fascism. We should, as consumers who are the common denominator of producer groups, do everything in our power to bring out the true statistical facts and try to help farmers and workers to realize...
Other Contributions

My attempts to contribute further to the discussions at Lake Geneva were briefly the following:

It was my obligation to introduce the personnel directors to one another and to help them get off to a start by electing officers of our new National Personnel Committee of which we can expect real results and which is of such great importance today.

I was pleasantly surprised over the reception accorded the suggestion made to the Editors to begin the publication of a series of statistical charts and figures covering basic economic facts with which cooperators must be far more familiar.

I was gratified over the reception accorded the suggestion made to the Cooperative Accounting Terminology Committee that what is commonly called in profit business a "Balance Sheet" should be renamed an "Ownership Statement," and that the "Assets" should be renamed "What We Owe" and the "Liabilities" be renamed "What We Own."

It was necessary for me to present the Centennial Campaign Plans, as revised at the first meeting of the Campaign Committee, on account of the enforced absence of the Chairman of the Committee. A large number of excellent suggestions were added to the plans as a result of a splendid democratic discussion.

Finally I tried, with apparent uncertain results, to re-emphasize the significance of Recreation as a thing in itself, apart from Education, Finance and Business, as well as a part of the whole of Cooperation.

As a result of an inspiration, growing out of the discussion, I offered a few illustrations from my own personal experience in living in a cooperative housing project for the past year, and tried to express what "cooperative" neighbors meant, as compared with "ordinary" neighbors.

Other contributions were briefer interjections into the discussions from time to time, which I hope were helpful but which do not need to be recounted.

HISTORY TO WORK WITH PEOPLE IN BUILDING COOPERATIVES

(A summary of the general morning sessions)

In four sessions Neva L. Boyd discussed "Man," "How to Work with People." She confined herself largely to the analysis of the organization of various types of groups and their function in the solving of social problems. She pointed out the fact that many problems encountered in community life can be satisfactorily solved only by cooperative action of the group primarily concerned. She stated that not only is this of importance to cooperators but that it is also essential to the maintenance of a democracy. She urged, therefore, that social as well as academic education should be undertaken wholeheartedly by the schools. "Man," she said, "is not primarily a cortex but a social being creating and living in a social world for better or for worse, according as he is equipped for social living."

Pointing out that many millions of dollars are spent for play and recreation by people of all walks of life, and that this whole field of human interest holds great possibilities for social education, especially for children and adolescent youth, and great satisfaction for persons of all ages, she advised cooperators who value social education to use their influence on school boards and with educators in schools of higher learning in urging its importance and in securing its place in the curriculum. "The essence of good recreation is far more creative and cooperative than the casual observer may think," Miss Boyd said. "If the art of living is to be achieved, the spontaneity and responsiveness which characterizes the best of play in childhood must feed these qualities into the blood stream of social living. Dead spots in adults are largely due to the omission of rich play experience in childhood." Continuing, she said, "If the ranks of the pioneers of the cooperators who believe it to be a good way of life are to be filled with youth who will some day carry out their ideals, they cannot afford to neglect youth programs in the cooperative movement. Youth cannot be imbued with a working basis for the common good merely by the conviction of the soundness of the economic philosophy of the cooperative movement; the conviction of the common good as the only happy way of living must be based on demonstrated proof in human living, and it must begin in childhood. Therefore, if for nothing more than their own protection, cooperators should work definitely for the inclusion of social education in our schools and provide youth programs for their own children."

EDUCATION FOR THE WORLD WE WANT

Summary of address by Dr. Howard Lane

Education is more important than one often realizes for it is during the elementary and secondary school years that an individual develops his character and basic outlook on life. This development is through gradual acquisition. It does not come through any kind of revolutionary process.

Characteristics of our present school system are due to certain forming factors that existed in the past. Then we were self-determining individuals living on the land. We read the Bible and followed it literally. There was little need for education as we think of it today, to learn to read and write was about all that was considered necessary.

As time went on, secondary schools were set up for the brighter boys. These boys grew to become the bankers and the leading citizens. Other people, seeing this, said to themselves, "We want this for our boys." And they proceeded to move in on the secondary schools. In some respects modern education developed out of the quest for advantage. Fathers did not want their sons to have to work like they did.

It is out of this rather narrow selfish philosophy that our educational system evolved. Today we take a different view. We realize that the purpose of education is to promote growth.

We are products of our environment and education is the most determining factor in this environment. In the begin-
Tragically we learn much in our schools that is not good for us. We learn that it is right to compete when the truth of the matter is that much better results come through cooperative efforts. In the schools we ought to learn how to be sympathetic "to love thy neighbor as thyself." We must be afraid of losing our jobs. In schools all too often we have activities that work against sympathy. Contests around which so much of school life revolves, are activities of this kind. We are happy if the football team and student body of another institution are unhappy. In a scholarship contest 4,000 people were entered. When the winners were announced, all but 20 went home miserable. If there had been games or some other kind of activity in which all could have participated, they could all have been happy. Contests spread misery, make people happy as the result of other people's misfortune. We must learn to promote the feeling of "we" the "in" group. We must be shown that all people are our neighbors, and we must be helped to find pleasure in association with them.

In a 23% delinquency area a toy-lending center was set up. In five years not a single toy was lost. As one kid put it, "Ain't no use stealing your own stuff, is there?" Schools that have windows broken are a problem. Where the faculty has tried to work this problem out with the students and has made them participants in the educational enterprise, the problem of broken windows almost completely disappeared. As they put it, "It's no use throwing bricks through your own windows."

Schools Must Undergird Democracy

In the schools we should gain a new concept of morality. We should bring everyone to see that to be worth something they must not only carry their own weight but help others do the same. When it was said about Aunt Hattie that she "never did anything wrong," you could just as well leave off the last word. Democracy should say that Aunt Hattie was wicked because she lived off others.

HELPING EUROPE AFTER THE WAR

Summary of address by Hiram Motherwell aspects of this coming situation all too accurately. We can do it from our knowledge of what happened after the first world war, plus our certain knowledge that the destruction this time has been many times greater. Here are some of the elements:

The productivity of the soil will be reduced by as much as 25%, in many parts of the continent by 50%. That is
because of lack of animal manure, lack of sufficient artificial fertilizer, lack of draft animals, wearing out of farm machinery. Even what diminished produce there is cannot be adequately distributed because of deterioration of transportation, and other factors to be mentioned. Rail transport will be in a state of collapse. War is merciless to rolling stock and roadbed, and inferior lubricants will work havoc on such rolling stock as remains.

Motor transport will be paralyzed for lack of gas; river traffic for lack of coal supplies.

Everywhere factory machinery, where it has not been bombed, will be in the last stages of delapidation. Homes will lack practically all those things which daily living needs, and consumer goods will nowhere be obtainable.

Finance and credit will not be-existent because all the assets of all the banks of Europe today consist of Nazi promises to pay, and Nazi promises on armistice day will be worthless. Money, which has for years been in a condition of repressed inflation, will explode. Barter—a saw for a chicken—will be the typical form of trade. Property—all except personal and physical property—will cease to exist. All stocks and bonds and credits and obligations have been taken over by the Nazis, secured by Nazi promises to pay.

Government will cease to exist. The Nazis have annihilated all governmental forms and organisms save their own, and on armistice day their own will crumble in the universal anger, leaving a vacuum—political anarchy.

Finally, the habits and channels of social cooperation will have been obliterated, and in place of mutual trust, which is the cement of all society, there will be universal reciprocal hate. It will be a hate that snatches, conspires and kills.

To What Shall People Hold?

What elements from the pre-war world will survive this physical and spiritual devastation? A few, in all probability. Among them will almost certainly be these:

1. The churches. The churches have, by and large, fought their fight courageously and have refused to permit their spiritual integrity to be hitched to Caesar's chariot wheel. The church parishes will persist as centers of loyalty and order and—relatively speaking—of sanity.

2. The labor unions. The labor unions have been physically obliterated by Nazism and their leaders murdered or sent to rot in concentration camps. Yet in every factory, trade and city, labor unions will spring up again overnight, selecting new leaders from among their trusted comrades or perhaps from the under-ground. They will be clusters of authority which will be able to guarantee many of the services—such as policing, justice and operation of the utilities—which run away government has left adrift.

3. Local governments. Many municipal and other local governments will probably persist reasonably intact, after expelling or arresting the most flagrant of their Nazi or Quisling leadership. They will in many instances be able to perform the services needed to make emergency living possible.

Finally, the cooperatives. We have little accurate information concerning the condition of the cooperatives under Nazi tyranny. But it would seem that by and large they have been less mauled about than most of the other organs of European society, precisely because they have been relatively non-political. Their leaders have certainly been replaced by Nazi stooges, but apparently their minor executives and their membership have remained as organic parts of the state machine.

People Must Be Helped to Help Themselves

The vast and urgent work of emergency relief—including the distribution of food, seeds, fertilizers and indispensable consumer goods—must be the responsibility of these organisms which will have remained more or less intact through the debacle. Foreign administrators cannot, and should not, undertake retail distribution. All must help. But none, in all probability, will be so well equipped by experience and by philosophy to do the job as the cooperatives.

The opportunities are beyond our present imagination. The cooperatives might assume emergency responsibility for entire cities and districts. American cooperative administrators might be invaluable aids to the United Nations Relief Administration. International cooperative supplies and credits might solve a host of problems which would take governmental bureaucracy many months to understand. Finally, much of the industrial and merchandising organization which Hitler will have bequeathed, ownerless and masterless, to European society, might be salvaged and revitalized under cooperative ownership and management.

The first century of the cooperative movement coincided with the age of predatory industrialism. The second century, beginning in 1944, may become known in history as the age of international cooperation.

WHERE DOES THE CONSUMER COME IN?

Summary of address given by Horace M. Kallen

If we would get on with building an adequate philosophy, we must consider people as persons and not as concepts or as mechanisms. When we take this view of human nature as being personal, we readily realize on analysis that the person is not essentially a worker. His primary purpose is to live. It is a point of view recognized in all religions and in all philosophies.

The setting of man and woman in the garden of Eden was in an economy of abundance. They were placed there to eat and drink for the fun of living, not for the purpose of surviving. Working is not an end but a way of using up your energy, a way of expressing your creativity.

The change in emphasis came with the fall of Adam and Eve and the curse that was placed upon them. Eve was to be cursed with the bearing of children and labor. She was to be cursed with the necessity of working and that likewise has been called labor.

Throughout history people have divided into two groups—the first made up of those who live off the work of others, the second made up of those who earn a living without living a life. The first class is made up of the rest who toil and have not their results to show for it. The slave to the first group is merely a tool with life in it. Strangely enough, it has been considered a disgrace to earn a living but not considered so to live on the income of others. This concept seems to have run through all of civilization.

We now discover that the virtues of leisure are those of which all men are capable. It will be recorded that the American culture made this contribution to the thinking of men. In our Declaration of Independence, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were considered to be the rights of man and not the right to work or produce. In every way man was regarded as a consumer, not a producer, and his rights were so stated.

We see this philosophy being carried out in the labor movement. Workers are trying to cut down hours and raise wages. They are not trying to extend their right to toil.

Living in Two Worlds

This difference between earning a living and living a life is noticeable everywhere in our culture. The difference between earning and spending is as the difference between day and night. We live today in almost two worlds—a day life and a night life.

In the day life we go to work, spend...
8 hours performing some mechanical operation or engage ourselves in some other kind of occupation. At the end of the day we can say that we have earned a day's wages but have we lived? We are not a citizen of the industry in which we are employed. We are merely cogs. We organize to raise wages and better our position. Why do we not organize to convert this activity of production into an activity of consumption?

At the end of the day, life hurries. We throw it off and turn to the night life. We eat the evening meal in a different way. We relax. We are merely cogs. We may live in poverty upstairs in a garret. We are merely cogs. We do not care about money. We may actually produce it ourselves, is a consumption of participation. It is the denial of the human as a producer with that of the human as a consumer always.

Our problem is to bring back this consumptionary approach to make all work equivalent to art. These two steps will help: One is to measure all activity against the frame of reference of the consumer faith. The second is to emphasize the kind of education that will bring into every operation the perspective of fellowship and purpose. We must show that all vocational activity or work envelopes the totality of culture and that culture includes all vocations.

Today we are growing towards an economy of abundance. The economy of abundance is a consumer concept, and we are beginning to have the faith that a consumer world can be built. Economic activity carried on for its own sake and lighted by knowledge coming through cooperative channels will give us this new kind of world.

**CHALLENGE OF AMERICAN BUSINESS TO THE COOPERATIVE ECONOMY**

*Summary of address given by Harland Alien*

In my work I spend a great deal of time analyzing economic trends. Frankly, I am skeptical of the adequacy of most plans that are now being proposed by private business to cope with current economic trends. On the other hand, I have been impressed by some of the plans of the cooperative movement. I believe that they have a great deal of pragmatic value to contribute to our present dilemma. We are going to find it necessary to make the greater adjustments of our political and economic habits to changes already here in the physical world than most businessmen can now conceive.

The president of the Dow Chemical Company recently said, "The war, if it demonstrates anything, demonstrates that man is morally and mentally unfit to use the power that science has placed at his disposal." On all fronts we are trying to grapple with this problem. There are many planning groups, but most of them leave me not cold, but concerned. Few seem to be aware of basic causes, and most of them propose remedies that are mere palliatives and thus outright dangerous for so serious a situation.

Much time is spent today discussing new mechanical and chemical processes of the future. The socially significant thing about most of these new processes is that they employ fewer men per unit of product. This means less adequate purchasing power. Yet such has been one of our chief problems for a long while. In many quarters there still seems to be the belief that post-war government priming is all that our system needs, not realizing that deficit spending was the make-shift pulmometer which barely prevented complete collapse for ten years prior to the war.

By the time the war has ended, we may have run the federal debt to an amount equivalent to the value of all property in the nation. Under such circumstances, it is not sound to think in terms of further deficit spending to keep on priming the present economy. Somehow we must solve this problem of conserving and building purchasing power.

Cooperation must have an Answer

If the cooperative movement can rise to the occasion, it has the opportunity to make two lasting contributions. First, it can build purchasing power while protecting the consumer. Second, it can strengthen and invigorate democracy. There is a great potential receptiveness to cooperatives today. This is inevitable as production continues to outrun consumption. In the past this problem was solved as the economy expanded into new geographical areas.

More and more as the frontier expan-
I. The productive capacities of the combination possibilities dwindled, property and community tended to center in the hands of a few. With this centralization of purchasing power and diminishing frontier, production again ran ahead of consumption. It has stayed ahead. We can no longer continually its spokesmen dealing business realizes this on the corporation level; government money to tide us over until we need is confidence and perhaps some feet. Neither of these solutions has any relation to purchasing power. Yet cooperatives can provide confidence in purchasing power. In the Dow Chemical Works we see a clear illustration of the derivatives can provide confidence in purchasing power. We used to be able to shut off production in times of so-called over-production in order to protect price. Gradually this shut-down to protect price became more objectionable, and I doubt if our people will stand for it again. The old restrictive economy idea is being broken down and in its place comes the concept of an expansive economy.

Democracy Is Fundamental

I have come to a new conviction of the importance of democracy in solving our economic problems. I believe that democratic institutions failed in France only because that country had not conceded the right of majorities to rule and to work out their own solutions. Thus the monopolists were able to take over in the face of the will of the people and sell out to Germany. Democracy was too dangerous for the rentiers (coupon clippers)!

Slowly the democratic process of majorities taking control has been going on in this country. It has been speeded up under the Roosevelt Administration. There is no doubt that the New Deal has represented power by the majority. As we flaunt the New Deal, we are flaunting majority rule.

If we had more confidence in democracy, we would give it a real 100% try. We need democracy badly.

a. To ward off discrimination of color, sex, property and religion, all of which antagonisms and prejudices make for friction and war.

b. To foster and expand the individual's rights as fast as production and science expand the potentials of life. Economic expansion is more and more related to invention. The liberalization of patent restrictions becomes more and more essential to social progress.

c. To foster and supervise production and protect consumers, to insure that they do receive reasonable value for their money.

d. To protect the masses of people from privilege of small groups.

e. To provide government that is stable enough to be tolerable and yet flexible enough to change with the facts of life.

f. To bring about emancipation of women.

The Sylvania Corporation recently asked its thousands of women employees what problem was uppermost in their minds. It was not about war, 80% of these women answered, "Am I going to be able to hold my job when the war is over?" Many of our people have naively assumed that at the termination of the war men would be re-employed rapidly and room would be made for them by sending all of the women who have taken jobs during the war period back to their kitchens.

In Russia women have achieved real equality with the men, and never again in this country will women accept a lesser position. As they have more experience with equality, they will never go back to the old days of inequality. The unequal status that we have given to women in our economic life has left its imprint. Indirectly this attitude stiles man himself. Under it women take on an inferiority complex. These women are the mothers of the whole race and without blame to them they pass on their inferiority complex to the children they rear.

Do We Have the Intelligence?

Cooperatives have a great opportunity in building the right kind of democracy. It is a challenge to the intelligence of the people who run the cooperatives whether they will accept this opportunity or not.

In our efforts to support and extend democracy, we should realize that it likewise changes with the times. The town meeting was the cradle of democracy, but it is not the whole of democracy. Our society today calls for some new implementations of democracy. We should realize that it is as democratic to delegate authority to an executive as it is to delegate it to a committee that is ineffective. The criteria always is the degree to which delegation of authority protects or advances the public interest.

The cooperative movement may show to decidedly less than its maximum advantage if it tries to monopolize all economic life. We must understand the economy in which we live and analyze as to where the cooperative movement can be of greatest use. We should be ready to realize that there are areas where other types of economic organization may serve better over the long run.

Public ownership of the transportation system is one example. We cannot have national planning without it. We cannot locate steel mills where they should be. Also at the times when private enterprise runs to cover, government should be in position to step up the activity of such important sectors of industry as may be under its control. Through such a balanced economy (cooperatives, private enterprise and government), we can hope to succeed with the problem of placing adequate purchasing power in the hands of the people, and we can do in a truly democratic manner.

THE ONE IN THE MANY

THE two outstanding facts of our time are: (1) the world is one as it has never been before, and (2) the world has never been so many. Our equipment for communicating culture has been approaching perfection. Our speed in communicating culture has been approaching instantaneousness. But our culture has been falling to pieces. Even the technology which gave us the speed and equipment has enabled each of us to live more remotely from his next-door neighbor than did our ancestors on isolated farms.

Being one by physical proximity is not enough to unite us. The unity of a community must be sought in something that is common to all its members. It is the common something that holds a community, even a band of thieves, together. Where, if we cannot find it merely by throwing the many together, shall we look for the one in the many that make up our one world? Where shall we look for the unum in the pluribus?
In What Direction?

In economic organization? Unlikely, for the economy is only a tool of the community. Certainly not in the capitalist economy which, even if it were a workable tool, would still, by its very definition, set every man against his neighbor. Not even in a socialist economy, if perchance socialism is a better tool, for the economy has to do only with material needs, common to all forms of life, while we are trying to erect a human community.

In love of country? But countries are the many, and we are looking for the one. Besides, love of country leads to nationalism, which makes the divisions among the many even sharper. And nationalism sometimes leads to international war, the very antithesis of unity.

If neither economics nor nationalism is the answer, is science? Probably not. Science concerns itself with unity, but with (1) unity of the physical world outside us, and (2) the unity of man as animal. Science can only say: "If you want to live like this, we can show you the way to do it." It cannot tell us how to want to live; it cannot find the one in the many choices spread out before us. It is a means—a tool, like the economy—to the achievement of any of the many.

As Confucius said, men cannot work together unless they have, and can communicate, common principles. It is the business of research to discover common principles and of education to transmit them and to teach the arts of communication. But vocationalism and electivism have displaced this function of education, while specialization has displaced this function of research. Great scholars in different fields can't talk to each other.

Where Shall We Turn?

If economics, nationalism, science, technology, and education fail to yield up the one in the many, we look next to religion. But our diversity of creeds grows more diverse, more manied, though all creeds speak of one God, all assert one definition of justice. Religion's effort to find the one by force failed. Religion, whether or not it had to, failed to unite us just as education, whether or not it had to, failed to unite us.

The one in the many must be the ideal of any community. The one is that which (a) is common to all the members of the community and (b) distinguishes that community from all others. It is what the ancients called the essence or nature of a thing, what modern biology calls the species characteristic.

Interdependence cannot be the species characteristic that will snatch us from the Apocalypse, because the strong, the rich, the lucky, or the many can never be persuaded that they depend upon the weak, the poor, the unfortunate, or the few. Even materialistic cooperation—the just distribution of goods—will never take place until we have dedicated ourselves first to the immaterial ideal of justice.

This May Be a Clue?

Justice may be the answer. We see in our own country that the ideal of government by justice has given way to government by pressure-group, in which groups of men, organized entirely on the basis of interest and not at all on the basis of justice, compete with each other, not for a just share but for all they can get. This is obviously unjust, and in the midst of this obviously unjust struggle we have, the common good, the one in the many, disappear.

If justice is the species characteristic which, however badly developed it may be in most members of the species, constitutes the one in the many, then we have got to cultivate it fanatically. We will not want to cultivate it unless we are sure that justice, and nothing else, will save our one world; since we want to be saved, we will then want to cultivate justice. But when we have decided that we want to cultivate it, we will still be unable to do so unless we know exactly what it is; we will have to begin by discovering why we are our brother's keeper.

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Name
Am. Farmers Mutual Auto Ins. Co. Cooperative Distributors Cooperative Recreation Service
Associated Cooperatives, N. Cal. Cuna Supply Cooperative
Central Cooperative Wholesale Eastern Cooperative League
Federal Cooperative Wholesale Eastern Cooperative Wholesale
Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n Farm Bureau Mutual Auto Insurance Co.
Farm Bureau Services Farmers Cooperative Exchange
Farmers’ Union Central Exchange Grange Cooperative Wholesale
Indiana Farm Bureau Coop. Association Grange Cooperative Wholesale
Midland Cooperative Wholesale
National Cooperatives, Inc. National Cooperative Women’s Guild
Pacific Coast Student Co-op League Pacific Supply Cooperative
Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Coop. Ass’n Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Coop. Ass’n
Southeastern Cooperative League Southern California Cooperatives
United Cooperatives, Inc. Workmen’s Mutual Fire Ins. Society

Credit Union National Association

The Bridge

The Consumers’ Cooperative Movement has seven big jobs to do. It is today working hard at all of them and is accomplishing real results.

Job No. 1 is to Strengthen the National Cooperative Organization. The Constitution Committee of The Cooperative League met for a full day on August 4 and carefully considered various coordination proposals to that end.

Job No. 2 is to Crusade for Cooperation. The Centennial Campaign Committee will meet on September 10-11 with our new Centennial Director, Gilman Calkins, on the job to make specific assignments, plan budgets, etc. Our entire publicity and education program for 1944 is being organized into an effective Cooperative Crusade.

Job No. 3 is to Mobilize Our Money Cooperatively. With the adoption of the Code of By-Laws and the election of temporary officers, the National Cooperative Finance Association is under way. When the subscriptions for common stock by the regionals are received, we will begin to wholesale our own credit and eventually to manufacture it, as National Cooperatives is increasingly doing in commodities.

Job No. 4 is to Produce in Our Own Factories What We Distribute Through
Our Cooperatives. The recent organization of the National Cooperative Refinery Association by five regionals and the purchase of a five million dollar refinery marks the largest step into production we have ever taken at one time.

Job No. 5 is to Develop Working Relationships Between Voluntary Democratic Groups to Promote Consumers' Cooperatives. Three forward steps have been taken during recent weeks as a result of the invitations extended to President Murray D. Lincoln to speak in Detroit before the Michigan C.I.O. Council, the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Waymen, and the United Automobile Workers National Executive Committee.

Job No. 6 is to Strengthen the Economic-Political Stability of the Government. The Consumers' Cooperative Movement has presented to Congress a consumers' plan for adequate and equitable taxation, which is being increasingly supported by economists, journalists, and various groups.

Job No. 7 is to Help in Building a Cooperative World. The first American International Cooperative Reconstruction Conference will be held in Washington soon under the sponsorship of our Committee on International Cooperative Reconstruction and will be in charge of the Director of our Washington office, John Carson. The preliminary program of the conference follows.

Never before has the Consumers' Cooperative Movement in the United States visualized so clearly the seven jobs it has to do, and never before has it done so much about them, as this brief story of recent major steps proves. The Consumers' Cooperative Movement is advancing on all seven fronts in seven league boots.

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**CO-OP FACT**

**CO-OPS ROLE IN POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION**

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**PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION FOR CO-OP LEAGUE NEWS SERVICE**

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**A REPORT ON THE UNITED NATIONS FOOD CONFERENCE**

By Murray D. Lincoln
President of The Cooperative League
U.S. Delegate to United Nations Food Conference

From The Scottish Cooperator
July 31, 1943

Mr. Neil S. Beaton (president of the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society) told the Scottish Cooperator that when he announced at the Cooperative Congress that his friend Murray Lincoln was appointed to represent the cooperative movement he did not anticipate that as a single cooperator Lincoln would have been successful in getting the Food Conference to agree to such far-reaching proposals as far as the movement was concerned.

"The International Cooperative Movement will forever be indebted to our good friend, Murray Lincoln, for his success at Hot Springs," he declared.

Mr. Beaton said that during his all too short visit to America he formed a very high opinion of Mr. Lincoln. He is certain that Mr. Lincoln will play a prominent part in the future of the International Cooperative Movement.

"Hot Air" About Hot Springs.
A Reply to Beaverbrook

Speaking in the House of Lords last week, Lord Beaverbrook said Hot Springs was a "curious and strange" proceeding. It was decided, he said, that the promotion of cooperative societies would lower the cost of distribution and marketing. Lord Beaverbrook went on to say that "Great Britain does not believe that cooperative societies would lower the cost of distribution, but adhere to the little trader."

When Mr. Beaton's attention was drawn to these statements, he expressed surprise that despite what had happened during the war, and despite the vital part played by cooperation, Lord Beaverbrook should be so ready to take an opportunity to depreciate the progress of the movement.

"Lord Beaverbrook has again challenged our movement," said Mr. Beaton, "and I am certain that we are prepared to take up the challenge and prove beyond a doubt that the cooperative movement has rendered invaluable services to the Allies during the present war."

Mr. Beaton is sure that the movement will play a great part in the reconstruction, along the lines decided upon at the Hot Springs Conference.
and failure of the world to ever produce, in sufficient quantities, the foodstuffs necessary to minimum health requirements.

Shall we, at the close of this war, return to our pre-war unconcern regarding world conditions? Or have we realized that we are, in reality, one world? Have we allowed that our own security depends upon the security of all nations? The Golden Rule has not been outmoded. It has been used.

The delegates to the United Nations Food Conference did not come here to beg for food. They came here to examine world need and to plan an international program of cooperation and assistance to meet that need. They approached food as a weapon for peace. And based on sound business principles, they set up a blueprint for helping needy nations to help themselves.

Is Abundance Possible?
Is abundance possible? Do resources exist, in terms of world need, to raise the standards of all people? The answer is an emphatic "Yes." World resources have been barely scratched. Technological developments have brought miracles in production. But our scientific values have outdistanced our human values. We have produced in terms of price rather than in terms of human need and service. Let us consider a concrete example.

To maintain prices here in the United States, we plowed under and destroyed valuable foodstuffs while sections of our population were in need. To maintain prices we combined, through international finance, to allow only small quantities of vital raw materials to reach the markets. We wanted to sell to the world but we didn't want to buy. To this end we set up high tariff barriers. We got most of the world's gold and lost most of our world trade. We wanted to be whole hog or no hog at all. We were, but something was wrong with the system. As the world got poorer, we got poorer. We slid into a severe economic depression and wound up in World War II. This was production for price. Today a new philosophy is in order. A philosophy of abundance. Production to meet human need and service. To guard prices in the past we have planned scarcity and robbed not only our own, but other nations of essential commodities. The results have not been glorious. Let us try a new tack.

Charting the Road Ahead
The Food Conference did not attempt in ten days to solve the multiple problems of world intercourse. But they charted the road the world must take if we are to embark on a mission of permanent peace. The following points cover high spots of conference recommendations:

1. Consumption Levels and Requirements. Conference reports clearly showed that millions of people throughout the world are underfed. No continent is without the stamp of malnutrition and disease. Nutritional science has given us minimum food requirements for sound health. We must apply that yardstick to the nations of the world. To this end the following recommendations apply:

   All nations must establish nutritional organizations to study the needs of their peoples; disseminate nutritional knowledge to all sections of the population; assist and protect vulnerable groups including nursing mothers, young children, and low wage earners. They must exchange information and research with other nations; and face determinedly the task of providing all of their peoples with adequate diets based on modern nutritional research.

2. Expansion of Production and Adaptation to Consumption Needs. Two realities present themselves in this area. First, vast quantities of foodstuffs will be needed to alay famine and starvation in the immediate post-war period. Secondly, even in peace time, sufficient quantities of health-giving foodstuffs were not available to the peoples of the world. We must meet both of these demands. A poor country is a poor market. We must assist needy countries to get on their feet—economically. An international organization must help these countries build and strengthen their national economies.

   A country which buys must also sell. A man who does not earn may not buy. Nations are the same. We must provide markets for the goods of all nations if we expect them to buy from us the goods they need for improving their way of life. Trade barriers must be progressively relaxed.

Consumers' Cooperation wherever possible. Cereals and bread-grains must be emphasized in this period. Devastated nations must be assisted in rebuilding their agricultural programs. Machinery, implements, seeds, fertilizers, etc. must be made available.

To prevent injustices in distribution, extreme price fluctuations, and un-economic surpluses, an international body should administer the flow of goods. This was shown to protect both the producer and the consumer.

Long Term Plans. The aim here is to provide the peoples of the world with adequate diets. It calls for the rebuilding and expansion of agricultural programs throughout the world. Measures to make capital, equipment, and technical skill available to needy nations are recommended. Aids to farm producers in terms of easier credit, land tenure revisions, educational service, cooperative organizations, etc. were further recommended. The entire program rests on international cooperation and assistance.

Improvement and Facilitation of Distribution. World need following the war is a certainty. International trade, however, in the pre-war period had grown rusty from dis-use. There will exist a great demand for the products of producer nations like the United States. We must be able to meet these demands. The following recommendations apply:

   A poor country is a poor market. We must assist needy countries to get on their feet—economically. An international organization must help these countries build and strengthen their national economies.

   A country which buys must also sell. A man who does not earn may not buy. Nations are the same. We must provide markets for the goods of all nations if we expect them to buy from us the goods they need for improving their way of life. Trade barriers must be progressively relaxed.

September, 1943

Standard weights, grades and qualities make for better understanding. They are more economic and would eliminate many of the causes of misunderstanding. Such an international program is recommended.

Carrying Forward the Work of the Conference

The conference made one point perfectly clear. Food is an international problem. Hunger is a basis of world insecurity. And, if we are to hope for peace and the better life, we must look beyond our own borders. We must help needy nations to a share of the world's goods we are enjoying. Such a task is not ours alone. It is the world's task. An international food organization must be set up representing all peoples. Through it we may all cooperate in relieving world need. Through it we may jointly attack hunger, the least common denominator of world insecurity. The delegates recommended the establishment of an international committee to plan the structure of a world food organization.

We Can No Longer Live Alone and Like It

Never before in world history has the challenge to thinking men and women been as great. Can we learn the lesson? Can we follow the arrow of common sense? We are well on our way to winning the war. We will win the war because we are working together. In production, in shipping, in field of battle, the United Nations are cooperating. Must war alone see nations working together?

The Food Conference brought four-fifths of the world's millions to a common table. It stated frankly the problem of hunger, of malnutrition, and disease throughout the world. It is for us to accept the challenge. It is for us to realize that we can no longer live alone and like it. We have learned to fight together. Let us learn to live together.

We need not be our brother's keeper but we must be his helper. We were too late to realize that a fraction of this war's cost might have relieved the conditions which brought it on. The world's gain
can be our own gain. Prosperity is like strawberry jam. You can’t spread even a little of it without getting some of it on yourself.

National selfishness and isolation have been costly privileges. We dare not return to our pre-war short-sightedness. The era of imperialism must cease. Economic exploitation of backward peoples must go. And men and nations must pool their

**COOPERATION: THE ONLY BASIS FOR PERMANENT PEACE**

Reprinted from the Review of International Cooperation
Albin Johansson, Manager
Koopativa Forbundet, Sweden

(EDITOR’S NOTE— Rarely in a National Cooperative Congress has the significance of International Cooperation and the influence which the International Cooperative Alliance could hold in world councils been given so prominent a place as at the Congress of Koopativa Forbundet which met at Stockholm on the 4th of June.

The full report of the deliberations is not yet available, but we are able to publish Mr. Albin Johansson’s speech in opening a Resolution framed in the form of an appeal to the Alliance to prepare for the historic tasks which await it immediately the war is over. Mr. Johansson is Managing Director of the Swedish Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society, K. F., and a member of the Executive and Central Committee of the I. C. A.)

When peace is restored the people of the world over will have to face very hard trials, and all those responsible for the solution of post-war problems must be acquainted with the cooperative point of view.

Consumer’s Cooperation, based upon mutual self-help, has spread far over the world; it exists today, in varying stages of development, in practically all countries—in Europe, in North and South America, in Asia, China and Japan, in Australia, and in Africa. Most of these separate movements are united in the International Cooperative Alliance, which as the largest international organization in the world, must play an active part in the Peace and the re-shaping of the world.

Our International must convince those in power of the real significance of Cooperation and its aims. There are few who realize what Cooperation is, most people see in it just an ordinary enterprise with shops and factories. They see only the surface of economic activity; that gives power to capital, but only to the individual; that does not make profit out of themselves; that all who take part in the enterprise receive a share of what can be saved through cooperation corresponding to the extent of their contribution to the common effort. There is no other form of economic activity which guarantees this supremacy to the consumer. Cooperation is an instrument of peace of immeasurable value, a factor which must be considered when the peace is made. But the politicians who appreciate this are lamentably few. Let us try to teach them, to awaken their interest.

A Just Basis for Distributing Natural Resources

Most other forms of economic activity exploit the consumer to the advantage of those who own the particular enterprise, and it is on this basis that the exchange of commodities between nations rests. Those countries which possess natural resources use them to their own advantage. They exploit their position by monopoly, and levy taxes (monopoly rents) on purchasing countries. This is against the rules of justice as applied in our country where the people themselves decide what taxes they shall pay. This same rule should also be applied between States, but instead nations who are obliged to buy raw materials must pay excessive prices arbitrarily fixed by the owners. If we want a lasting peace it is absolutely essential that a more just basis for sharing the natural riches of the earth be found.

Promises to this end are held out by leaders of the world powers. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in their speeches at the Atlantic Charter of 15th August, 1941, declared:

“They will endeavor with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.”

This declaration, while stating very clearly its aim, does not, however, indicate how it is to be achieved. It merely says that all will receive raw materials on equal terms. Does this mean that the countries within whose boundaries they are to be found will be free to fix the prices? If so, those who possess raw materials will continue to take toll from all other nations. Thus the fight for raw materials will go on and, regardless of how economic life is organized, within the different countries—whether on a cooperative, national-socialistic or capitalistic basis, or on a combination of these—friction will again arise as a result of the inequitable distribution of natural resources. I doubt whether there is any principle other than the cooperative one, that could be more successfully applied to the problem of the world distribution of raw materials which cannot be solved by legislation or generally accepted international agreements.

Needed: A Program for International Economic Justice

It is possible that President Wilson had some such thought in mind when, as the first of his Fourteen Points, he advocated—Open Covenants of Peace openly arrived at, after which there should be no private international understandings of any kind. How differently world affairs might have developed if President Wilson’s conception of justice had been adopted in 1918 and realized in the years which followed, but how little his programme influenced people’s minds may perhaps best be judged by the numerous international agreements which were made immediately after the last war.

We do not believe that the great men who conceived the Atlantic Charter thought that an equitable distribution of raw materials could be achieved merely by a declaration, but, as far as we know, neither the President nor anyone else have yet drawn up a programme for achieving their aim. This question presents difficulties for those whose minds are steeped in capitalist ideology and it is for us, as Cooperators, to open our eyes to the guarantee which the cooperative system offers as the basis of an understanding between nations in this respect.

International Cooperation Democratically Controlled

If all nations are to have access to raw materials on equal terms the exploitation of the world’s natural resources will have to be organized. It may be found desirable to create an economic organization for each commodity—one for iron ore, one for oil, etc.—within which all States could collaborate. Thus all mines and oilfields in the world would be the property of an organization created by and representing every country. The capital for the purchase of existing plant and for administration would be provided by the member States and yielded limited interests. All members would have equal voting rights regardless of their capital holding. The ore or oil that is sold would be at cost price at the mine, plus a sum sufficient to cover interest on capital and wages and also the cost of the acquisition and maintenance of the plant. Costs of transport would be met by the buyer.

These are the basic principles of cooperative enterprises, where members purchase goods at the price they cost to
produce or to buy, plus the costs of distribution. If a higher price is charged, the difference becomes their common property or is distributed to them in proportion to their purchases. This rule, so simple and so revolutionary, should be applied to the exploitation and distribution of raw materials. Here is a field where Cooperative Principles could with advantage be applied, and the value of the cooperative solution should be made known by the International Cooperative Alliance at the coming Peace Conference.

A Plan for Dealing with Scarce Natural Resources

It may be said against my argument that the supply of all raw materials would not meet the demand that would arise if they were to be available at cost price. If the world supply of a certain material were so small that an extra charge had to be made to the consumer to relate demand to supply, the profit which would result should be used for the discovery of other sources of supply or for producing substitute commodities.

Another probable objection is that State intervention and the elimination of profit would paralyze the search for natural resources or the invention of substitutes. But could this not be avoided if the country which discovered the product were given a monopoly for a certain number of years—in the same way that inventors are granted sole rights to their discovery for a certain period, in Sweden seventeen years. If a longer period were fixed during which States would have monopoly rights to their particular source of natural riches, interest in the search for fresh resources would be preserved.

The Interests of the “Little Men” Must be Considered

Apart from the question of raw materials, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill also promise all States the right to trade on equal terms. International trade and international transport must also be based on cooperative principles as a guarantee of peace—but I have not time to enlarge on the subject. I hope that what I have said will suffice to show the tremendous value of Cooperation as an instrument of peace. Is it impossible that cooperative principles should be applied as soon as possible? Governments in different areas appear to have had and abetted private international capitalistic agreements which aimed at lowering the standard of living. In so doing they have considered only the interests of private capitalists. Is it out of the question that, instead, the interests of the “little man” should be considered—the “little men” who form the great masses of the people in all countries. It is the task of the International Cooperative Alliance to try to make Governments everywhere listen to the voice of the consumer—and it is our duty to make its task easier by spreading a knowledge of Cooperation throughout our own country.

I would also draw the attention of this Congress to the necessity of removing all obstacles to Cooperation, especially in the autocratically governed States, so that all peoples may be free to organize themselves on a cooperative basis, and through Cooperation to improve their standard of life. The greater possible must be given to the efforts of the International Cooperative Alliance to assure freedom of action for the cooperative organizations in every country.

We Must Not Forget Want and Suffering

At the same time we must not forget the want and the suffering of the people in the countries which are at war. It is possible that at the end of hostilities we shall witness most appalling conditions in these countries. This will involve another task for the Alliance—to help, as far as it is in its power, to relieve suffering and misery. The British Cooperative Union has decided to raise a Fund of 500,000 pounds to be used to aid the International Cooperative Alliance in this relief action. We, too, must help, though it is not in our power. The British Cooperative Movement has been assembled in ordinary session at Stockholm—and its Principles become the foundation of a new and better world. Let us not be timid, but act boldly and with conviction. We have seen how the aggressor States persists and [?] the peace. We must be undaunted, so will the living spirit of association, which is the essence of Cooperation, prove indomitable.

A Sensible World Order Must be Based on the Principles of Cooperation

I ask the Congress to pass the following Resolution:

The Congress of Kooperativa Forbundet—assembled in ordinary session at Stockholm—appeals to the International Cooperative Alliance to prepare suitable measures for supporting and facilitating in conjunction with the coming Peace Conference the efforts of the International Cooperative Alliance to assure freedom of action for the cooperative organizations in every country. We must not forget want and suffering.

We Swedish “Cooperators are firmly convinced that any sensible world order must be based on the fundamental principles of Cooperation. In the opinion of this Congress these principles should be the guiding rule in the division of raw materials on the world market between the various countries. One of the most urgent of all postwar tasks will be to facilitate and promote the popular movements for self-help on our war-torn continent. In certain totalitarian states Consumer Cooperation has been destroyed and must be rebuilt. In other countries where the Movement has been deprived of staff and material resources and has been regimented or oppressed in connection with military occupation it must be allowed to work freely again. Above all it must be ensured that such totalitarian compulsory measures as enforced cattles, bans on new firms and import and raw material quotas which even democratic countries have resorted to during the war are not retained after the war.

An historic task awaits the International Cooperative Alliance after the war. We Swedish cooperators appeal to the Alliance to take the lead in collaboration between the cooperators of the world’s free countries, bringing their joint efforts to bear in overcoming the post-war difficulties for Cooperation throughout the world. This work will undoubtedly be one of the most valuable contributions towards the creation of a better world.

The resolution was adopted.

THREE IMPORTANT ADDITIONS TO NATIONAL CO-OP STAFF

Within the past few months a greater demand on the national cooperative organization—demands which grew out of greater co-op opportunities—have brought important additions to the executive staff of the Cooperative League and National Cooperatives.

A recent news item points out that the staff of National Cooperatives, including its faced with a deficit and Waukegan, now totals 108. The league in its three offices now boasts 14. We’re sorry we can’t introduce them all. But here are three of them.

JAMES L. PROEBSTING of Chicago has been named advertising and promotion manager of National Cooperatives, Inc. He will be in charge of merchandising and advertising of Co-op products handling copywriting, layout, and direction of art work, photography and other promotion work. He will devote his time to items produced by the three offices operated by National Cooperatives, as well as to pro-
Gilman Calkins, assistant editor of the Ohio Cooperative Union, reports from several regions have boosted that total to 100 mills, factories, and refineries and other productive works are now owned by the co-ops in addition to twenty-five oil wells and 509 miles of pipe line which serve the refineries.

No figures are available for the total value of these enterprises, but conservative estimates place it way up in the millions.

The most important recent purchase, the former Globe Oil Refinery, at McPherson, Kansas, was nearly $3,000,000 alone. Just as this summary is being written, news was received that cooperatives in Minnesota and Wisconsin have just purchased an additional feed mill; that Ohio co-ops have acquired a chick hatchery formerly owned by a private concern in Columbus; and that eastern co-ops have just set in operation their own modern coffee roasting plant.

Since this survey was last made, announcing that 81 factories, and refineries were owned by American consumer cooperatives, reports from several regions have boosted that total to over the hundred mark.

Reasons for the recent drive into the field of production are threefold: to make additional savings for the two and a half million consumer owners of retail cooperatives; to protect and control the quality of the goods distributed by the cooperatives; and to protect the sources of supply to co-ops now operating largely in the wholesale field.

From a single service station at Cottonwood, Minnesota in 1922 has grown a hundred-million-dollar-a-year co-op business in petroleum products. Today eight refineries in the United States and one in Canada are owned by consumer cooperatives. The co-op refineries are located at Phillipsburg, Kansas; Mt. Vernon, Indiana; Scottsbluff, Nebraska; Mereux, Louisiana; Laurel, Montana, Cushing, Oklahoma, McPherson and Chanute, Kansas, and Regina, Saskatchewan. Serving these refineries are 509 miles of pipe line and 25 oil wells. Half a dozen oil compounding plants were among the earliest co-op moves into production.

In the fields of farm supplies co-op production facilities loom large and are one reason for the success of the co-ops in breaking the artificial price strangfeold a combine of fertilizer companies held on American farmers. Thirteen fertilizer factories, 15 feed mills and 7 seed mills are owned and operated by the co-ops who pioneered in open-formula supplies to protect the quality of farmers' purchases.

Consumer goods, once comparatively small in the consumer cooperative field, have blossomed forth as an important part of American consumer cooperative business. Five flour mills, four canneries, four bakeries, and three coffee roasting plants serve more than a thousand retail co-op food stores.

The Universal Milking Machine factory, the fourth largest in the world, was taken over by the co-ops early in 1943 and is producing around the clock to meet the demand for co-op milkers. A serum and seventeen chick hatcheries are owned by Indiana and Ohio cooperatives. A tractor and farm machinery factory in Indiana, established by the co-ops a few years before the war, is already building up a back log of postwar orders.

The co-ops now operate four lumber mills and two paint factories.

Completing the list of facilities through which consumers produce are a chemical laboratory and cosmetics factory in Chicago, grease and fly spray factories in...
North Kansas City, an alfalfa dehydrator in Ohio and co-op printing plants at Superior, Wisconsin, North Kansas City, Missouri, Spencer, Indiana, and Minneapolis, Minnesota.

These facilities cover the fields of petroleum products, farm supplies, food and other consumer goods, chemical products and printing. But in each case only a part of the goods already being distributed by the cooperatives in each field is being produced in co-op owned factories. What is more, many of these plants are being paid for entirely out of the savings. In the light of these facts, cooperative leaders point out that this drive, dramatic as it is at this stage, has just begun.

CONSUMER COOPERATIVE MILLS, FACTORIES AND REFINERIES (As of September 1, 1943)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refineries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipsburg, Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottsbluff, Nebraska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Vernon, Indiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meraux, Louisiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurel, Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cushing, Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanute, Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McPherson, Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina, Saskatchewan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 in Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 in Kentucky and Indiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 miles supplying Phillipsburg Refinery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 miles at Mt. Vernon, Ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229 miles from NCRA refinery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130 miles from refinery at Cushing, Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oil Wells</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumers Cooperative Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Cooperative Refinery Ass’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midland Cooperative Wholesale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 miles supplying Phillipsburg Refinery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 miles at Mt. Vernon, Ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229 miles from NCRA refinery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130 miles from refinery at Cushing, Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<th>Pipe Lines</th>
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<tr>
<td>Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass’n</td>
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<td>Midland Cooperative Wholesale</td>
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<td>130 miles from refinery at Cushing, Oklahoma</td>
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<tr>
<th>Printing Plants</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Cooperative Wholesale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumers Cooperative Ass’n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative Printing Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oil Compounding Plants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumers Cooperatives Associated</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consumers Cooperative Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midland Cooperative Wholesale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midland Cooperative Wholesale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers Union Central Exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Cooperatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Cooperatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumers Cooperative Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

156 Consumers Cooperative Association
Saw Mills

- Consumers Cooperative Association
- Consumers Cooperative Association
- Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n

Paint Factories

- Consumers Cooperative Association
- United Cooperatives

Seed Mills

- Pacific Supply Cooperative
- Pacific Supply Cooperative
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Southern States Cooperatives
- Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Northland Farmers' Cooperative Exchange
- Penn. Farm Bureau Co-op Ass'n

Chick Hatcheries

- Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Washington Cooperative Chick Ass'n

Feed Mills

- Midland Cooperative Wholesale
- Central Cooperative Wholesale
- Central Cooperative Wholesale
- Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Farm Bureau Services, Michigan
- Illinois Farm Supply Company
- Wisconsin Farm Bureau Cooperatives
- Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Co-op Ass'n
- Southern States Cooperatives
- Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Co-op Ass'n
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Eastern States Farmers Exchange
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Southern States Cooperatives
- Southern States Cooperatives
- Southern States Cooperatives
- Southern States Cooperatives
- Farmers Cooperative Exchange
- Missouri Farmers Association

Fertilizer Factories

- Eastern States Farmers Exchange
- Eastern States Farmers Exchange
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Co-op Ass'n
- Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n

Type

- Milkling Machines
- Chemical Lab.
- Cosmetics Factory
- Tractor Factory
- Serum Factory
- Grease Factory
- Hy Spray Factory
- Alfalfa Dehydrator
- Bottling Works
- Sausage Factory
- Sausage Factory
- Slaughter House
- Corn Picker

Location

- Waukesha, Wis.
- Chicago, Ill.
- Shelbype, Ind.
- Thornton, Ind.
- No. Kansas City, Mo.
- No. Kansas City, Mo.
- Payne, Ohio
- Scottsbluff, Neb.
- Virginia, Minn.
- Waukegan, Ill.
- Dillonvale, Ohio
- Waterloo, Iowa
- Minneapolis, Minn.
- Waukegan, Illinois

Owners

- National Cooperatives, Inc.
- National Cooperatives, Inc.
- National Cooperative Farm Machinery Ass'n
- Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Consumers Cooperative Association
- Consumers Cooperative Association
- Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Consumers Cooperative Association
- Range Cooperative Federation
- Cooperative Trading Company
- New Cooperative Company
- Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
- Michigan Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n

Consumers' Cooperation

Glendale, Ohio
Maumee, Ohio
Schererville, Indiana
Indianapolis, Indiana
Norton, Virginia
Portland, Oregon
Issaquah, Washington
Buffalo, New York
Albany, New York
Auburn, Indiana
Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass'n
Southern States Cooperatives
Pacific Supply Cooperative
Grange Cooperative Wholesale

Flour Mills

- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange
- Cooperative Mills, Inc.
- Eastern Cooperative Wholesale
- Central Cooperative Wholesale
- Central States Cooperatives
- Indiana Farm Bureau Co-op Ass'n
- Grange Cooperative Wholesale
- Saskatchewan Cooperative Wholesale

Coffee Roasteries

- Central Cooperative Wholesale
- Eastern Cooperative Wholesale
- Missouri Farmers Association

Canners

- Consumers Cooperative Association
- Consumers Cooperative Association
- Cooperative G.L.F. Exchange

Bakeries

- Central Cooperative Wholesale
- Consumers Cooperative Services, Inc.
- Cooperative Trading Association
- Cooperative Trading Company

Miscellaneous Productive Units
EASTERN COOPERATIVE RECREATION SCHOOL
YIELDS WEEK OF FUN — HEAPS OF COOPERATION
Ellen Linson

"Don't tell me you ever had a better school than this!" one student commented at the end of the Eastern Cooperative Recreation School held August 14 to 22 at the New York University Camp near Sloatsburg, New York. Certainly in size it was the largest of the three schools which have been held—eighty-two full and part-time students and about twenty-five week-end guests. (There were twenty-five at the first school, forty-three last year). From a financial standpoint the school was highly successful. It was entirely financed by those students who attended and wound up with a surplus, after having paid the deficit of the first year, of around $300 which the students voted to put into a reserve fund. A record in literature sales was set when over $200 worth was sold—an average of more than $2 per person.

These are tangible evidences of the success of the school. What of the intangible ones? These are more difficult to put down in black and white. It is nearly impossible to capture the gaiety and laughter of a room of people whirling in a square dance—the beauty and harmony of voices singing together—the intensity and interest of a group discussion—the shouts of laughter at an improvisation—miss Boyd said on the last day, "If you are going to work with people you have to love them; the love of people is as real as pig iron," everybody knew what she meant.

The one week intensive program in recreation leadership training included: folk dancing, dramatics, singing, shepherd's pipes, design, crafts, games, and discussion about why people need recreation and what it can do for them, with free time for swimming, boating, and tennis. Miss Neva Boyd, nationally known for her years of work with many forms of social recreation and group work, gave the philosophical background and work on organization, besides working with the folk dancing and games classes. James and Ruth Norris, Elsie Sexton, Gertrude Corfman, Ellen Linson, Jack and Peggy Steinbugler, Herman Beatty and Iona Marvin were responsible for everything else except swimming, boating and tennis which didn’t need any staff.

Featured at evening sessions were LeRoy Bowman, Adult Education Department, New York State and Eastern Cooperative League Board member; Robert L. Smith, education director, ECL; Arild Olsen, Farm Security Administration; and Wallace J. Campbell, assistant secretary The Cooperative League. Most of the students came from cooperative societies in the East; there were three people from Nebraska. At a meeting of staff and students held near the close of the school, a board of directors of eight students and two staff was elected to set up next year’s school and to plan reunions of students between schools. A committee was also set up to draw up a suggested constitution and by-laws to be presented to the students at next year’s school. Very few changes for next year were recommended by the students which would indicate that this year’s program had approximated the needs of the students attending.

Most of the students were lay people who will return to their communities better equipped to help direct recreational activities so desperately needed today. When Miss Boyd said on the last day, "If you are going to work with people you have to love them; the love of people is as real as pig iron," everybody knew what she meant.

Consumers' Cooperation
Cooperation, CONSUMERS COOPERATION will be replaced by a new magazine:

New Name, New Editor, New Size, New Format, New Layout, New Content. This will be a bigger and better magazine, edited for the leadership of the cooperative movement—co-op board members and officers, managers, education committees, study action groups, employees and working members of local cooperatives, regional mills, factories and refineries, students of cooperation and friends of cooperation who put their shoulder to the wheel at every opportunity to help build freedom through economic democracy.

That’s a big order and a big promise.

Current subscribers to CONSUMERS COOPERATION will find the new magazine in their mail box early in January. New price will be $2.50 per year. If your subscription is about to expire send in your check for $2.50 and we will send you the remaining issues of 1943 plus a full year’s subscription to—CO-OP. SSSSH •—That’s a secret too.

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U.S.A.
167 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y.
private industry and finance, declares that private enterprise must provide employment for all, or it will be superseded. It is hopeful that this responsibility of an economy is even admitted by private business which it was not during the depression of only ten years ago, as well as being demanded by workers.

(2) The post-war economy must Provide Abundance. It seemed to some like heresy when engineers declared ten years ago that we had reached the place where we had the technological facilities to produce plenty for all. "The Chart of Plenty" statistically proved that every family of four could have had an annual income of $4,370 in 1929. Now we have demonstrated that an even larger income is possible, for we have produced more than that amount per family. We know now that we can produce plenty and the people demand it.

(3) The post-war economy must Distribute Purchasing Power Equitably to All. The facts about the piling up of purchasing power in the hands of the few and the poverty of the many have been presented in unchallengable statistics. The human tragedies behind these statistics have been pictured and described by numerous illustrators and authors. The condition was graphically described by the President when he said, "I see a nation one-third ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed." The goal was set when he declared that it is equally as necessary to attain "Freedom from Want" as to have "Freedom to Worship, "Freedom to Speak" and "Freedom to Vote." The principal solution has also been specifically presented—lower prices to consumers. The need of widely distributed purchasing power is unquestionable—the facts alone being sufficient to establish that the remedy has been presented. We now know the facts and are determined to apply the remedy.

(4) The post-war economy must Enable Everyone to become an Owner of Productive Property. The statistical facts and human results of increasing tenancy have been widely publicized. The inalienable right of Ownership of Productive Property, as well as of Life and Liberty, is becoming acknowledged. We are determined that everyone must be able to enjoy all these rights.

The people are increasingly demanding that the post-war economy must provide for these four major economic needs: Employment, Abundance, Purchasing Power, and Ownership. They are increasingly recognizing that the Competitive Economy does not and cannot provide them. They are seeing evidences that A Cooperative Economy has been proved in the Scandinavian countries to be the only economy that will provide for all of these things and also preserve religious, educational and political liberty. Herein lies the great opportunity for cooperative growth.

The people demand economic equality as well as political liberty. They have been on the march toward Cooperation for a hundred years and are now coming into their own.

Fortunate indeed it is, with the breakdown of competition, that cooperation, which is the democratic road to economic freedom, has proved itself and can take over as rapidly as the people desire and organize themselves into cooperatives. It is for us, the people, to determine how fast we will achieve employment, abundance, purchasing power and ownership for all. We are increasingly realizing that we can have them all and that organizing ourselves into cooperatives is the way to achieve them.

All this is most hopeful. It is important for all of us to recognize the greater opportunities for building cooperatives, as well as to beware of the dangers ahead.

HOW BRITISH CO-OPS ARE MEETING THE WAR EMERGENCIES

A t the end of four years of war the distributive trade in Britain is "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd" by rationing schemes and Government regulations and orders on an unprecedented scale. Approximately 8,000 Statutory Regulations and Orders have been published dealing with consumer rationing, food matters, limitation of supplies, "Utility" schemes for clothing, footwear and furniture, directions to manufacturers, producers and traders and licenses affecting trade.

But the Co-operative Movement does not object to rationing. It has been, in fact, the strongest advocate of rationing from the outbreak of war, believing that consumer registration and rationing is the only equitable basis for the distribution of goods and commodities when supplies are curtailed.

Many societies introduced their own schemes before the Government rationing scheme was put into operation and they continue to operate their own schemes for the distribution of such goods as matches, pickles, sausages, starch, etc., which are not Government rationed but are in short supply. Thus, each member is assured of receiving a fair share of whatever a society receives for sale.

Of course, rationing has been considerably extended since it was first introduced, but it has shown what a great part the Co-operative Movement plays in providing for the needs of the population of Britain.

Co-ops Serving One-fourth of Population

In six main commodities Mr. J. A. Hough (Research Officer of the Co-operative Union) states that co-operative societies are feeding a quarter of the population. Here are the registration figures for retail co-operative societies for the year from mid-1942 to mid-1943, and the estimated percentages of the civil population represented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>No. of registrations</th>
<th>% of civil population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>11,126,000</td>
<td>26.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter &amp; Margarine</td>
<td>10,807,000</td>
<td>26.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon &amp; Ham</td>
<td>10,114,000</td>
<td>24.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking fats</td>
<td>10,807,000</td>
<td>26.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preserves</td>
<td>11,126,000</td>
<td>26.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese</td>
<td>10,745,000</td>
<td>23.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>7,439,000</td>
<td>17.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>6,057,000</td>
<td>14.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For coal, customers have had to register on a household basis and it is estimated that co-operative societies hold more than 20% of the total registrations.

Last year a secondary rationing scheme, a "points" scheme, was introduced. This scheme allows customers a varied choice of purchases, which may be made at any shop without registration, each commodity having its "points" value. The goods

October, 1943

Fred Tootill, Editor
Cooperative News
covered include canned goods (meats, fish, fruits, vegetables), dried peas, beans, cereals, rice, sago, dried fruits, syrup, biscuits, etc. At the end of 1942 the Co-operative Union conducted a sample census of food “points” trade transacted by co-operative societies. This sample census covered half the membership of the Movement and indicated that societies had negotiated approximately 2,000,000,000 “points”. On the basis of the maximum food “points” spent by the civil population it is estimated that co-operative societies are handling about 18% of the “points” trade.

The “points” scheme has been a success and the people of Britain are especially grateful to the U.S.A. for the lease-lend goods and particularly for the canned meat distributed under this scheme. Sweets and chocolates are rationed on a “personal points” basis.

Clothing and footwear are also rationed. Restrictions on manufacture have had a considerable influence on the reduction in the trade of non-food shops. Societies which have had large dry goods (drapery, clothing, millinery, furniture, hardware) stores demolished in a “blitz” have discovered that they can carry on as much trade as the present meagre supplies permit in the much smaller premises they have been able to obtain.

The “Utility” scheme has put a price ceiling on furniture, clothing, boots and shoes produced under this scheme, and prices and margins from producer to customer are controlled. There are still non-utility goods available, but the prices are higher.

Co-op Opposition to Purchase Tax

The Purchase Tax (a tax added to the price when the wholesaler is selling to the retailer) has been a big factor in increasing prices of certain goods to the consumer, and the Co-operative Movement has been the chief opponent of this tax, because co-operatives believe it takes more than an equitable share from the poorer section of the community. In October, 1942, Mr. C. E. Prater (a director of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society) estimated that the cost of living had moved up since the outbreak of war by 45 pts. Of the 45 pts., he said six points were definitely due to the Purchase Tax.

How the tax hits the consumer was indicated at the meeting of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society in May this year. It was then stated that since the Purchase Tax was instituted in 1940, the English C.W.S. had paid in this form of taxation £5,580,732 (22,322,928 dollars).

The Co-operative Movement eventually obtained support in its fight for the removal of the Purchase Tax on essentials. “Utility” cloth and clothing and boots and shoes, produced under the provisions of the Goods and Services (Price Control) Order were made exempt from tax from the end of 1942. Purchase Tax was not imposed on “Utility” furniture, and in the Budget introduced in April this year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that he would exempt from Purchase Tax all “Utility” cloth and textile articles used for domestic purposes, such as soft furnishings and haberdashery (which complied with “Utility” conditions). “Utility” black-out cloth, towelling, handkerchiefs, bed linen and mattresses.

As prices increase, the Purchase Tax and the tobacco tax (now 3/5d. per pound, or approximately seven dollars) have inflated sales figures. Popular brands of cigarettes cost the smoker 2/4d. (nearly half a dollar) for twenty and approximately three-quarters of the price is tax.

Labour Shortages and Other Problems

Rationing and regulations only form part of the worries with which co-operative societies and other traders have to wrestle. The labor problem is a perpetual headache for executive chiefs. Previous to the outbreak of war very few women were employed in co-operative food shops. Now grocery branch stores are almost wholly staffed by married women; male employees being confined to youths under 18, men over 50, and Service reseets. Many of the women are the wives of ex-employees, now in the Forces.

Women are also employed in butchery shops, as well as grocery shops. Women drive laundry delivery vans and deliver bread and milk.

To conserve gasoline, tires and vehicles, a system of pooling vehicles has been arranged, and co-operative societies join with private traders in operating delivery schemes. Deliveries are made of certain goods on specified days and only in certain areas. Coal, milk and bread are excepted, but bread and cakes are delivered on three days a week only.

The sale of commodities is controlled by price regulations which limit gross margins, and the Co-operative Movement is regularly consulted by the Ministry of Food in relation to price fixing arrangements for foodstuffs. In relation to non-foodstuffs, prices are regulated by a Central Price Regulation Committee and Local Price Regulation Committees, on all of which the Co-operative Movement is represented.

It is an interesting fact that the Co-operative Movement’s assistance has been requested and willingly given in regard to a host of matters during the war, and Directors of the two Wholesale Societies and officials of the retail societies have been “loaned” to Government Departments.

This experience is in striking contrast to what happened in the last war. The unfair treatment which the Co-operative Movement then received by the Government of the day, influenced the movement’s decision to enter politics in 1917. Now there are new Co-operative members of Parliament and the Co-operative group has been the only political group in the House of Commons which has been consistent in bringing pressure on the Government to extend rationing schemes, when such schemes have been necessary to ensure equitable distribution of available supplies.

Restrictions on Expansion

Co-operative development has not been possible during the war. No building of food shops is allowed, except under Government license. Several have been built, however, of an “austerity” type. Instead of mahogany and polished oak counters and stainless steel fittings, the counters are of brick with concrete tops covered with linoleum, and the shelves and display fixtures are also of concrete.

Transfer of purchased businesses may be permitted, but a license to sell is necessary for a large number of commodities and new licenses are granted only in exceptional circumstances. These restrictions have operated rather harshly on societies which have lost a good deal of property by air raids. Some of these societies, however, are solving their problems by purchasing established businesses from private traders.

One of the outstanding features of the war has been a campaign for “District Societies,” advocated by Mr. R. A. Palmer (General Secretary of the Co-operative Union). For administrative purposes the Co-operative Union divides Britain into nine sections. In each section there are a number of district associations in which from a dozen to twenty Co-operative Societies may be grouped. Mr. Palmer’s proposal is that the societies in a district should agree to get together to provide co-operative services (funeral, undertaking, boot repairing, optical services, for example) on a federal basis. These are services which many of the small societies cannot undertake as single units. It is possible that there will be developments in this field when the war ends.

The British Co-operative Movement is pulling its weight in the nation’s war effort. Many of the factories owned by the two Wholesale societies, as well as those of the productive societies, are employed on war work, and the Movement as a whole has invested in Government securities at least £150,000,000 (600,000,000 dollars).
CO-ORDINATION IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE TRADING

THE Atlantic Charter states that the United Nations will endeavor with due respect to their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great and small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity. For cooperators these are welcome though not new words. The same basic thoughts have been heralded at International Cooperative Congresses. Followers of the free trade slogan in general have declared themselves with no less vigor in favor of such a policy, and even industrialists are among the sympathizers. We may, therefore, presume that the economic warfare which prevailed in the years 1935-1939 will not return after the signing of the Peace Treaty. But will we see a free movement of goods?

Restoration of international free trade is not expected to be possible right away. It is obvious that government agencies for some time to come will continue to decide what and how and from where various commodities shall be imported in the different countries. It stands to reason that the ties will only gradually be released, although voices are heard already claiming an immediate return to free trade, based on the interpretation of the Atlantic Charter that it promises free commercial and industrial exchange. The American Chamber of Commerce, at its recent annual meeting, expressed the hope that all controls will be removed as quickly as possible in order to provide for the resumption and maintenance of private enterprise. And there need be no doubt that the pressure will go on in that direction.

The same atmosphere surrounds the interest shown from various sides in the renewal of the Reciprocal Agreements Act as applied by the U.S.A. State Department. "The green light to go ahead rebuilding a free world" it was recently called. Even the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) has reversed its traditional opposition to this part of U.S.A. foreign policy. Mr. F. C. Crawford, President of the NAM, stated in this connection: "We are fighting as a world nation. After the war we must trade as one. Diplomatic peace and economic warfare cannot live side by side."

Whatever the outcome may be, we can be sure that private business will do everything in its power to prevent diversion of foreign trade from regular pre-war channels, and to get men versed in private enterprise in all government bureaus so long as such bureaus are still needed. They claim that private merchants alone can handle foreign trade with skill.

National Cooperative Movements in the free countries are discussing plans for post-war reconstruction, but little or no attention is given to international trade in those plans. The reason may be that international trade is not exactly foremost in the minds of people in general. Rebuilding must start at home, and it will be some time before the National Movements, especially in the victim countries, have their houses in order again.

Nevertheless, we ought to start some constructive thinking and planning about the course to be taken in the rehabilitation of International Cooperative Trade. In the past we have lagged behind in this field and progressed rather slowly from an organizational standpoint. Our international trade program lacked a constructive policy—it was too loosely knit and rather haphazard. Contact with the American Cooperative Trading Agency for post-war conference of the leaders of the National Cooperative Movements—such a conference should speed up results considerably and make it possible to publish an outline of future international cooperative trade policy, based upon experience and leading up to reconstruction along the lines of co-ordination. A two-way work program from the Agricultural and Consumer's Cooperatives cannot fail to make an impression upon a world anxious to discover signs of a new and better economy when peace is declared. An excellent starting point for such a plan might be found in a summary of all the physical equipment for international cooperative trade in existence before the war.

Oldest of all are the various buying agencies of the British Wholesales in important harbors and markets overseas. The cooperative tea plantations in Ceylon and the Indies and the cocoa buying department of the English and Scottish Wholesale on the Gold Coast of Africa must be specially mentioned. Their prominent position is due to the large volume they handle.

The Scandinavian Wholesale (Nordisk Andelsforbund) also has a strong position in the markets. It is now 24 years old, has headquarters in Copenhagen and a branch office in London, and represents five National Wholesale of Northern Europe. The export connections of the Luma Bulb factory in Stockholm and the ventures of Kooperativa Forbundet in Persia, Java, and Argentina, must be added to get a true picture of Scandinavian initiative abroad.

Furthermore, there is the International Cooperative Trading Agency—the sublimation of the more or less loose experiments in collective purchasing in...
Wholesale Society to which most of the Wholesale cooperatives, and a Palestine marketing organization are affiliated. Though more spirited by the International Cooperative European Continental, the two British existing cooperative agencies, and also because of the economic warfare of the Axis long before the fighting started.

On the agricultural side we find a similar incompletely structured. In Europe there existed the International Agricultural Purchasing Society “Intercoop” with headquarters in Rotterdam, which was doing some joint buying on the continent for its seven national members. The European Cooperative Marketing Organizations in Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Bulgaria, and Hungary, and also those from French Morocco and Algiers, especially interested in the British market, used either private agents or the newly established International Cooperative Trading Agency, while some worked direct with the British Wholesales. Only the Danish farmers had their own representatives in the British market.

Agricultural producers of three of the overseas members of the British Empire—Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—were and still are fortunate in having a very successful sales organization—“The Overseas Farmers’ Cooperative Federation,” with elaborate salesrooms and offices in London. A similar set-up, especially for dairy products, is the New Zealand Producer’s Association, also with headquarters in London. The English C.W.S. is represented on the Board of both Organizations.

American Export Cooperatives, most prominent in the fruit trade, formerly all worked on their own; they sold in the European Markets through private agents, while one or two kept offices in London. Coordination was practically absent in the entire field. However, direct contact was established with the British Consumers’ Wholesales, with the Scandinavian Wholesale, and with the International Cooperative Trading Agency.

Consumers’ and Agricultural Supply Cooperatives in the United States before the war had hardly reached the stage where they could be interested in International trade, with the exception of Consumers’ Cooperative Association in North Kansas City. This progressive Wholesale acted internationally more in the function of producer, selling lubricating oils and grease to European and Canadian Wholesales. After the war the American Regional Agricultural Purchasing cooperatives, in the meantime grown up and handling both consumers’ goods and agricultural supplies, will undoubtedly play a role in the international theatre. Sixteen of them own eight petroleum refineries with pipelines, seven oil compounding plants, a grease factory, two vegetable canning plants, various fertilizer factories, a tractor factory, and a milking machine plant. Two central buying agencies are making successful efforts towards a strong position in the American market through combination of purchasing power.

Growing attention to cooperative possibilities has been shown lately in South America, where Professor Fabra Ribas has been extremely active. And, although large-scale cooperative marketing or buying has hardly developed, some day participation may be expected from that side. Rice, coffee and fruit growers are among those who realize the value of working together and it takes only one step more to start an export office. Cooperative organizations which should be mentioned in this connection are, for example: the Sao Paulo Federation of Coffee Cooperatives (Brazil); South Rio Grande Lard Cooperative (Brazil); Cooperative Fruticola Elqui Hurtado Ltd. (Chile).

A review of the whole field shows that there are great possibilities if only we are willing to subordinate national or regional interests and collaborate towards successful international action. If that can be accomplished we shall see international cooperative trade arrive on a much higher plane than was possible before the war. It will probably attract the attention of world economists and governments and become the first hopeful attempt to create a beginning of order in a domain so susceptible to market and political influences of all kinds. And an International Cooperative Wholesale, not in the form of a rigid centralization, but more in the way of a federation with offices all over the world, might become a reality at last. Matters of financing will have to be considered at the same time. The creation of a Cooperative Import and Export Bank through which documents of sailing goods should pass for preference, would probably prove of the greatest value for a healthy development of our trade—and this need not be a Utopia in view of cooperative banking experience.

The complications may prove to be insurmountable, but the least we can do is to have a detailed work plan prepared by experienced men. Last minute improvisations no longer fit in with the present world and might result in a step backwards. Ahead of us lies an immense cooperative field to be made arable. Publication and discussion of a blueprint of how it could be done in the most efficient way may prove to be very helpful, if disclosed at the proper moment. It is a challenge to the minds of international cooperative leaders.

THE COOPERATIVE WORLD ECONOMIC PLAN AND OTHER ECONOMIC PROPOSALS

What Economic Program Should the World Adopt?

E. R. Bowen

The problems of world organization could be summarized as being these three:

First, the spiritual and mental acceptance by the people of the necessity of a world organization, if political wars and economic depressions are to be eliminated;

Second, the realization by the people that a democratic world political organization would require: first, a legislative body to make international laws; second, a judicial body to interpret them; third, an executive body to administer them; and fourth, a policing body to deal with infractions of the laws;

Third, the recognition that a permanent democratic world political organization must be preceded by and be based upon an effective cooperative world economic organization.

October, 1943

Post-war political programs are being proposed in innumerable numbers and are being discussed widely by the people, as they should be.

But we should all recognize that political structures rest on economic foundations. We saw the League of Nations, the World Court, and other political organizations wrecked in part because the necessary international economic foundations were not laid.

The first necessity is that we build a sound economic foundation for a stable political world. The economic proposals that are being made should be thoroughly studied. All have one similarity—agree that we must achieve abundance and employment for all.

As number one, consider the proposals being formulated by the Committee for Economic Development. The chairmen of this committee, sponsored by the U.S.
Department of Commerce and made up of members of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, Railway Executives Association, American Bankers Association and other national business and banking bodies, is Paul G. Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corporation. In a recent address he said that to solve unemployment "We have got to have a rip-roaring, hell-raising, risk-taking economy."

One looks in vain, in the literature put out by the Committee, for any sign of understanding that the profit-monopoly system cannot be restructured if we are to have abundance and employment for all. Instead, the entire appeal of the Committee is for the revival of the "free enterprise" or "American-way" system, which is misinterpreted by the context to mean the same profit-monopoly system which has always gotten us into depressions and wars. There is little or no evidence that big business and banking are willing to lower voluntarily prices and interest rates to consumers, raise pay to producers, and democratize ownership and control of industry and finance, which are necessary to have abundance and employment. Instead, the trend is toward monopoly dictatorship in control of both our economic and political systems.

As number two, we put the program advocated by the Communists. The alliance of the United States with Russia in the second World War brings the question of the possible adoption of Communism by the United States to the forefront in any discussion. It is, however, generally accepted that the groundwork has not yet been laid in the United States, and that it would require years of greater limitation of the religious, educational and political freedom which we have, as well as years of greater economic distress, before the seeds would be ripe enough to bring about the revolutionary growth of Communism in the United States. A period of Monopoly-State Fascism would, at least, more likely precede a period of State Communism in this country, if either were ever to be adopted.

As number three, we list the proposal presented by the president of the Morris Plan Bankers Association to the National Retail Credit Association. This plan is reprinted in the Congressional Record under the headline "Consumer Credit as the Guartnent to Full Post-War Employment." Such a proposal should be carefully studied.


There you have the heart of the proposal. The key is MORE DEBT. The post-war activity which we have visualized as a necessity must have given it life, must have consumer credit. ... If consumer credit is not the answer to the distribution problem, it comes close to being the chief stone of the arch."

It is difficult to understand, however, how DEBT, which is itself an economic cause of depressions, revolutions and wars, can ever supply abundance and employment. Instead, the trend is toward monopoly dictatorship in control of both our economic and political systems.

As number four, we include the basic proposal advocated for the past decade by Brookings Institution, under Dr. Harold G. Moulton's direction. This comes far nearer to making sound economic sense. They spent $130,000 in a study of the economy after 1929 and concluded that the primary necessity for all to have abundance and employment was to lower prices. Quite a simple conclusion indeed! Brookings showed by unquestionable statistics that where those who were the owners received and saved too much. They could neither consume what they received nor invest profitably what they saved. Accordingly, the crash came in 1929, as it had come. (Read their conclusions in the pamphlet "Income and Economic Progress," price $10.)

Now, in 1943, they are again repeating the same conclusions. Brookings is now in the process of publishing a book, the chapters of which are appearing in advance in pamphlet form. The general title of the book is to be "Price Making in a Democracy." Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, author, summarizes the first part of the book by saying "A major conclusion was that maximum productivity could be maintained only if the gains resulting from technical improvements were democratically passed on to the general public in the form of lower consumer prices."

However, he also concludes pessimistically that "The prospect that businessmen will see how to do this after the war seems much less reassuring than that technical and operative problems will be well met."

The major difficulty with the Brookings proposals is that they do not propose any practical way of putting lower prices to consumers in effect. Furthermore, they do not advocate any widespread democratization of the ownership and control of industry and finance, which would also be necessary.

Economic proposal number five is The Cooperative World Economic Plan presented by the Consumers' Cooperative Movement.

Under the Cooperative World Economic Plan, both excessive ownership and excessive tenancy would be eliminated — ownership of productive property would be had by all.

Under the Cooperative World Economic Plan both excessive profit by the few and excessive debt by the many would be eliminated — economic control would be exercised by all.

Under the Cooperative World Economic Plan, both the unjust riches of the few and the unjust poverty of the many would be eliminated — incomes would be justly distributed among all.

Under the Cooperative World Economic Plan, prices to consumers would be lowered and pay to producers would be raised — a just price and a just pay would distribute purchasing power to all.

Under the Cooperative World Economic Plan, both excessive unemployment and excessive labor would be eliminated — employment and leisure would be available to all.

The Cooperative World Economic Plan would prevent both big monopoly and big government dictatorship.

The Cooperative World Economic Plan provides for freedom of access to raw materials, freedom of trade, and a free and stable monetary system.

The Cooperative World Economic Plan is no untried proposal. It is in successful operation on a large scale. "Look to Sweden," as Life Magazine urged a number of years ago. The Scandinavian countries, until attacked by large nations, were working examples of what economic cooperation can do in balancing ownership, control, incomes, employment, purchasing power, abundance and leisure among all, and in eliminating economic conflicts.

These countries were not only organized cooperatively internally, but were developing international economic cooperation as well. All that is necessary is for the large nations to follow the example of cooperative Scandinavia. There is no other economic way to plenty and peace.

We believe that a comparison of all the economic plans for world organization will convince everyone who seeks economic freedom and justice for all that the Cooperative World Economic Plan is the economic plan for the world to adopt.
COOPERATION AND THE ORGANIZATION OF LEISURE

(Editors' Note: The June-July issue of the Digest of the Cooperative Press, published by the International Cooperative Alliance, is devoted entirely to condensations from various cooperative publications of some of the general and more fundamental aspects of recreation. Leisure time activities of cooperatives in the United States, England, France and Brazil are described.)

THE problem of the Cooperative Organization of Leisure was brought directly into the sphere of the work of the International Cooperative Movement, according to the Digest, by a proposition submitted by the French National Federation of Consumers Societies at the ICA Congress held in London in 1934. This proposition said, in part, "Cooperation is a system whose purpose is not only to supply food and material wants by collective association, on a non-profit basis; it can also satisfy most advantageously, both in quality and quantity, the requirements of health, rest and recreation."

The 1934 Congress adopted a resolution in favor of an inquiry into the means and results which had been obtained in the organization of leisure. The inquiry revealed that in several countries no organized leisure existed either in the cooperative movement or outside; in others some attention was given to the subject in conjunction with the educational activities of the movement, either locally or nationally. The most advanced cooperative organization of leisure was in France, where a National Committee of Leisure had been created as an auxiliary to the French National Federation and with which were associated 120 local or regional committees. However, the extent to which the cooperative movement had considered the organization of leisure and the interest which was manifested were so limited that it was decided not to pursue the movement for the time being. "Since then, however," the Digest says, "the idea has been revived and promises to become a lively sphere of cooperative activity in the postwar period."

A considerable portion of the Digest is devoted to what American cooperators are doing and thinking in the field of recreation. This portion is based on E. R. Bowden's statements on recreation in his 13th Biennial Congress report, the report of the Cooperative League's recreation secretary, "What's Ahead in Cooperative Recreation" in the January issue of Consumers' Cooperation, and Darwin Bryan's article, "Through Play to Understanding" in the February issue of the magazine.

Youth and Leisure

Under the heading of youth and leisure, the activities of British Cooperative Youth Clubs are described. J. L. Wilson, Youth Organizer of the British Cooperative Union, points out, "The Cooperative Youth Club gives an opportunity for the development of every kind of talent, and, since Club members themselves are able to choose what they do in their time, no two Clubs have exactly the same kind of activities. The program of these cooperative youth clubs is extremely broad and gives members an opportunity of making worthwhile use of their leisure time."

The aim of the youth clubs is "To organize youth for social, cultural and recreational activity, and to teach the social significance of cooperation as a way of living." There is also a brief but inspiring description of a Children's Play Centre in Buenos Aires which was specially designed and incorporated in the largest of the block of apartments owned by El Hogar Obrero, the Building, Credit and Consumers Society in B.A.

The People's Entertainment Society

Over a year ago came the news of one of the most colorful and ambitious projects ever launched by English cooperators, "The formation of a People's Entertainment Society." The idea grew out of the huge Wembley Pageant which the London Society staged before an audience of 60,000 in 1938. Cooperative societies and their auxiliaries, trade unions and kindred bodies and individuals are members of the Society and control its activities. A statement issued by the Society declares that it "will benefit the public by giving it what it does not possess in the commercial field—a voice in ownership and control. It will benefit the artist by giving him more permanence of engagement, sane working conditions, an organic relationship to his audience, and the opportunity to develop his art in conditions not available in the commercial theatre."

Mr. Alfred P. Barnes, M.P., reporting on the completion of the first year of the P.E.S. declared, "Eventually we want to build up, through the P.E.S. an organization of people interested in our activity in every area. The margin between success and failure is very often quite small. By this organization of the audience, many of these good plays can be made into commercial successes. We want to organize the audience and the profession so they can be of mutual assistance to each other."

J. B. Priestley's play, "They Came to a City" was the first production of the P.E.S. and was an immediate success. In his book, 1943, Mr. Priestley says, referring to the P.E.S., "In my capacity as a dramatist, I am a partner in the venture and I am very glad to be, not because I was in want of support but because I have felt that it was high time the Cooperative Societies entered this new sphere of activity. It is a great thing for an outsider, to suggest what the co-ops should do or not do. But I do declare, out of some knowledge and experience of the world of drama and music and public entertainment, that there is here a wonderful opportunity for your societies."

You have the capital resources, the command of publicity and the invaluable goodwill of your vast membership. You have fed and clothed the people, and have successfully offered them a multitude of other services. But there is a world of education and inspiration, of laughter and loveliness and deep emotion, of social criticism and spiritual refreshment, into which you have not yet entered. The people are ready now—and most certainly will be ready when this war is over to explore and enjoy that world, of which most of them have had so far had nothing but a few glimpses, for both them and us."

And I know no other organization better able to attempt it than the cooperative societies."

Concluding the section of the Digest on cultural activities, is a discussion of the organization of a Drama Association and a Drama Festival in England. R. W. Burt, Festival Secretary of the Midland Cooperative Dramatic Association and Education Secretary of the Coventry Cooperative Society, defines the objectives of a Drama Association as "to encourage and develop the production of dramatic performances, organize drama festivals and generally further the appreciation and practice of drama, acting, play production and play writing, and to raise the standard of acting and production." It is Mr. Burt's hope that sectional drama groups will be formed which can be federated into a national association. "Everyone interested in the educational side of the cooperative movement," he says, "will agree that the formation of such an association is long overdue."

The wide scope of cultural activities in which cooperators are participating as evidenced by this special Digest report is most encouraging to all those who believe that cooperation is "a way of life."
YES, WOMEN ARE ACTIVE!

WE'VE always had a suspicion that women were carrying more than their weight on the cooperative front. Now a questionnaire proves it. 

Sent out to regional wholesales several months ago, 9 replies are in. Enough figures are at hand to enable us to draw some conclusions. But read on. You'll not be burdened with a lot of figures.

In 8 out of the 9 regionals reporting, women are busy with cooperative building. They are organized in some areas as separate guilds; in others as mixed groups; and in still others as women's committees. But the form of organization does not seem to interfere with participation and activity. Reports generally showed a strong leaning in the direction of mixed groups. One regional wrote, "We are primarily interested in making our co-ops family affairs."

In every area women play a big part on committees that are necessary to keep the wheels going around. They appear to be more concerned with education generally than with any other one subject, but publicity, recreation and community service activities come in for their share of support.

The number of shares held by women varies from almost none to as high as 40% in the Central States Cooperatives. As yet, it does not seem that women have realized the value of ownership and the right of having a vote to cast in their own names.

From 0 to 50-50

Women turn out fairly well at annual meetings—in Pennsylvania it's half and half—but not all areas do so well. A few women have established themselves on boards of directors, but mostly it is a "rare" case. There seems to be no limit to the kinds of projects women are undertaking—promotion of study classes, sponsorship of youth work, staging of food demonstrations, organization of day nurseries and information centers, development of poster contests, and in general doing a lot of tasks about the cooperative that would be left undone if the women did not take a hand.

Throughout there is evidence that as cooperatives progress into food and home supply items, women become more and more active. This only proves that those who believe cooperatives to be a "man's affair" are wrong. Women move in fast as the co-op handles more and more of the articles in which they have a direct interest.

When one looks at the answers to the questionnaire and finds out how many women are employed, that is where the count is heavy. In every regional they are listed as managers, clerks and bookkeepers right down the line. Of course, this trend has been speeded up during the war, but it had begun before 1939 and will probably be a continuing fact.

All regionals report plans to do more through papers, bulletins, study groups, guilds and women's committees to entice more and more women to participate in cooperative affairs. Soon, it would seem, in this cooperative business you will not be able to tell whether there are more women than men with their sleeves rolled up above their elbows.

Sshss --

SSH, maybe it shouldn't be news yet, but . . . beginning January 1st, CONSUMERS' COOPERATION will be replaced with an entirely new magazine. New editor, new format, new size and layout, new content. A magazine beginning with a running start on the second century of cooperation.

Consumers' Cooperation

October, 1943
less imagination, less intellectual ability, less culture than any other business I know. But the banking business will continue, I fear, to be protected by the superstition Hollis talks of until cooperators organize.

But the glimpse of Hamilton's successful program of fastening Americans to the chariot of the bankers and of Jefferson's unending struggle to free the people is intriguing. The story of red-headed Andy Jackson and of his successful war on the money-lords is inspiring. The story of Lincoln's escape from credit superstition and Lincoln's ability to laugh at his ignorance is encouraging. The story of Cleveland's humiliating surrender to J. P. Morgan—well that is the same type of humiliating surrender we all have to our discredit. The story of the Federal Reserve Board of our day and its amazing authority, the story of this institution which nestles in its white marble building in Washington, nestles almost in the shadow of Lincoln's monument, that is the story which will put fire under your temperature if your soul still lives. There is the 'white house' of greatest authority.

But the one story millions of our people must learn, must absorb, is the story of what 'the public debt' means; that is the story of 'profit slavery,' that it now is an ominous shadow, an ugly ogre, terrifying because of public apathy and public superstition and incredible public ignorance. The hurricane winds behind those ominous shadows make the bells toll for freedom and democracy. Our children and our children's children—forgive, forgive.

It's NEWS that... Vice-President Henry A. Wallace took time off in his tour of Chicago recently to inspect the consumer co-op store, owned and operated by consumers in the Ida B. Wells Homes, a modern housing development for Negroes. As he was photographed in the co-op store with a sack of co-op flour in his arms, the Vice-President asked an inquiring reporter if he hadn't read the chapter on cooperatives in his book 'Who's Constitution' (Published in pamphlet form by the Cooperative League under the title 'Cooperation: The Dominant Economic Idea of the Future'). Then Henry Wallace said 'I have always believed that the Swedish people have the ideal approach, corporate form of business where corporations do the best job, government supervision where it is needed, government ownership where the government does the best job, and the cooperatives where they do the best job; in other words, cooperatives where there are excessive profits and danger of monopoly. It is a four-way approach—it will take everything we've got to beat the cartels.' It's NEWS that... A group of Trade Association men meeting at the Hotel Morrison in Chicago last month formed first the League for the Protection of Private Enterprise and then changed the name to the innocuous title the Central Coordinating Group, Inc. Purpose: to try to kill the co-ops. Method: legislative action in Washington with a couple of ex-Congressmen drafting legislation and buttonholing their former buddies; pressure tactics to get suppliers to boycott the co-ops; and an 'educational' campaign on the dangers of cooperation. It's NEWS that... Representatives of fourteen United Nations Governments met with representatives of The Cooperative League in Washington at an informal luncheon October 8 to make preliminary plans for action on International Cooperative Relief and Reconstruction. The informal meeting will be followed by a full dress conference of cooperative and government representatives from Europe, Asia and America in January.

Consumers' Cooperation November 1943

Pennsylvania Co-op's Skyscraper Seed Mill

THE LITERATURE WE NEED AND HOW TO DISTRIBUTE IT Leslie A. Hart
THE RELATION OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP TO COOPERATION Carl D. Thompson
CO-OPS, CULTS, AND CONSUMERS Fred Rodell
CAPITOL LETTERS John Carson
PLANS ROLLING FOR CO-OP CENTENNIAL

NATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR COOPERATIVE LEADERS
YOUR New Magazine—CO-OP

Starting with the new year, and getting a running start on the second century of cooperation, CONSUMERS COOPERATION will be replaced by a new magazine: New Name, New Editor, New Size, New Format, New Layout, New Content. This will be a bigger and better magazine, edited for the leadership of the cooperative movement—co-op board members and officers, managers, education committees, study action groups, employees and working members of local cooperatives, regionals, mills, factories and refineries, students of cooperation and friends of cooperation who put their shoulder to the wheel at every opportunity to help build freedom through economic democracy.

That's a big order and a big promise.

Current subscribers to CONSUMERS COOPERATION will find the new magazine in their mail box early in January. New price will be $2.50 per year. If your subscription is about to expire send in your check for $2.50 and we will send you the remaining issues of 1943 plus a full year's subscription to—CO-OP. SSSH — That's a secret too.

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U.S.A.
167 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

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WHAT WILL HAPPEN WHEN CAPITALIST-MONOPOLY AND COMMUNIST-BUREAUCRACY MEET IN BERLIN?

To understand the world-shaking events of today we must look farther than the political-military moves on the international chess board and study the industrial-financial struggles behind them.

We are about to witness the greatest meeting of economic powers which the world has ever seen.

Capitalist-monopoly represents private ownership gone to the extreme.
Communist-bureaucracy represents political ownership gone to the extreme.

These extremes of dictatorial economic power of the few over the many, in their private and political forms, are approaching one another from the East and the West. What will happen when they meet in Berlin? Will they permit the cooperative economic organizations of the people to survive and grow and eventually to make them behave?

There is no doubt that the people of Europe, if they are allowed to do so, will organize themselves Cooperatively, rather than Monopolistically or Bureaucratically. We have had the opportunity of attending a meeting of cooperative representatives of the countries of Europe who described their countries in such words as these: “My people are cooperatively minded.” “Cooperation is engrained in the people of my country.” So it is. But will the private and political economic dictators permit the people to organize themselves cooperatively? To do so would mean the end of the dictators, and they are not likely to easily give up their powers.

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An organ to spread the knowledge of the Consumers’ Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, in voluntary association, purchase and produce for their own use the things they need. Published monthly by The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th St., N. Y. City. On alternate years, however, published monthly excepting Nov.-Dec. issues bi-monthly. E. R. Bowen, Editor, Wallace J. Campbell, Associate Editor. Contributing Editors: Editors of Cooperative Journals and Educational Directors of Regional Cooperative Associations.

The real way we can help to answer this question is by building cooperatives stronger and faster in the United States and taking away the power of private-monopolies and political-bureaucracies over the people in our own country. An example of one large country, where the people have taken the power into their own hands and have organized themselves cooperatively in their economic affairs, as well as democratically in their religious, educational and political affairs, is the beacon light which the world needs today to challenge the people of the world to overthrow both private-monopolies and political-bureaucracies everywhere.

This is the great contribution which, we the consumers of the United States could and should make to the solution of the world’s ills.

Our faith must be strong during such days as we are in, that eventually we will reach the time when the social pendulum will cease to swing from the extremes of liberty and solidarity, which have resulted in monopoly and bureaucracy, and finally come to rest in their fusion into a cooperative organization of society, which will realize the age-old dream of liberty, equality and fraternity and guarantee to all their inalienable rights to life, liberty and property.

Two years ago, Eastern Cooperative League enunciated certain simple principles governing the production and handling of cooperative literature, and began to test them in practice. For 1941, the literature department reported total sales of $3,916. For 1942, this figure had grown to $6,031. For the first three months of 1943, the volume amounted to $2,189, or almost as much as in the first six months of the preceding year.

These figures hold interest as evidence of a better job being done in the central office, for the rate of growth on literature far outstrips that of dues-paying individual members. More importantly, they reflect not only a greater, but by all indications, a much more effective use of literature by ECL societies. Although much room remains for further coverage, beyond a doubt the literature local Co-ops are buying from ECL is reaching people, rather than accumulating on dusty racks or in back rooms. One reason is that ECL’s main emphasis is on the smaller pieces—folders, flyers, stuffers. A $100 volume is likely to represent several thousand pieces of literature, rather than a few hundred. This type of literature is usually put promptly to use.

It is too soon, of course, to arrive at any permanent conclusions on the basis of what has been learned during this brief period of experiment. Nor can it be assumed that methods that appear to be justifying themselves in ECL territory will necessarily prove equally valid elsewhere. A summary of the principles referred to, four in number, may prove of interest, however, for whatever general application they may have.

The “User” Approach

The first of these, and the fundamental one, is use. Literature is a tool: any tool functions best when designed for a specific, clearly visioned purpose. It is true a pencil can be sharpened with a carving knife, and linoleum will yield to a razor; but these instances scarcely weaken the proposition. Each piece of literature, then, should be created for a specific use—tailor-made for its job.

This “tool concept” has broad implications. It means that literature originates, in the truest sense, not in a central office but in the field, where it is to be used. First the need is observed; it in turn dictates in large measure the purpose, the audience, the form, the format, and the cost, of the piece of literature that is to meet it. Last, the literature is created within these limiting conditions. If we adopt this principle, which is nothing more than the forthright consumer approach of production for a known need, we cease to prepare or publish literature and then search around for a use for it. At the same time, we tend to strip our active inventory down to a relatively few tried-and-proven titles, relegating to the reserve shelves those which, while not without merit or special interest to a few, are not able to stand the test of the blunt question, “Yes, it looks good and it reads well—but what’s it for?”

A concomitant result of this thinking is that literature is produced to meet needs. In 1941, for example, the most acute problem of ECL societies was raising adequate capital for their businesses. Yet not a single piece of literature existed dealing with the need for and advantages of cooperative investment! A folder called
The second principle arises from the first: it is that of "small servings." Offer even a devotee a gallon of ice cream, and the new precious stuff is likely to be declined on the ground of potential indigestion. Offer the amount over a period, in more compassable quantities, and the objection is speedily overcome. However crude the analogy, it illustrates an important truth in the use of literature. The learned books, the treatments of special topics, the weightier reprints and pamphlets are, and always will be, essential for the student and the intellectual leader. But the overwhelming need of our American movement in its present stage is to create, first, awareness of the existence of such a thing as consumer cooperation, and, second, an understanding of its fundamentals.

There is little of this major and urgent field of education that cannot be covered most effectively and surely by literature that is brief, easy to read, simple in approach, and modest in objective. We do well to remember that the vast majority of our countrymen regard graduation from school—whether grade, high, or college—as a license to stop reading. Nor does it hurt to remember that some of those who go to the other extreme are more easily associated with midnight oil than the daily sweat that builds cooperatives. If we look well and hard at our main audience for cooperative literature—impatient, skeptical, uninterested in our movement because uniformed about it—the argument for shifting the emphasis in literature to small and tempting servings is likely to be won automatically. We do not ignore consumer habits when we handle groceries, farm supplies, or petroleum products. There is little reason to do so when we provide literature.

Picturize the Story

On the third principle, illustration, there is likely to be general agreement; for it is hard to find a single educator of any description who does not grant the speed and efficiency of visual methods. In the past two years our movement nationally has made progress in applying this belief to a degree that is fair cause for rejoicing. A reasonable guess might be that the proportion of unillustrated material published has shrunk to half of what it was.

The term "illustration," however, can stand examination fruitfully. Illustration is not to be confused with decoration: we have not illustrated a piece of literature by adding some pictures to an independent text. Only when the pictures reinforce and explain the words, and the words do the same for the pictures, can we claim truly to have illustrated.

Illustration to put an emotional punch in our literature we have hardly begun to exploit. How effective a technique this can be was hinted at recently when ECL produced a most modest staffer, with an appealing picture of a baby and the title "Will He Fight in the Third World War?" Response was immediate—not only in ECL territory but seemingly across the country. Orders frequently were accompanied by an enthusiastic sentence of praise; and, significantly, the piece was referred to as "the baby" staffer. In ten weeks 43 thousand of this piece were printed, against 25 thousand for a very similar companion piece, "Three Shifts A Day Now—Closed Tomorrow?" illustrated with a line drawing of a factory. It is true that illustration, especially that with emotional appeal, is apt to raise costs; but as has been pointed out by one cooperative writer, "it is cheaper to mail a letter without a stamp, but the message doesn't get there."

Spread the Cooperative Story Freely

The final principle of the four is simply "give." Our aim must be to get our literature out, to pepper the countryside with it. We must distribute it in such a way and with such the philosophy of the farmer spreading fertilizer: not nugget by nugget with a pair of watchmaker's tweezers. We are out to tell our story to America. But if we stop to ask each of the 135,000,000 fractions of America to fork over a few pennies before we let him into heaven, we are going to have a thin line at the pearly gate.

Somehow the bill will have to be met, of course; but if we apply the first two principles above, it may prove to be smaller than we think, and Co-op ingenuity will find the means. Always in cooperation, education is good business. A third of a cent spent in advertising may produce one purchase. The same amount invested in give-away literature may result in one more cooperator, and a life-time of purchases. Education is worth subsidizing when necessary; but properly used it more often becomes a wagon that pushes the horse.

Progressively, ECL is encouraging member societies to give rather than sell literature. Where a few years ago small pieces were charged for, they are now almost universally handed out. A straw in this wind is the popularity of a newly produced "New Member Kit Folder," designed to enclose a selection of basic literature, by-laws, financial statement, and so forth, and to be presented to each new member on joining. The practice is so sensible that education chairmen are finding the means to meet the expense involved, often by using initiation fees previously put to no special purpose.

A caution is necessary at this point—nothing in the "give" program should be taken to negate the great, and almost unexplored, possibilities of developing substantial sales of higher-cost publications to consumers actively interested in reading them. In fact, we may expect just such a consumer demand to arise from effective distribution of preliminary pieces.

Promoting the Cooperative Literature Program

In testing these principles, ECL has learned too that a successful literature program takes time to develop, and even the best literature must be promoted. One can hardly expect education chairmen to order material they know little about, or for which the use is not clear. Accordingly every issue of the bi-weekly News Letter devotes space to literature, and a page is
CO-OPS, CULTS, AND CONSUMERS

Fred Rodell

(EDITOR'S NOTE: We are indebted to the author and to the Progressive of Madison, Wisconsin, for permission to reprint the article below. Mr. Rodell is a member of the Board of Directors of the New Haven, Conn., cooperative store and is a member of the Law Department of Yale University. We need more constructive self criticism such as this.)

It is high time somebody took the cooperative movement to one side and told it why it hasn't been making a hit with the boys. Nobody asked me to do the job and nobody will thank me for doing it, but nevertheless I'm electing myself a committee of one to inform my fellow cooperators of what even their best friends won't tell them. I refer to the chronic group halitosis of the cooperative movement.

Of course "Halitosis" is used in a metaphorical sense. The breath of the cooperator, his teeth presumably scrubbed with salt and baking soda, smells just as sweet as does that of the ad-reading scudder who squanders his quarters on Colgate's or Kolynos. It is a halitosis of the whole personality of which I speak—a militant absence of oomph that manages to keep the boys away in droves. In fact, the cooperative movement constantly reminds me of the good girl who, not quite content with being good, makes a virtue of being unattractive as well.

There is no reason why this should be so. There is no reason why the boys and the men and, if I may drop the metaphor for a moment, the women—particularly the women—should not be flocking to the cooperative movement in far greater numbers than the statistics of steady but modest membership growth would indicate. There is no reason—except their own grim and deliberate lack of glamour—why co-ops in these United States should not be as big and plentiful and powerful as they are in many countries abroad.

Mr. Webster's Definition

For the basic idea of cooperatives, as I understand it, makes great and simple sense. (And incidentally, it is the consumers' cooperatives, the bulk and the backbone of the movement, with which I am here concerned.) That idea, as Webster's dictionary puts it, is of "a business enterprise or society whose object is to enable its participants or members to buy or sell to better advantage by eliminating middlemen's profits."

This brief definition will doubtless offend many a devout cooperator by its omission of several of the Rochdale principles. Nevertheless, Mr. Webster went straight to the meat of the matter, regardless of the trimmings. The sole real selling point, the only excuse for existence, of cooperatives is to save their members money by cutting out unnecessary profits somewhere along the production-distribution-consumption line.

Just think what a smart advertising man or publicity man (oh I know—perish the thought) could do in the way of selling a money-saving scheme like that to the housewives of America. Then look at the drop in the bucket of the American economy that our cooperatives have achieved. It is to weep.

Nor can this be blamed, as cooperators are wont to blame it, on the comfortable excuse that ordinary avenues of propaganda are largely closed to the co-ops. True, the co-ops had to fight, a few months back, to get a short series of programs on a national network. But I listened to as much of that series as I could keep awake through, and so far as selling the cooperative movement was concerned, it might as just as well have been suppressed. Solemn sermons and bouncy pep-talks appeal only to a highly selective audience most of whom are probably co-operators already.

The mails are open to co-op propaganda. Ever read any co-op literature? Don't. It may discourage you from joining the movement. Invariably dull, insultingly clubby, and somehow strangely smug, most cooperative publications sound like a cross between a Boy Scout bulletin and a lower-income-group Junior League journal.

Two Symbolic Incidents

Then too, co-ops can—and frequently do—use the good old-fashioned way of putting ideas across by holding open meetings. Ever go to a Rochdale-inspired rally, or to one of the more intimate kaffeeklatsches, where good cooperators get together to drum up enthusiasm and new members? Don't. At the worst, you'll be made an itty-bitty bit sick; at the best, you'll be bored to death and non-membered.

In short, if you're contemplating joining the cooperative movement, by all means do it on the simple basis of the economic validity of its major premise, i.e., that cutting out profits cuts costs to consumers—and do it quickly before any of its ardent apostles get after you with the printed page or the spoken word.

Why is it that American cooperators have made such a mess of a wonderful opportunity for mass appeal? I think I know why, but before telling all I'm going to relate a couple of symbolic little incidents—and maybe you can guess the answer yourself.

One hot Summer day not long ago, at a meeting of one of the bigger Eastern co-ops, a brash new board member proposed that the store stock and sell beer. The proposal fell with a dull thud, was kicked around briefly, and voted down. Not that it was impractical—for concededly the store would have been helped financially. Not that it would not have been a real service to many members, who bought all their groceries at the co-op and then had to shop elsewhere for beer.

No. The proposal was voted down because the sale of beer in the store would have offended a few "old and loyal co-operators"—two or three stiff and ancient ladies and a couple of gentlemen of the
For the average consumer — meaning the average citizen — is not the least bit interested in adopting a new religion. He is interested in any reasonable and legal way of getting more for his money, and he could be sold the cooperative idea if only he were approached as he likes to be approached — by a salesman and not by a preacher.

The average citizen is instantly repelled by the sterile and righteous stuff that passes as publicity or propaganda among professional cooperators. Like all professional do-gooders, they cannot get out of their heads or their words that fatal messianic attitude toward the as yet unreconstructed heathen. They keep insisting on converts when they ought to be out for customers.

And so the cooperative movement keeps trudging along an unnecessarily steep and rocky path. It deserves a better fate.

But it will never achieve one until those who control it learn how to pronounce "consumers' cooperative." The accent should be on the consumers, not on the cooperative.

And I'm terribly afraid that, as one of the first steps, that will require dressing the prim old movement up in short skirts, a little lipstick, and just a touch of Toujours a Toi behind the ears.

THE RELATION OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP TO COOPERATION

A Plea for a Realistic Appraisal of Both Ideas

(Carl D. Thompson, Director of the Public Ownership League of America)

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Is there a place for both co-operative and public ownership? Mr. Thompson, who believes in both, thinks there is. He has long been one of the great sacrificial servants of society.)

It has always seemed to me that cooperation and public ownership were very closely related and complementary the one to the other. If this interrelation were more fully understood and appreciated it would be helpful both to the cooperative and public ownership movements.

Many Common Objectives

Both movements have certain fundamental objectives in common. Both seek to avoid the overcharges and the burdens of excess profits. Both undertake to put services on a non-profit basis and render services at cost. Both seek to develop experience and training in democracy — the management and operation of business that is of a community nature. Both involve the necessity of a large degree of education of the people concerned. And both have common enemies to meet and overcome.

Wherein, then, do they differ if at all? Or is either one sufficient to meet our economic problems without the assistance and cooperation of the other?

Public Ownership Limited

As I see it, and I believe that in this I can speak for most all public ownership advocates and quite certainly those who belong to the Public Ownership League, public ownership applies only to those basic public utilities of such nature, extent and power as to be difficult if not impossible of control except through public ownership. This includes what are generally known as "natural monopolies" — concerns where competition is wasteful or has been eliminated by monopoly control; where community service requires a franchise or public grant; where the power involved threatens the control of the civic as well as the economic welfare of the community and exploits it, thus destroying the private property of its people, their opportunity to find employment and returns to labor adequate to maintain a standard of living commensurate to our productive powers.

These would include such public utilities as water supplies, educational facilities, postal service, police and fire protection, natural resources, electric power, communication and transportation systems.

We do not believe in the public ownership of everything as some of our critics would have the public believe. We do not believe in or advocate the public ownership of farms, of drug stores, barber shops, or beauty parlors, of homes, of small factories, of food or clothing. We are neither socialists nor communists. In fact we want as little public ownership as possible — not as much as possible.

Where Cooperation Comes In

And here is where cooperation comes in. There is a wide field of ownership and operation where there is to a dangerous degree a threat of monopoly control that can best be protected by cooperative organizations. Consumer cooperatives have had a world-wide experience in the ownership and operation of stores, creameries, marketing, manufacturing and shipping and many other lines. In recent years it has entered the field of production in many lines including the refining of oil. The purchase by the cooperative whole-
sale organizations of the middle west of the $5,000,000 refinery at McPherson, Kansas, is a notable example of this new line of cooperative enterprise.

Rural Electric Cooperatives

Another striking example of recent cooperative effort is that of the Rural Electric Cooperatives with the help of the United States Federal Rural Electrification Administration. Here is an enterprise to which by the end of 1942 the United States Government had loaned $480,432,198 to 795 cooperatives, 52 public bodies, and a few private companies, serving over 1,012,000 farmers. Its rapid development and far-reaching service and huge savings are an amazing achievement.

Where Public Ownership Comes In

What, now, has all this to do with public ownership? Just this:

There is a large field where selfishness and greed have led men to operate various lines of business in their own interests, charging excessive rates and pocketing the profits, but where the profits are too small and too complicated to be successfully operated by the government either municipal, state or federal. The more of this type of business that can be taken over and operated by voluntary consumers and producers cooperatives the easier the task of the governmental operation, and the greater the chance of the success of public ownership in those fields where it must operate.

The Less Public Ownership the Better

Public ownership is a far-reaching and difficult task beset by innumerable obstacles. And that is true whether it is the more simple form of municipal ownership of water, gas, transportation, or electric power, or the larger field of electric power such as the TVA, Boulder Dam, or the Bonneville-Coulee project. Problems of competent personnel, of men of sufficient technical training and experience; problems of meeting and overcoming opposition, of legislative and financial restrictions and sometimes even of constitutional injunctions; problems of political ineptness and often of sabotage and disloyalty. And greater the problems and projects requiring public ownership, the greater the demands of efficient management and operation.

So it comes down to this—that the less public ownership we can have, the better chance we have of success. And, therefore, the more of the field the cooperatives can take over and operate on a non-profit service at cost basis, the better for public ownership and for all concerned.

Where Public Ownership Must Be

On the other hand, there are projects and problems too big, too intricate and too powerful politically and financially to be successfully controlled by voluntary cooperatives. In those fields public ownership is the only answer. And there the cooperatives should join with public ownership forces just as earnestly and just as whole-heartedly as public ownership forces should join with and help the cooperatives in their fields.

Scottish Cooperatives for Public Ownership

And this, we are happy to see, is just what the cooperatives are beginning to do. The Scottish Wholesale Society has come out for "state ownership and control of land and mines, banks and insurance, public transport; and for municipal control of gas, electricity and water, etc.," the great cooperatives of Sweden, Norway and Denmark have taken a similar stand, until the war destroyed all democratic forces for the time being, those cooperatives were not "doomed" or "absorbed" by the states. But rather they became a part of the most democratic organizations of government we have so far known. We have in those governments and countries—until the war—what is known as "mixed economies." That is, we had private ownership of enterprises best adapted to private initiative and private enterprise; cooperative ownership and operation where that served best; and public ownership where that served best.

United We May Win Democracy

The Scottish cooperatives are on the right track we believe. Certainly their long and outstanding success in the world movement of cooperation entitles them to a high degree of confidence in their judgment.

Here in America, we believe, cooperation and public ownership should work hand in hand each furnishing its contribution to the solution of our common national economic, industrial and financial problems. In that way seems the brightest hope of achieving the greatest degree of genuine democracy.

PLANS ROLLING FOR CENTENNIAL CAMPAIGN

THE year long Rochdale Centennial Campaign, which gets underway officially on Rochdale Day December 21, is already rolling along.

Several hundred cooperative educational directors, committee chairmen and others filled out centennial planning booklets deluging campaign chairman Gilmour Calkins with hundreds of new ideas for the centennial campaign. A campaign handbook based on these suggestions and on advance planning by the Centennial Committee is in the works and will be available to local cooperatives everywhere within a few weeks. A calendar of centennial events is being designed to give a step-by-step or money-by-month outline for the campaign.

National Broadcast Scheduled

Acting as curtain raiser for the centennial campaign will be a nation-wide broadcast over the BLUE NETWORK, Saturday Evening, December 18, from 10:45 to 11:00 p.m. Eastern War Time. Dr. James P. Warbasse, founder and president emeritus of The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. and I. H. Hull, president of National Cooperatives, will speak on "From Rochdale to World Cooperation."

Big Drives Scheduled or Underway

Hundreds of local cooperatives are already conducting "Clean-up and Paint-up Drives" to make their co-ops the best looking businesses in town preparing for an influx of visitors and new members next year. Slated for late fall or early winter are Capital Drives through which cooperatives will bring in new capital for constant expansion.

Keystone of the Centennial Campaign will be a One Hundred Day Membership Drive running from late in March to International Cooperative Day, July 3, 1944.

New Magazine and New Rotogravure

With the first issue of the coming year a completely new magazine CO-OP will take the place of Consumers Cooperation. The new year will bring a new size, new make-up, new content, new name, new editor. Present subscribers to Consumers Cooperation will automatically get the first issues of CO-OP.

Newest thing in the Centennial Campaign is the new magazine section which will appear practically all of the co-op periodicals in the country. Titled CO-OP CENTURY, the rotogravure magazine section will devote its first edition December 21 to a picture story illustrating the development from Rochdale to international cooperation. More than half a million copies of the first edition will be printed. At least two other issues will appear during the centennial.

These are only a few of the practical plans already underway to help turn the second century of cooperation into the cooperative century.
THEY ARE RIDING AGAIN

THE hoof beat of the circuit rider sounds once again in the cooperative movement. Well, perhaps not literally, but if gas rationing continues, there may yet be more truth than nonsense in the phrasing.

In any case, the circuit school idea is coming back into vogue. Coming back to meet a need that arises from rationed time and rationed travel. A need of carrying education and learning out to people that now find it difficult to get away from the home base.

A Common Cry

"In these times how can we train our employees, our directors, our committee members? They can't get away from their jobs and their 'A' cards are already stretched to the limit." The answer is clear. We must go to them. That is where this circuit riding business comes in.

It was a technique used long ago. Up Midland way they were "riding the circuit" back in 1934 and 1935. Now it is being taken up widely. Eastern Cooperative Wholesale used it last fall to bring information to directors and managers, Central Cooperative Wholesale has followed the plan off and on for years, especially in the training of directors. Consumers Cooperative Association is considering the idea for use this fall.

A Simple Technique

Here's how the idea works. A fieldworker from the wholesale maps out a route. Let us say, 5 communities. In these 5 cooperatives an employees' training program is to be carried out. On Monday night the fieldman meets with the employees in Community A. On Tuesday in B and so on. He continues to make this circuit for 5 or 6 times or however long the training sessions are to last.

This same kind of circuit can be worked out equally well to help directors in doing a better job to show committee members how to carry out their responsibilities and to develop members to take on jobs like that of steering an educational committee or of organizing Study-Action groups.

Wisdom from past experience suggests that the circuit return at weekly intervals rather than monthly. Learning is faster and more lasting when the intervals between sessions are shorter— a week is about right.

Give It a Whirl

If you have been worrying about your training problems, give this a trial. It is tailored to these days of little time and less gas. It is a thorough type of education, and one man can cover a lot of ground. If in a local you have been worrying about the IQ of your personnel and committee people, urge your regional to start a circuit in your area.

Many are the tales that are told by co-op circuit riders; of a fieldman who went 130 miles through a snowstorm to find that the meeting had been cancelled; of one who mislaid his date book and with a poor memory turned up for a meeting on the right night but in the wrong town. But there's fun on the way—stimulating talks, lively discussions, ball sessions on into the early hours. And something happens in these meetings. Proof? Years after in a community where a circuit school has been held, it will invariably be the alumnae who are up on the front seats.

C. J. McLanahan
Educational Secretary
The Cooperative League

RECREATION

PHILADELPHIA, Penn.—A Dance Jamboree and Week-end of Fun—that's what's in store for Play Cooperators and their friends November 13-14 at Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. This will be the long-awaited follow-up of the very successful party and organizational meeting held at the same spot last summer, where fifty members formed a permanent organization. Play Cooperators is a recreation cooperative with members living predominantly within a radius of fifty miles of Philadelphia but membership is open to anyone regardless of where he lives. The purpose of Play Cooperators is to foster cooperative recreation among individuals and groups; to act as a reference source for recreation materials such as folk dances, music, records, musicians and leadership and to supply information regarding groups already carrying on a program of cooperative recreation; to assist in organizing cooperative recreational programs in other organizations, especially cooperatives. Membership is $1 a year and Earl Brooks, Arden, Delaware, is treasurer.

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Miss Neva L. Boyd, formerly of Northwestern University and a staff member of the National Cooperative Recreation School since it was organized, gave a series of four lectures on recreation leadership during October under the auspices of the Milwaukee Play Co-op. The series was entitled "Social Values of Recreation and Its Leadership Problems."

NEW YORK—The winter term of the Cooperative Recreation Workshop has just been announced by the Recreation Bureau of the Eastern Cooperative League. The fifteen weeks course will give training in the kind of recreation in which everyone joins and the kind of leadership which produces a cooperative spirit. Activities include games, group singing, folk dancing, introductory dramatics, design and discussion of play activities in terms of social values and methods and techniques of teaching and leadership. Ellen Linson, James Norris, Elsie Sexton and John Steinbugler of the staffs of the National and Eastern Cooperative Recreation Schools are on the staff. This is the sixth Workshop course which has been offered.

DETROIT, Michigan—Early in November a group of cooperators and their friends got together to organize the Detroit Play Co-op. Following the example of similar groups in other cities, activities will include folk songs and dances and games with plenty of opportunity for other activities to be added as the members wish.

Two New Plays

Groups looking for short plays suitable for co-op meetings, parties, or just for fun, will be interested in two one-act plays recently published by The Cooperative League.

With The People by James Norris. This play takes place in the new location of the Community Co-op. There's a new turn-out of members with everything from baby buggies to knapsacks to help with the moving. The manager is leaving the next day and his financee will be the manager for the duration. His feelings about the store and the people in terms of some of the things we are fighting for form the theme of the play. The people are real—you'll find them in every cooperative! There are three men and six women in the cast.

A Little Thing Like This by Janet Stevenson. The subtitle of this play is "The story of Toad Lane—as it might have happened anywhere." The locale is an unpollished fishing village on the New England coast. The problems are those which faced the Rochdale weavers in more or less degree, and co-op groups everywhere. How these problems are met and what happens to the people make the play exciting. There are eight women, twelve men and three children in the cast.
JUST state the facts, was the rule laid down by my first city editor.

The fact is that in every law adopted by Congress to establish regulation for an economic or industrial activity, one principle is sacrosanct. It is that the regulators must have no pecuniary interest in the business regulated, none "to speak of" (openly) at least.

Mr. Ralph K. Davies, Deputy Petroleum Administrator for War, deputy to Secretary Harold I. Ickes, appeared before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. That committee, long known as "the railroad committee" because of the very chummy railroad atmosphere which has been developed there, has become known now also, as the "oil committee." It has been blessed and praised lavishly by Ickes and the major oil companies. One independent oil man remarked today that "whenever the major oil companies are on a hot spot, they can always arrange for a hearing before the committee."

Right now, the major oil companies have been troubled a bit by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Naval Affairs which has had some "hearings" on oil. True, the subcommittee inserted into its report at the last moment, after the printed galley sheets had been issued, a favorable attitude on the proposed increase in the price of crude oil but until that moment the subcommittee had indicated a very judicial attitude on oil. The Aiken subcommittee in the Senate also had been irritating the major oil companies and PAW, by probing relentlessly into the oil situation. Very well confirmed rumors have circulated in the House that a little group is about ready to stage a rebellion against the international oil cartel which the major oil group is promoting.

These rather insignificant uprisings in Congress began to become troublesome. Suddenly then, as before, the House Committee on Interstate Commerce arranged a hearing on oil and it was another very friendly hearing. But this friendly performance is not going to stop other Congressional committees from turning on the spotlight.

However, remembering the law against interested parties being members of government regulating bodies which are assumed to be "public interest bodies," I quote from Davies' testimony before the House Committee. Davies was revealed by the Securities and Exchange Commission as being still the vice president of Standard Oil of California at a salary of $57,500 a year, although he also is deputy petroleum administrator for war.

"Now briefly," Davies told the Committee, "I should like to introduce the directors of our principal operating divisions, since some of them were not with us at the time I originally presented the staff members to you.

"Mr. Howard Marshall, one of my Assistant Deputies and also our chief counsel. (Marshall stands.) Mr. Marshall is well known to you gentlemen and needs no further introduction I am sure." (I am not so sure. So I shall introduce Mr. Marshall.) Mr. Marshall was employed by the Standard Oil of California to which he went from the NRA oil regulating group which was in the Department of the Interior some years ago. Marshall's activities then were criticized. Ickes was urged, on several occasions, to discharge him. Ickes was warned that Marshall was going to leave NRA and go to the Standard Oil of California. Marshall did just that. Ickes then personally denounced Marshall for jumping from NRA to the oil company. But when this oil regulating job arose, Ickes brought Marshall right back.

"Mr. Bruce K. Brown," continued Mr. Davies, "my other assistant, had to be out of the city. Mr. Brown came with us on leave from the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) of which he was a director and general manager in charge of research and development.

"Well known to you gentlemen is Mr. Donald R. Knowlton, our director of production. In private life he is general supervisor of the Phillips Petroleum Company.

"And now, Mr. E. D. Cummings, our director of refining, (Mr. Cummings stands.) Mr. Cummings was borrowed by us from the Shell Oil Company, of which he is vice president in charge of refining.

"Mr. J. R. Parten, our director of transportation (Parten stands.) I believe that most of you know Major Parten who is on leave as president of the Woodley Petroleum Company, and chairman of the board of the Premier Refining Company. I might mention that Major Parten last week was awarded the plaque given annually by the Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association to the 'independent oil man' (sic) who has done the most distinguished service to the industry during the year.

John Carson
Washington Representative
The Cooperative League
Consumers' Cooperation

November, 1943

"Mr. Walter Hochuli, our director of marketing (Hochuli stands.) Mr. Hochuli was drafted from the Texas company. He is manager of that firm's central territory, embracing fifteen Middle Western States.

"Those of you who attended our informal meeting yesterday have already met the Director of our Program Division, Mr. Steward Coleman (Coleman stands.) Mr. Coleman is on leave from the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. He is the director of the economic division of that company.

"Our director of petroleum supply, Mr. Harvey Carter (Carter stands.) He came to the Petroleum Administration from the position of president of the South Shore Oil Development Company of New York.

"Mr. Frank Watts, our director of materials (Watts stands.) Mr. Watts left the position of purchasing agent for the Huribul Oil and Refining Company to join the PAW.

"Our new director of natural gas and natural gasoline, Mr. James Pew (Pew stands.) We enlisted Mr. Pew from his post of manager of the Viking Distributing Company, a subsidiary of the Virginia Gasoline and Oil Company.

"Gentlemen, I have refrained, in the interest of time, from telling you more about the background of these members of our staff. I will say merely that they represent a total of 185 man-years of experience in the oil industry. I consider them to be an all-star team, and I know you will find them ready to give you any assistance which you may want.

That is the all-star team whose first duty is, or should be, to regulate the oil industry in "the public interest" and that means in "the consumer interest." Some of these are new names. Their predecessors did their time in Washington and returned to the oil industry.
The Freedom To Be Free, by James Marshall, former president and present member of the New York City Board of Education in his recently published book, The Freedom To Be Free.

"One answer to the mammoths of the centralized government and industry and to the decline of local government lies in the consumers and producers cooperatives," writes James Marshall, "is not so much the equality which their members possess in voting and privileges of membership as in the fact that by these instruments men have undertaken to make themselves masters of their own fate as workers and as consumers."

That man can, and must, become a master of his own fate is the thesis of The Freedom To Be Free. The core of the world today, says Marshall, is man's revolt from paternalism. We have been children, working for rewards and striving to avoid punishments, but from the agency of the chaos of today may be born a maturity that will lead us to seek instead the realization of our true capacities and a respect for individual differences. When we as a nation turn away from competition and seek instead cooperation we will reveal ourselves as free from the fears and strivings of childhood.

Marshall mentions consumer cooperatives throughout his book as one expression of the new world toward which we are groping; devotes some space to a brief outline of the history and present accomplishments of the movement.

"Not alone," he writes, "have cooperatives brought economic benefits to their members; they have also self-rule, and satisfaction in management of which the members felt deprived by aggressive local politicians and the declining vitality of local governments. And while cooperatives are compatible with capitalism in that both involve free enterprise, they invert the functions of capital by making it serve the consumer instead of subjecting the company as trustee of capital to profits."

The international cooperative and labor movements, believes Marshall, can be extremely effective in international affairs as a method for educating large masses of people to the integrity and basic similarity of peoples who differ from them. One of the steps he suggests for the building of a lasting peace is creation of an effective instrument for international cooperation in the interest of the world wide consumer and producer cooperatives as an institution similar to the International Labor Office.

Margaret Bacon, Associate Editor
The ICL Cooperator

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of Consumers' Cooperation

Published monthly at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1943.

By Margaret Bacon, Business Manager.

No. 297, Reg. No. 375-L-5. (My commission expires March 30, 1945.)

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

Associate Editor—Gilman Calkins, 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Manager of the CONSUMERS' COOPERATION and Secretary—Margaret Bacon, 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is:

The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustee, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, given; also that the said paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than as trustees or have the interest secured by the trust, and that this affidavit has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

COPPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U.S.A.

By Margaret Bacon, Business Manager.

Sue before me, by Margaret Bacon, business manager.

New York, N. Y., September 15, 1943.

(Seal) ALFRED L. LAURENTS.

New York County, New York, County Clerk's No. 907, Reg. Co. 575-L-5. (My commission expires March 30, 1945.)

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HAIL AND FAREWELL

For the past quarter century CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION has been serving the cooperative movement as the official organ of The Cooperative League.

But with the new cooperative century a new journal is born—

CO-OP

The new editor describes in this issue the content and format of the forthcoming magazine. Read it and send in your subscription, $2.50 per year to

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE
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Design Service, 167 West 12 St., N. Y. C.
Rochdale Institute, 167 West 12 St., N. Y. C.

AFFILIATED REGIONAL AND NATIONAL COOPERATIVES

Name
Am. Farmers Mutual Auto Ins. Co.
Associated Cooperatives, N. Cal.
Central Cooperative Wholesale
Central States Cooperatives, Inc.
Consumers Book Cooperative
Consumers Cooperative Association
Consumers’ Cooperatives Associated Cooperative Distributors
Cooperative Recreation Service
Cone Supply Cooperative
Eastern Cooperative League
Eastern Cooperative Wholesale
Farm Bureau Cooperative Ass’n
Farm Bureau Mutual Auto Insurance Co.
Farm Bureau Services
Farmers Cooperative Exchange
Farmers’ Union Central Exchange
Grange Cooperative Wholesale
Indiana Farm Bureau Coop. Association
Midland Cooperative Wholesale
National Cooperatives, Inc.
National Cooperative Women’s Guild
Pacific Coast Student Co-op League
Pacific Supply Cooperative
Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Coop. Ass’n
Southern Cooperative League
Southern California Cooperators
United Cooperatives, Inc.
Workmen’s Mutual Fire Ins. Society

Affiliation
Affiliated
Name
Address
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Superior, Wisconsin
1313 S. Peoria St., Chicago
The Co-Op News
27 Counties Slip, N. Y. C.
N. Kansas City, Mo.
Amarillo, Texas
13 Aitor Place, N. Y.
Delaware, Ohio
Madison, Wis.
44 West 143rd Street
New York 30, N. Y.
Columbus, Ohio
Columbus, Ohio
Lansing, Michigan
Raleigh, N. C.
St. Paul, Minn.
Seattle, Washington
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Walla Walla, Wash.
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Indianapolis, Ind.
227 E. 84th St., N. Y.

FRATERNAL MEMBERS
Credit Union National Association
Madison, Wisconsin

THE PRODUCE journal

WITH THE JANUARY ISSUE OF THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE, A NEW EDITOR WILL TAKE OVER, Mr. Gilman Calkins.

Mr. Calkins has proved his ability in the field of cooperative journalism as the former Assistant Editor of The Ohio Cooperator. He has earned general recognition in the Consumers’ Cooperative Movement by his enthusiastic and efficient activities as a Director of a local cooperative in Columbus, a Director of the regional, Central States Cooperatives, in Chicago, and as Chairman of the national Publicity and Education Committee.

Under his editorship the national magazine will be expanded and will become more of a connecting link between the national, regional and local levels of the Movement. Its contents will be more of a “Why and How to Do It” nature, rather than of a philosophical nature as they have been. It will be liberally illustrated as it has not been.

With this issue, accordingly, the present editor “sings his swan song.” We are indeed happy that a full-time editor is taking over, which will mean a great advance, as compared with the editorship having been only one of many jobs and necessarily largely an over-time one.

It has indeed been a pleasure to have been able to serve the Consumers’ Cooperative Movement in the capacity of editor for the past decade and to have had the opportunity of publishing editorials and articles advocating cooperative recreation, study-action groups, employee training schools, the adoption of cash terms, etc., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Price $1.00 a year.

Published monthly by The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th St., N. Y. City.

the building up of member-owned capital, the advancement of cooperative accounting, the organization of buying clubs, the expansion of cooperative grocery buying, the entrance into production of petroleum, fertilizer, etc., the necessity and possibilities of urban cooperative development, the strengthening of cooperative organization, and other matters of vital nature to the Movement, which have and are increasingly being adopted.

The addition of Mr. Calkins to the national staff is in line with previous expansions which have taken place. We predict that his work will measure up in every way to the high standard set by other staff members: Wallace Campbell as Publicity Director, Ellen Linson as Recreation Director, John Carson as Director of the Washington Office, and Jack McLanahan as Education Director.

With these staff members increasingly taking over and developing the various departments of the Movement, which they are responsible for coordinating on a national basis, the present editor will have more time for general organization and research work and such other activities as naturally fall within the functions of a General Secretary. So farewell as editor, but not goodbye.

Here's to you, the new editor! May you find great happiness in serving the Movement, as we are sure the Movement will realize great benefit from your services.

ROCHDALE COOPERATION AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The principles of Rochdale Cooperation and the principles of American Democracy stem from the same seed—the Brotherhood of Man.

The American Democratic Charter of freedom and equality in religious, educational and political organization is now more than 150 years old. The Rochdale Cooperative Charter of freedom and equality in economic organization is about to celebrate its 100th anniversary on December 21, 1944. The 150th anniversary of American Democracy was celebrated by a year-long program of various activities. The 100th anniversary of Rochdale Cooperation will be celebrated by a year-long Cooperative Campaign.

Both American Democracy and Rochdale Cooperation are advances in social science. Both have met with tremendous resistance, as did earlier advances in physical science. But they are winning out. Eventually American Democracy and Rochdale Cooperation will be as readily accepted everywhere as new advances in physical sciences are generally welcomed today.

American Democracy is Cooperation in Government; Rochdale Cooperation is Democracy in Business; both are the expression of the same principles of Brotherhood. American Democracy is Brotherhood in Government; Rochdale Cooperation is Brotherhood in Business.

Both political democracy and economic cooperation have proved themselves over the years. Both political democracy and economic cooperation are realizations of the American Dream. May they advance together to victory!

"It is for us, the living," to "complete the unfinished task of freedom." Just as our forefathers applied democratic principles to our religious, educational and political organizations, so it is for us today to apply cooperative principles to our economic organizations.

On to Economic Democracy Through Cooperatives!

WILL YOUR COOPERATIVE BE PREPARED FOR PEACE?

Some day the present war will end, and we will begin a period of time which we will call peace.

Unless there is a rapid turn toward economic democracy by the organization of cooperatives among the people everywhere in the world, the period of peace after the war will only be another time of internal economic war, and will eventually also prove to be only a pause between the external wars of private monopolies and political bureaucracies for the control of the economies of the various countries. For private dictatorship and political dictatorship will eventually battle it out for control of the ruins, if the people do not organize themselves into democratic cooperatives and thus break the power of economic and political dictatorship in every country.

This is the over-all world picture which we must face. However, the solution of the economic and political problem will not be found on the world battlefields. It will be found within the area of each community—of each neighborhood.

Fortunate, indeed, it is that the people of the United States have now organized a large number of cooperatives among both rural and urban groups. These cooperatives must be the beacon lights to lead the people away from dictatorship to economic democracy, and thus prevent a third World War.

Will your cooperative be prepared to lead your community toward economic peace, as it should, when political peace is declared?

Will your cooperative be out of debt and have a good cash balance on hand to meet a depression period, and not only come through safely but also be able to take advantage of opportunities for the purchase of other facilities at distress prices and to expand its services to the community?

Will your cooperative be a modern merchandising unit and be able to attract additional trade by its efficiency and economy in the certain struggle for business ahead of us in peace time?

Will your cooperative membership be well informed and energetic and be well organized in an active educational program to reach out for new members in the after-the-war deflation period ahead, which is always a good time for cooperative growth?

Will your cooperative attract new members by the recreation programs which it has developed among its present membership, which will demonstrate to others that cooperators are seekers of beauty as well as of bread?

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I SAW A COOPERATIVE WORLD BEING BUILT

Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, Chairman, Committee on the Church and Cooperatives of the Federal Council of Churches

Since 1936 I have watched and participated in the development of the Cooperative Movement in America. It has been fascinating and inspiring to see the Eastern Cooperative Wholesale spring up and move to larger and larger quarters year after year. It has been revealing and indicative of the strength and power within the cooperative idea itself to watch that little buying club in the basement of one of the members' homes in Flatbush, from which once a week I delivered orders in my own car, now blossom out as the Flatbush Cooperative Store with a place of business on the Avenue. Small, yes, but all a part of that growing Eastern Wholesale. Or talk to Howard Cowden and see the picture of the check for three million four hundred thousand dollars which was the down payment on another co-op oil refinery. Then grasp "National" and all its potentialities. And finally, add Credit Unions, Marketing Co-ops and all the rest. Yes, we are moving ahead in America. You and I are exulting over the results.

Do we realize that not only in America but throughout the world — the newer world of South America, Africa, and Asia — the co-op principle is taking root and is really growing? I can assure you that it is for "I have seen a Cooperative World being built."

In Nova Scotia

My first impressions of "outside America" were gained by going to Nova Scotia. There were the fishermen, the farmers, the miners, and the steel workers, Protestants and Catholics, French, Irish, and Scotch, all combining as one to forward the co-op ideal. It spread so fast, Nova Scotia could not contain it. Newfoundland, the Maritimes and now all of Canada, from the outreaches of Quebec to the plains and mountains of the West, are all under the co-op spell.

In Mexico

Then, two summers ago, I went to Mexico. Here were the factories, the bus companies, and the collective farms, with accompanying stores and other consumer services a part of the picture. What a thrill it was to ride 250 miles out to Torreon and see those peons—literal slaves to a system for over 300 years — now freed and running their own farms, managing their own stores, educating their children, and providing cooperative hospital care for their families. The relationship of government to people in this venture, without control and central dictatorship was unique. When the whole story of Mexican co-ops is written, it will be a fascinating novel.

Although I was greatly stirred by all of this, it was still in North America and that was near home and a part of us. It took my recent trip to India and China to open my eyes, not only to our relationship to these other continents, races and nations, but also to the widespread interest in the cooperative movement itself in South America, Africa and the vast reaches of Asia, from Syria and Palestine, to China and India.

In Trinidad and Tobago

At Port of Spain I met with a group of ministers and missionaries representing some five mission areas, for a two-hour conference. Positive interest was evinced in the cooperative movement both from the consumer angle and also questions about and plans for agricultural ventures. The groundwork had already been started by a social and economic church study which emanated from a Parliament-sponsored survey from England.

In the Union of South Africa

"The Friends of Africa" are sponsoring the development of cooperative societies among the native and colored constituencies, Mr. and Mrs. William C. Ballinger are the active field agents. Mr. Ballinger, a former worker in English trade union and labor movements, completed his education at International College, Elsinore. Since coming to South Africa December, 1943

In India

A three weeks' conference tour of India with meetings and addresses in Calcutta, Nagpur, Agra, New Delhi, Lahore and Karachi revealed not only great interest, but a most unexpected development in all parts of the country. In Calcutta even the Chief Minister attended a noon gathering of 150 interested people. Here were milk pasteurizing plants, paddly (rice) marketing cooperatives, a cottage industry outlet store, credit and loan associations and other significant ventures. A minister of cooperatives sat in the provincial government directing a large staff and a training college for cooperative leaders.

At Agra and New Delhi addresses in universities and personal contacts evinced immediate response. A cooperative committee was set up in New Delhi to continue the interest engendered. While here two ministers of finance for one large state and one provincial government sought me out and had long conferences on how they could begin to develop cooperatives in their jurisdiction.

At Lahore a three-day conference was attended by 47 officials and interested per-
sons. There were government, church and educational leaders, as well as representatives of the Sikh, Mohammedan, Hindu, Protestant and Catholic religions.

The Punjab probably has the most diversified and successful cooperative societies in India. At Jullander and the adjacent villages we saw units of every type. Here the consolidation cooperatives have advanced to the stage where the people themselves are paying the costs. There were Cho (mountain stream) control cooperatives, village betterment cooperatives, medical cooperatives providing a doctor and clinic and in which every family in the village, no matter what caste or religion, was enrolled, and also credit and loan associations. Alongside these were industrial cooperatives making chaplais (shoes), axe handles, weaving and other such articles.

In Lahore there is a large headquarters building housing the Punjab cooperative league and the All India Cooperative League. This is entirely supported by the movement, the government offices being in another building in a different section of the city. The Co-op League of India lists 137,000 societies and over 6,000,000 members.

In Syria

A leader from Syria attended the conference at Lahore. He was so stimulated by the discussions and developments that he made personal request and agreed to secure official sponsorship for a three to four month inspection tour. In fast developing China this is a vital and significant movement. It must be forwarded in every possible way.

In Egypt

In Egypt there is government and also individual interest in and promotion of cooperatives. There is a large consumers' store on a main street in Cairo, diagonally across from the Continental Hotel. It has 4500 members and is doing a business of $20,000 a month. There are 60 consumer cooperatives throughout Egypt. The government department there is most anxious to have further collaboration and aid in promoting agricultural cooperatives. Much valuable guidance and aid could be given to these people through some international promotion agency.

In Ethiopia and Sudan

Many cooperative ventures have been undertaken in these territories. The Government of Ethiopia is apparently interested in immediate and further development of the cooperative principle among the native peoples. It was impossible to make actual contact here, but I was assured of the interest and purpose to promote the idea.

In Burma and Korea

It was suggested by British officials that the Burmese Government in exile was including the cooperative idea in its plans of rehabilitation and war-post planning. The Korean provisional government has definitely included promotion and development of cooperatives in its proposed constitution.

In China

The people's movement in China centered in the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives and the Department of Social Welfare is briefly explained below and in more detail in my report to Dr. H. H. Kung after the two months' inspection tour. In fast developing China this is a vital and significant movement. It must be forwarded in every possible way.

May I give you just a few impressions to indicate a brief picture of what I saw:

Machine Shops: Here were expert engineers, refugees from the coast cities and trained in college with years of industrial experience. Out of almost nothing they were making machines and tools to continue the output of cooperative or other production in the Northwest. Here was one making ten charcoal burners. In another a superior water wheel was giving the power and electricity to surrounding buildings at night. They were making these water wheels for mills and factories around the community. Again, another shop was making looms. They were making spinning wheels and had developed a new and 20 to 30 per cent more efficient twisting machine that eliminated steel spindles which they could not get.

The Blanket Program: There were large plants covering acres of ground using 300 workers and a thousand or more women spinning in the homes. There were small weaving or spinning cooperatives which were just beginning and yet were producing. We walked six kilos from one city to caves in the side of the hill where Honan refugees were living. Here we inspected a cooperative started two years ago by eight refugees and a thousand dollar loan. Today they are feeding 100 mouths and have a net worth of $225,000.

The Co-op League of India lists 137,000 societies and over 6,000,000 members. Much more could be written of blacksmith shops, pen making factories, umbrella manufactories, native drug stores, bone button and chop making, centers of iron and gold mining, of marketing and consumers stores, all run cooperatively and part of this widespread Northwest Movement.

Cooperative federations in the Northwest: In the larger centers and areas the cooperatives have come together in a federation. They have a central building or use a section of the depot offices for their activities. Three significant projects have come out of this united effort.

Medical and clinical aid: In three larger centers, Paochi, Lanchow and Shuang-shihpu, there are clinics with highly trained Chinese physicians in charge. Each has a staff of nurses and dispensary workers. In these localities hundreds of cooperatives have been examined and given medical aid and advice by these doctors. All cooperative members are treated free of charge, the financing coming from the
social welfare funds of the joint Federation.

Cooperative treasuries: Again located in the larger cities, combined cooperative Treasuries in spacious buildings have been undertaken. Here the total capital of all the cooperatives is pooled to form a joint fund for marketing and supply business and for exchange of trade or cash between the various co-op centers. Thus they can buy wool one week or cotton the next. Each local cooperative gets the advantage of group buying and selling and yet always has its balances to draw on. The treasury finances the consumer marketing and supply stores as well as wholesale selling and buying. Payrolls and other needed cash are secured by proper drafts on these treasuries and deposits made accordingly.

Education and Primary Schools: Under the Federations of the Northwest there has been undertaken by the Women’s branch of the Federation a very valuable program of primary education. These schools are located in Lanchow, Shwangshihpu and in five centers in and around Puchhi. Here children are being taught the regular primary studies by competent teachers paid by the Federation. They are also being well versed in the “Three Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen” and singing lustily the party and national songs. They are also being grounded in democratic, cooperative principles. Each school has its own little cooperative organization which buys and sells all school supplies, cakes and sweets and other incidentals to the children who are all members and elect their own officers. The older children do part time apprentice work in nearby cooperatives. Playgrounds are a part of school equipment and games and plays are given at intervals by the children themselves. Thus the cooperators’ children are all being given primary education and being taught useful skills at no expense to the state, but at the same time, are recognizing the state educational standards.

According to the figures of the government, Ministry of Local Welfare, there is besides the Industrial Cooperatives, a vast development of credit, agricultural and consumers’ cooperatives in China. Under the leadership of Minister Ku and the direct responsibility of the Director, Mien Chen S. Shaw, there are now in Free China, 160,000 cooperatives of all types, with a total membership of 10,000,000 persons and a total capital of $140,000,000 in Chinese Currency. Provincial organizations and ever-increasing promotion of the idea throughout China makes these most significant as one thinks of the total potential possibilities of such a large scale program.

Yes, I did see “a cooperative world being built.” It is only in its infancy however. The opportunity and challenge it offers can scarcely be grasped by the imagination. Already, the American Government is planning on “this” program and “that” in aiding other countries to get on their feet and back to normal after this holocaust is over with. Murray Lincoln has sat in the United Nations Food Conferences and has stimulated the cooperative idea in the minds of nations of the United Nations. It is high time the co-operators of America looked out from their own successes, as significant as they have been, and began to look to the new world to be. How can we influence it? How can we have the peace we all want? How can we create a broader base for democracy, and give the people an economic stake in a new world to be.

A REPORT ON COOPERATIVE POST WAR PLANNING

Wallace J. Campbell

So far the cooperatives have followed the traditional British procedure of planning in “bits and pieces,” a general pattern of British war time manufacturing.

There is a great deal of planning in some circles and in some regions. There is more planning in international cooperation than there is nationally. More regional planning than local. At no point has any one person or organization attempted to plan a completely rounded series of practical steps for the postwar period. The Cooperative League Board has adopted a chart of organization for the consumer cooperative movement presented by General Secretary E. R. Bowen which plans long range development in every stage of consumer cooperation. But the intensive research and planning which will make detailed recommendations for immediate postwar action has not been done. Perhaps we are not ready for that. The national economy however, is in desperate need of it and there is great opportunity for the cooperatives to take the lead.

This is an attempt to report on what planning is under way by “bits and pieces” and to see if it begins to shape up into national trends if not into a national plan.

Work Today That Makes a Program for Tomorrow

In a very practical sense, every plank that goes into the building of a local cooperative is a part of the “program for tomorrow that works for today.” In a very real sense the cooperatives, in their day-to-day operation, are working at the creation of a post-war program that begins where the average economist leaves off. To almost every post-war plan that comes down the pike you might add the phrase “to be carried out thru the organization of cooperatives.” Most economists are too timid or too short sighted to add that formula to make their plans work.

Cooperatives are one way to: increase civilian production; reduce potential unemployment; distribute goods most economically to the mass of consumers; open new doors for scientific research and expansion; improve the quality or consumer value of goods; provide greater security; create a broader base for democracy; and give the people an economic stake in a real “American Way.”

These, however, are promises, and are attainable only if the cooperatives will take the leadership in creating a post-war economy.

We can not be forgiven our failure to create, at this moment, a workable and comprehensive post-war program.

International Cooperative Relief and Reconstruction

More has been done in the field of planning for international cooperative relief and reconstruction than in the domestic sphere. The Committee on International Cooperative Reconstruction of the Cooperative League of the USA formed at the 1942 Cooperative Congress and composed of Howard A. Cowden, Dr. James P. Warbasse and Leslie Woodcock, has prepared a program for postwar relief and reconstruction. Proposals in this field have already been submitted to Governor Lehman, head of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

An informal conference of representatives of the various United Nations was held in Washington in October with 14 nations represented. Plans are under way for a more formal conference on cooperative relief and rehabilitation on an inter-
national scale to be held in Washington, January 19 and 20. Representatives of cooperatives and of the United Nations governments in Europe, Asia, and America will be invited to attend. This program will include not only the distribution of goods and services through existing cooperative channels in the occupied countries but also promotion and encouragement of the use of cooperative methods in relief and reconstruction.

Cooperative Organization

The Board of Directors of the Cooperative League of the USA has under consideration a proposal for the creation of an International Cooperative Trading and Manufacturing Association. The proposal was submitted by Howard Cowden, President of the Consumers Cooperative Association and chairman of the League’s Committee on International Cooperative Relations. The proposal calls for the creation of an agency which would take the initiative in production and international cooperative trade in the fields of 1) food stuffs, 2) farm supplies, 3) petroleum products, and 4) other commodities and services. The first organization proposed will be in the field of petroleum products. The International Petroleum Association would own and operate oil wells, refineries, pipe lines, and transports, and would be owned by the national cooperative associations of the various countries. The preliminary program calls for capitalization of $8,000,000 to be supplied by the central cooperative organization of the cooperatives of the various countries. Copies of this proposal are also before the Boards of the Scottish and English Cooperative Wholesale Societies and Cooperative Verbundet in Sweden.

The International Cooperative Alliance with headquarters in London has launched a drive for a five million dollar Freedom Fund to be used to aid cooperators and cooperation in the occupied countries in the period of relief and rehabilitation. It is expected that funds will be collected in the U.S. as part of that drive during the Centennial Year.

Most ambitious of post-war plans for international reconstruction is a proposal by Albin Johansson of Sweden. He suggests the extension of the principle of Rochdale cooperation to the use of raw materials by the nations of the world. Access to raw materials, under this proposal, would be free and equal. Raw materials would be owned and administered cooperatively by the nations involved. Earnings or savings made in their processing and distribution would be returned to member nations in proportion to their patronage.

Domestic Post War Plans of U.S. Cooperatives

Cooperative Finance. Number one in the field of U.S. post-war cooperative planning is the creation of the National Cooperative Financial Association. This has already been incorporated and is now being capitalized. The NCFA will serve as the keystone of a national cooperative financial structure which will include cooperative financial institutions in each regional association serving the credit needs of local cooperatives. Already credit unions are serving the credit needs of 3,600,000 American consumers but not all members of cooperatives have access to credit unions.

Greater Production. In the field of production the U.S. cooperatives already own 102 mills, factories, and refineries. Among them are 9 oil refineries, 15 feed mills, 13 fertilizer factories, 7 oil compounding plants, 6 printing plants, 6 flour mills, 4 pipe lines, 4 saw mills, 4 canneries, 4 bakeries, 3 groups of chick hatcheries, 2 oil fields, 2 paint factories, 3 coffee roasteries, a milking machine factory, tractor factory, and 13 other miscellaneous factories and plants.

The cooperatives go into production, 1) to assure a source of supply for the goods they distribute; 2) to break the hold of monopolies, trusts, or cartels; 3) to lower the price of commodities where the price has been held at artificially high levels; 4) to control the quality of goods they distribute.

Cooperatives already have wide-spread distribution in a number of fields which may warrant steps into production in those fields. Among the commodities or fields of manufacture which are a possibility for the post-war period are tires, batteries, refrigerators, electrical appliances, farm implements, tractors, trucks, and chemical goods. The co-ops will need coal mines, and additional canneries, saw mills, feed mills, oil fields, timber lands, and steel mills to name a few of the fields of development.

Already the co-op milking machine factory is doing research on the production of cooling systems and other items.

Extension of Cooperative Services. Of great importance in post-war plans is the extension of cooperative services in varieties which already have cooperative stores, service stations, farm supply depts, or some other single cooperative enterprise. It is the feeling of cooperatives that cooperatives in every community should expand their services to their membership in order to include all of the services which the members of those cooperatives need. Cooperatives handling only one of the currently developed lines such as food stuffs, farm supplies, or petroleum products will be encouraged to undertake distribution in many additional fields.

Dr. James P. Warbasse in a recent address in Washington urged that every local cooperative consider the possibility of setting up a medical department of its cooperative at the close of the war in order to bring better medical care to cooperative members at lower costs. He pointed out that 40% of American doctors are now serving on salaries in the armed forces and other agencies and that many of them will be anxious to continue upon a salary basis serving their friends and neighbors through cooperatives when the war is over. Great expansion is possible in this field.

Corollary to health services are dental care and hospitalization. The development of cooperative housing projects, burial service, electric utilities, milk distribution, bakersies, and insurance of all kinds are in the immediate offing.

Self-help Co-ops for the Post-War Depression. Some discussion has already been held on the possibilities of enlisting support of the organized cooperative movement for programs of self-help cooperatives in a period of depression which may follow the close of the war. These co-ops are often labor exchanges of producer-consumer cooperatives organized to meet an emergency. The period of the great depression from 1932 to 1935 saw the development of self-help cooperatives in more than 300 American communities. If similar economic situations arise at the close of the war there will be a similar need for self-help cooperatives. It is the belief of several cooperative leaders that consumer cooperatives should step in and take the leadership in the development of such cooperatives in order to tie them as closely as possible in with the consumer cooperative movement and establish them on a more permanent and socially useful basis.

Post-war Cooperative Education. The field of cooperative education has only been touched in the current educational program of the regional and national cooperative associations. At the close of the war more than five thousand former employees of cooperatives will be returning from the services and defense production. This return of former employees will constitute both an opportunity and a problem. If we plan now for large scale training programs to equip these people with skills in required fields they can provide the manpower for the greatest expansion in the history of the cooperative movement. Other fields for intensive post-war education are youth and membership edu-
cation, recreation projects, and possible establishment of a cooperative college at the close of the war.

During the recent critical period cooperatives have assumed leadership in the field of civic action in 1) calling for universal rationing of scarce food products, 2) staging a fight for government grade labeling and 3) setting for an adequate and equitable tax program. There is reason to believe that cooperative leadership in these fields will continue and expand at the close of the war. Cooperators must take more responsibility for one of their largest fields of expenditure, the purchase of government service.

National Coordination. The coordination of cooperative activities nationally makes for greater economic building power at the close of the war. In addition to the general education and organization activities of the Cooperative League of the USA and National Cooperatives, Inc., several national federations are growing to perform specific functions. The National Cooperative Finance Association is designed to coordinate cooperative credit needs. The National Cooperative Refinery Association has brought five regionals together for refinery operations and the National Cooperative Machinery Association has banded a million farmers together for the production of tractors and farm equipment for the post-war period.

This is a sketchy report on the post-war planning that is under way. There is, to date, no single cooperative post-war plan. We are still working with "bits and pieces." Here, anyway, are the ingredients of a post-war plan.

Introducing CO-OP

Your new journal of what's what and how to do it in cooperative organization, merchandising, education, finance, and related activities.

As the Cooperative movement enters its greatest period of development, cooperators come face to face with their greatest challenge—the task of collaborating in the enormous responsibilities of relief and reconstruction . . .

As the world itself accelerates in its appreciation of what the Cooperative movement has to offer for the alleviation of a stricken humanity . . .

There is a need for an expository journal of "what, when and how to do" for the workers—employed and for-the-love-of—of it—of the movement. It should intensify our efforts, yet make them more efficient; it should refine our programs and service functions in the light of the experience of others. It should lead to coordination of efforts and functions, and thus to more efficient expenditure of energy, time and money. This can best be done through the thorough collaboration of the operation experts in our regional and local cooperatives—for which collaboration we earnestly pray.

Arrangements are being made as rapidly as possible for the production of the first issues and it is still the determined wish of your editor that the inaugural issue will be January, 1944. Two problems, however, still beset us as this is written: the question of paper supply, and the extremely handicapped situation of most printers because of manpower shortage. If it is possible to produce as late as the middle of January and the required subscriptions come in we'll start with January anyway, and then push ahead with subsequent issues as printing schedules permit.

The new journal, to be called CO-OP (same lettering as the label trademark), will be 8½ x 11 inches in page size, with a 2-color cover, and 24 pages or more. It will be extensively illustrated. Subscription price to the individual reader will be $2.50 per year, $6 for 3 years. Price to local co-ops, to allow compensation for promotion effort, $2 per year sub.; $5 per 3-year sub.

What will the contents be? Just what is implied in the subtitle above: How to do things with building membership, personnel, patronage, finance, service facilities, understanding. Some have asked for a technical journal. This will be technical insofar as it will tell how to service farm machinery, display soap, maintain safety in a feed warehouse or bulk plant, calculate margins, or handle a fresh produce department; how to use a cash register, run a membership meeting, lead a grand march or conduct a neighboring canvass. Some want a leadership magazine; add a co-op Walter Winchell, a bit of humorous art, listings of latest materials for co-op development and services, a forum squabbles, brickbats from readers—and what else is a leaders' magazine?

Let us summarize the editorial emphasis we will make as follows: It is not as important to analyze the psychological and sociological by-products of a discussion group or play experience as to tell how to arrange and conduct a proper calendar of such affairs and make them lead to strengthen and expand existing co-ops and aid the formation of new ones. It is not so important to explain the relationship of cooperative food store service to the parable of Jesus and the loaves and fishes as it is to describe proper ways for buying and stocking and displaying loaves and fishes in the co-op store, and then get every possible Mrs. Consumer to buy and buy—and become an owner, too.

If there is anything good to the theory that we learn by doing, the philosophical and scientific and humanitarian connotations will occur to many in the doing, and an occasional brief reminder will serve to whet the appreciations of us all. This is not the whole story; it suggests—as only we can in this space—what we will try to do to help develop and expand cooperatives and cooperative services as rapidly as possible, and to get for them the internal strength and external brilliance they must have.

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RECREATION SURVEY

(Ford's Note: In the recent survey by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics: special recognition is given to the development of recreation. We are quoting from the section describing recreational activities as reported in a special release accompanying the survey.)

In the attempt to make the cooperative activities an integral part of the daily life of the members, cooperators have been learning to play together. As this implies, emphasis is laid on member participation, rather than entertainment of the passive type in which the members watch or listen to others. Increasingly the membership meetings include some recreation—group singing or dancing, games, a play or skit presented by members, refreshments or other entertainment.

Play-Co-ops

"During the past few years a number of local 'Play Co-ops' have been formed with the single purpose of recreation. The objects of these associations are to create a social program, provide recreational opportunities for young people and so draw them into the cooperative movement, and to train recreation leaders. With these in view they promote meetings for folk dances, amateur theatricals, craftwork, etc.

"Much of the social activity needs no special facilities, except a place where the cooperatives can assemble and many of the associations reporting recreational facilities give no details regarding them.

"There are, however, a considerable number of organizations formed for the purpose of ownership of recreational facilities of various kinds. Among the more unusual of these are an association owning a launch, another a hunting lodge, and a third operating a golf club. Three associations own hall buildings (at least only that number reported in the survey) in which cooperative meetings of various kinds are held. Three others are clubhouse associations. One of these has a three story building containing clubrooms, swimming pool, gymnasium, dance hall and stage for theatricals; another owns a small house with library and clubrooms and the third serves as a community center for the residents of the housing development in which it is situated.

Cooperative Parks

"There are five associations whose function is the ownership and operation of 'cooperative parks.' These facilities generally consist of wooded areas on the shores of lakes or rivers, providing natural recreational facilities for camping, fishing, swimming, skating, skiing, etc. All but one of these are of the federated type, the members being local cooperative associations rather than individual persons. One of these owns 283 acres, another 160 acres and another 80 acres of land. All provide sites for family camping and all have some community buildings—one a large farmhouse and one a specially built community center open in the winter as well as summer and a third has a refreshment pavilion and the steam baths (sauna) so prized by Finnish people.

"Some of the distributive associations, whose main business is to supply the material needs of their members, have also provided some recreational facilities. A few of the cooperative housing associations also have recreational rooms, assembly halls, and one association operates a tea room where residents assemble in the afternoons for a social hour."

Consumers' Cooperation

Approaching the end of a century of successful service, of the people, for the people, the cooperative movement has been tested and found tempered, capable, dependable, and distinctively American.

As this is written the presses in a big printing plant in Chicago are turning out over 600,000 copies of a rotogravure picture section for co-op newspapers across the land. "The Cooperative Century" is the title for the rotogravure, the first of three to be issued during America's centennial celebration of the birth of Rochdale Cooperation, and the first blast in the opening of that year-long celebration.

Why have a centennial celebration? That question was asked—seriously—recently by a cooperator. Our answer was impulsive, but it still sounds good: For the same reason we celebrate a loved one's birthday, the 4th of July, Christmas, a 25th wedding anniversary. It's an occasion for retrospect, rejoicing, prospect, and dedication to further achievement. In this instance, it is to recognize 100 years of experience and effectiveness that have given our program maturity and strength and assurance for mankind. And, frankly, it's a psychological opportunity for ballyhoo and development that will never come again in our lifetime—a challenge and obligation to touch off a new century of building in which is required only the understanding and determination of more millions of consumers in order to achieve real freedom from want.

Others have asked "why celebrate the Rochdale centennial? There are other co-ops that are older." Yes, there are co-ops in Scotland much more than 100 years old, at least one with 1800 for a birth-year. There may be others in the other countries. But it was the Rochdale Pioneers who first provided not just for their own stability and perpetuity but also the development and assistance of other co-ops. It was Rochdale that gave the world its effective principles of cooperative economic action—the essence of cooperative democracy that is rapidly overtaking the interest of the world.

From still another corner has come the query, "Why start a year ahead? Why celebrate on the 99th anniversary any more than the 96th or 93rd?" But the founding of Rochdale was a year-long struggle—and more. It was during the fall of 1843 that those determined midland weavers held their early planning meetings and mapped their course. It is the centennial of that birth of vision and program and zeal with which we begin our celebration—more significant, even

December, 1943

By Gilman Calkins
Centennial Director
The Cooperative League
...though less dramatic, than the day a year later when the store was opened—all the more reason though why our Centenary should be a year long.

With the newspaper picture section, with special radio programs, with stickers, posters and new literature, we begin that year. With the combined, unceasing efforts of local, regional and national cooperative workers, we should continue the campaign through 1944 to inform all America and add millions to the member-patron list.

On December 18—three days before Rochdale—a nationwide Blue Network hookup will carry to the people, at 9:45 p.m. CWT, the voices of Dr. James P. Warbasse, president emeritus of The Cooperative League, and I. H. Hull, president of National Cooperatives. Co-op listening parties should be formed for this night throughout the land. Literature should be available. Co-op products should be on exhibit. On December 21, many stations in America will rebroadcast a pick-up of a special shortwave broadcast from Rochdale and London by the British Broadcasting Company, featuring R. A. Palmer, General Secretary, the Cooperative Union of Great Britain. Regionals will announce the times of this broadcast in their areas, and again listeners should be recruited.

"Co-op Week in Washington," to be held in the nation's capital January 17 to 21, beginning with meetings of the national cooperative boards of directors, will be climaxed with a Conference on International Cooperative Reconstruction. Thus, the start of plans for the co-op part in post-war building will be a signal part of our Centennial. Tentative plans for the Centennial Congress, Pan-American Centennial Festival, and a Rochdale Memorial day, are in production, will be distributed beforehand Rochdale day. Numerous souvenirs are being studied, some prepared for use. Special Centennial literature assortments are being made up. Articles are being prepared for non-co-op periodicals, and numerous writers are at work on new literary for the movement. Well-known personages will be recruited. These are some of the things your national and regional cooperatives are working on for the Centennial. The big job, however, must be done on the local scene. Thousands of persons must be contacted—both individually and in groups—who do not know what the Cooperative Movement is. Then they must be helped to understand, appreciate and support their cooperative.

First need is a Centennial Campaign chairman in every local cooperative. This is a special job. Then a committee to work with him. Then a proposed Centennial year's program—with calendar of activities (lots of them for the interests of different kinds of people), goals, assignment of tasks and duties. A program planning booklet to help local co-ops with this is in preparation, will be available through regional cooperatives sometime this month.

Our big job is to find our way into every avenue of communication, every gathering of people, every neighborhood, every family, every cranny of America, with the story of Cooperation and what its method and objectives mean. That will be done primarily in the local co-ops. The national and regional groups will supply materials and coordinating services, but it's what is done in the neighborhoods that will measure our Centennial success. There is more to do than we can get done; so we must devote every minute to help show the world this "Proven Program For Freedom From Want."

Consumers' Cooperation

GET READY NOW!

100 years of achievement deserve a celebration

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  New Program Building Guide for local cooperatives. Lithographed, with check lists and job assignment outlines.
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  Sheets of 50, like the design shown above, printed in two colors. Wrapped 50 sheets to package.
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  Specially-priced assortment of introductory pamphlets on the methods and objectives and achievements of the cooperative movement.
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- CO-O-P, National Leaders' Magazine
  This New Monthly How-Book of Co-op organization, merchandising, education, finance, and other services.
  per year 2.50

Order from your local cooperative. If you do not know the name and address of a cooperative in your area, send your order to

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