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We have an economic procedure which is often remarkably efficient at producing things (let us not here raise the question of quality) but which cannot distribute them properly. All because the starting point as well as the chief center of interest is always the producer or investor and not the consumer. Try to imagine a group of consumers in charge of their own shoe factory producing twice as many shoes as they could possibly wear and then, because they had too many shoes, deciding they could not afford to wear any shoes at all! Consumers do not do such things. Financiers, manufacturers, wage workers do. On the other hand, the latter do not go on producing shoes, no matter how many people go barefoot, after the making of the shoes ceases to yield money profits. Consumers do. And therefore it is no wonder that the system's economic procedure which is often remarkably efficient at producing things is not aimed at getting the good things of life that the masses need, but at getting the money they can hold. And the masses themselves are so completely the victims of their own illusions about the significance of money that they think it is not important to keep the profit system alive so to reorganize the whole order so that its beginning and end are governed by their own day-to-day needs. By making money and not commodities the objects of industry, we have upset the whole equilibrium of our economic order and put the scale of values and the scale of production out of balance with the scale of necessity. A system which cannot hold. And the masses themselves are so completely the victims of their own illusions about the significance of money that they think it is not important to keep the profit system alive so to reorganize the whole order so that its beginning and end are governed by their own day-to-day needs. By making money and not commodities the objects of industry, we have upset the whole equilibrium of our economic order and put the scale of values and the scale of production out of balance with the scale of necessity. A system which cannot hold.
A Commercial Revolution in England

By MacAlister Coleman

By this time you know the advertisement by heart. Whether its writer is dealing with food products from soup to nuts, with soap or with ink or with automobile parts, he is wont to spread before you at the breakfast table a colorful commercial Odyssey which runs somewhat along these lines:

"In far-off lands... and beneath arctic snows as well... men are laboring, caravans and imponderable and well-nigh mystical forces are at work to feed, shelter and clothe you, and that the price you pay for these far-flung services is small indeed. And incidentally, all this fancy writing serves to gloss over the fact that to provide you with every point along its tortuous journey some individual will pocket a profit from it. Indeed, the very advertisement which you have been reading, insofar as it is competitive advertising, must, in the long run, be paid for by you, and not only in terms of hard cash but inevitably in the sort of news and editorial opinion which surrounds it.

Beyond the visible and complex trappings of the army of the rank and file of latterday distribution, the manufacturers' salesmen, the advertising agencies, the retail salesmen, etc., moves another and even more magnificent army. In its ranks march investment bankers, promoters, the forces of the holding companies, the directors of voting and non-voting trusts, the men of the mergers—vertical, horizontal and circular.

Up to now, we have most of us accepted these complicated arrangements as necessarily parts of the consumer's burden, to be borne with such fortitude as we could muster up. These were the natural results of the workings out of the theory of business enterprise which dominates our pecuniary civilization.

Since, however, there are startling indications in every part of the world that a civilization whose motive is profit and whose aim is the accumulation of wealth is either here collapsed or there on the verge of collapse; and that all these Titan forces of production and distribution suffer from that painful disease popularly known as "gigantism," many of us have begun to wonder. Wonder whether a harshly competitive and at the same time increasingly concentrated private industrialism, brings in its wake that communal happiness or the sort of black despair which now hovers over most of Western civilization. And wondering, alert-minded men and women, cast about them for some sort of substitute for the business-for-profit status. And sooner or later in their quest, they come upon the movement called "COOPERATION."

It is because the cooperative movement offers a practical method of approach to everyday economics, with the promise that men may be able by working substitute for the business-for-profit status. And sooner or later in their quest, they come upon the movement called "COOPERATION."

In this article we deal chiefly with cooperation in England, the seeding-ground of the movement.
other to ease the bitter burden of their poverty and had emerged upon the political scene through the revolutionary Chartist movement of the 'seventies. Still there seemed to be no way to shake loose the competitive thorn by the throats.

On a dark December day of 1843 a delegation of Rochdale flannel weavers, making a piteous plea for the côngestion. They found, through their rickades, was to lift them from their obscurity. They made a piteous plea for the social chang

The movement is built—rocks that were fashioned out of the agrarian movement. Now the outstanding suc-

The store was talked about in the mills. It was canvassed in the weaving sheds. The farm laborer heard of it in the fields. The coal-miner carried the news down the pit. The blacksmith circulated the news at his forge. It was the gossip of the barber's chair... Chartists, reluctant to entertain any question but the 'Six Points', took the store into consideration in their societies. In the newspaper, letters are seen in the new movement. Preachers who found their pew rents increased were more reticent than in former days about the risks of cooperation. Wandering lecturers visiting the town found a better quality of auditors to address and were invited to houses where tables were better spread than formerly, and were taken to see the store...

And thus it spread far and wide that the shrewd men of Rochdale were doing a notable thing in the way of cooperation... First Owen and the early agitators, with no definite blueprints, and then the Rochdale weavers giving oatmeal and flour substance to the Owenite dream, and then other societies sprang up all over England and Scotland, based on the Rochdale principle—such were the beginnings.

**Needed—A Better Understanding of Cooperative Philosophy**

By Gordon H. Ward

In this age of large scale production and volume distribution of goods to consumers thru chain stores, many of the people connected with the operation of cooperative stores are prone to think that a large volume of business and low prices are the foundation stones of success. They are concentrating almost all of their attention on trying to save money for the patrons. Low prices draw business and a large volume of business enables the store to operate on a narrow margin so that expenses can be covered even though prices are low. This attitude on the part of the directors, managers, and others interested in the store, is all too common in our rural areas in Virginia, and I expect elsewhere.

The managers of many farmers' cooperative stores complain that their members and patrons are not loyal to the co-op, but will buy elsewhere if the price is a nickel a bag less on stock feed. When I asked one of these complaining managers whether he was carrying any educational work among the members and patrons to explain to them the principles and philosophy of cooperation to help develop and strengthen their loyalty to their store, this was the answer he gave: "All the farmer is thinking about is the price, if the product he buys gives reasonably good results. He
doesn't know anything about cooperation or care anything about it. All he is after is to save as much as he can when it comes to buying his supplies. You keep your price down below the other fellow's and you'll get volume of business, and you've got to have volume to survive. We give service to the farmers of this territory by keeping prices down and they appreciate it. But you've got to keep your prices down where the other fellow can't get under you.

Rochdale or Cost Plus

This manager had heard about the Rochdale principles of cooperation, so I asked him why he didn't let the cooperative store operate just as efficiently as possible and return the savings of cooperation to the farmers at the end of the year as a concrete evidence of the advantages of cooperation as against the profit-seeking method of doing business. His reply was: "That may work alright in England, but it wouldn't work here. We would lose too much business if we tried that. The farmer compares present prices and says, 'If I pay what he wants cheapest, a possible refund at the end of the year is too uncertain, it would not mean anything to him." The fact that most of our successful cooperative stores in this country operate on this Rochdale plan does not mean anything to them. They are helping the farmers to get along somewhat better in the face of the inequalities placed upon our farmers by the profit-seeking system. These co-ops are not aware that there is something more progressive in the cooperative movement which is striving to be of much greater service by developing an equitable economic system, based on cooperative principles, gradually to replace the profit-seeking system. In the face of the constant pressure of everyday business, it is slow work to interest the directors and managers of our farmers' co-operative stores in the need for the education of their members and patrons in the philosophy, principles and accomplishments of cooperation. But this can be done and must be done.

Educational Method

A very effective method of educating patrons of co-op stores is thru the use of "Little Lessons in Cooperation," mimeographed and distributed by the Central States Cooperative League. I suggested to the manager of one co-op store that he buy a thousand of these booklets and put them in the package of goods purchased by each customer so the patron would see and read it when the goods were unwrapped at home. "What's the use of wasting money that way," was his reply. "Half the people wouldn't read them. We can't spare the money, anyway. We need all we can get to finance our purchases of goods so we can pay the farmers and get the discounts. That co-op is afraid to spend $4 a month on education, yet I will wager such an expenditure would be one of the best investments that store could make.

Another co-op is going to use the Little Lessons in Cooperation in the envelope in which the monthly price list is mailed to the members. Which co-op will make the more progress in the next two years?

Posts have long ago been found to be effective mediums of education. Most of the co-op stores of this section of the country are liberally plastered with posters advertising stock tonic, seeds, fertilizer, and many other kinds of goods. All these have been put up with the idea of interesting the patrons to purchase these articles. Yet it is hard to interest the co-ops in using the posters put out by the Central States Cooperative League. The managers say there is so much else around on the walls and the people that come in to purchase are in such a hurry, they will not read the posters. But is there any better use of wall space than to display posters and other educational material?

Publications

None of the cooperative stores in this state is large enough to support a publication or paper of its own. The only written material going to the members regularly is the price list, and there is little room on the sheet for anything else. The result is that the members hear very little about the activities of the organization, the policies and programs adopted by the directors and management. There is no consistent educational material about the principles of cooperation going out to the membership. Last summer at a conference of representatives of the various co-op stores sponsored by the Virginia Agricultural Conference Board and the Extension Division of the Virginia State Agricultural College, a proposal was made to have some agency like the Conference Board issue a monthly paper dealing with cooperation. In this paper each co-op was to take certain space to inform its members of the activities of the association and the policies suggested by the directors. The paper was to be supported by each association in proportion to its membership. None of the cooperative stores in our territory served by private dealers hold annual meetings of the members. The result is that the members do not have enough information to understand the philosophy of cooperation and education is enabling this co-op to understand the philosophy of cooperation and education is enabling this co-op to understand the philosophy of cooperation and education is enabling this co-op to understand the philosophy of cooperation. What is needed is a federation of the more progressive associations holds an annual picnic which has proved very popular. One of the big reasons for this lack of meetings is that there is no educational committee in the various co-ops to take charge of arranging the program. Such a committee would need help in outlining a program of educational features and entertainment that would interest the members and draw them to the meetings. The Virginia Seed Service, the wholesale purchasing co-op in the state, has been very successful with the meetings of its patrons in territory served by private dealer agencies. Combining entertainment and education is enabling this co-op to get its message across in a very encouraging manner.

What is needed is a federation of the local co-ops in the state to help them with all of these various educational activities.

Efforts are being made toward this objective. We hope the leaders of the co-ops begin to understand the philosophy of cooperation.
HAPPY NEW YEAR!

We wish that all our readers may have a Happy New Year!

We wish that there were more hope of fulfillment behind this wish. We wish there were fewer who are destined to suffer disappointments and real grief. We wish that our wishes might carry with it the power of fulfillment.

We cooperators can only say that we not only wish well for one another but we represent the philosophy of which we must make the wish come true. We unite into societies in which the efforts and sacrifices of each member help not only himself but all of the other members. And when the combined force of all of the membership of a society is in the interest of each individual in the society, we see in operation a principle for good which is both benevolent and practical.

And the same obtains in the union of societies with one another. Our unions into District Leagues and Wholesale are unions not only to gain help from others but to render aid to others.

And in these times of need of help the cooperative movement is giving the world a demonstration of this method as a practical business principle.

If the world's business had been based upon the cooperative method, which we represent, the world would never have gotten into the present desperate condition.

In remaining loyal and steadfast to our cooperative work, in continuing undaunted to build our cooperative structure, we are doing something better than wishing this world well, we are doing well for the world. And doing well has a greater power for help than wishing well.

At the same time, let us be realists and face the hard facts. The world is in a bad plight, brought upon it by the profit system. Will it adopt a way out or will it go on with capitalism to its doom? We at least can answer that we are busily occupied building a bridge to safety. We invite all to join us. When we have succeeded in our efforts then our wishes will come true.

J. P. W.

COOPERATION WILL PREVENT DEPRESSIONS

The New York Herald Tribune Index of prices of 100 stocks shows the following: December 20, 1927 122.15; September 3, 1929 206.87; December 10, 1931 92.65.

By what earthly force was the hopeful capitalist, professional or amateur, impelled to pay $206.87 in 1929 for a share of stock which was priced at $122.15 in 1927 and which on December 10, 1931 came to be worth but $92.65.

The answer is one short, ugly word—Greed.

Behind these cold figures lies the material for a Shakespearean tragedy—life, hope, passion, denouement. Now King Lear wanders in the storm, blind, hungry, a poor panhandler. Dramatic? Yes, but let's keep our tragedies on the stage.

During the rising market of 1928 and 1929, hardly a person but was affected by the contagion of greed. Stenographers and truckmen took their hard-won savings and bought, bought, bought in the delirious belief that stocks would rise and rise and they would all make their fortunes. For a time stocks did rise and fortunes were made. But money is not made; it does not fall from the sky. There had to be an end. Many were caught and crushed.

This is typical of what took place in all profit business during these years. Prices rose, business boomed, real estate rentals soared. More and more money was poured into the speculative markets in the hope of making a killing. Oh, those were happy times.

And these are just as sad times as those were happy. The top-heavy pyramid of inflated values fell, burying those who but a moment before had been in such high feather.

But, if the pyramid had never been built up, it never would have fallen. Would it built up? Speculative greed, not only of big Wall Street operators but of small business men, clerks, bookkeepers, bricklayers, railroad men—everyone who succumbed to the temptation to gamble.

Behind the charts and the tables, the theories of economists and the nibbles of politicians, the cause of this depression—as of every other—is the desire of men to get more than is coming to them, to acquire without working, to make profits as opposed to wages—greed. It is the characteristic which the cooperative philosophy attacks against.

There is no speculation in cooperative stocks. Why should there be? Their value neither appreciates nor depreciates. Nor is there any speculation in cooperative goods or real estate. Cooperative goods are bought at the lowest possible price and passed on to the consumer at cost. At no point in the cooperative chain of production and distribution does greed enter. Cooperators are too busy at truly creative work, seeking the highest quality goods at the lowest cost, to have time to become enamoured of profit-making.

That is why we may believe that the cooperative system of economics stands a good chance of doing away with all business depressions. It goes to the root of the matter by indicating the cause of the inflation which invariably results in a subsequent deflation.

RETAIL VS. WHOLESALE

Should a retail society go into production in competition with the wholesale? This question came before a special meeting of the London society recently called to consider a proposed rule stating "that no goods may be manufactured for sale which compete with C. W. S. productions, unless by agreement with the Cooperative Wholesale Society." It was voted down, 2079 to 125.

It was pointed out that "there is a question of principle involved. The C. W. S. is a federation of retail societies and is subject to their authority and control. The proposal would invert the order by making this society (London) subterranean to the operation of the C. W. S. and give that society far greater powers over the development policy of the London society than those possessed by the shareholders."

It is not currently a deliberate policy of the London society to compete with the C. W. S., but rather to produce such goods as it can to better advantage than it can buy of C. W. S. and so extend cooperative production as rapidly as possible. Weekly purchases of C. W. S. in the past year averaged £70,022. London's annual production totaled £270,000. They included milk, tailoring, upholstery, mattresses, bedding, biscuits, cakes, cooked meats and other goods, drugs and fertilizers.

The London Society is growing rapidly. Its trade total in the last half-year was £4,749,577, an increase of £62,150. This contrasts with a money decrease (but tonnage increase) in the trade of most of the British societies.
News and Comment

THE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

ADVANCES

One of the most highly seasonal educational activities of the cooperative movement is that of The Cooperative League Correspondence School. With the approach of the first brisk Fall day, students who have, during the summer, almost deserted their lessons on the Principles of Consumers' Cooperation or the technical management or bookkeeping problems of the movement, again begin their studies. By the first of December old students are at work and new enrollments begin to come in. In four years, our studies have been taken by a considerable number of directors, store managers, as well as by the interested members. The secretary of a large middle-western farmers' cooperative has enrolled. The manager of a successful Ohio miners' store is a student. A theological graduate who has chosen not to preach but to devote his life to cooperative organization has taken more than one of our courses. A waiter in a Chinese restaurant in New York has signed up, wishing to take his training to assist in the development of the movement in China. In the Northwest, the courses have been used as a preliminary to the resident training schools. A group of interested managers and clerks of a Western Canadian organization—Saskatchewan—have as a group taken the lessons as a basis for their winter discussions. From Georgia, from the New England states, from Montana—from every section of the country registrations have come.

The reasons given for taking our courses include: "With the extensive mechanization of industry forecast for the coming decade, we may work to the end that a truer, deeper understanding of the fundamentals of cooperative philosophy may develop and that the system founded on that philosophy may become more widely known, more thoroughly effective, and more practiced."

In this period when apathy and financial difficulties have sapped the strength of many efforts toward workers' education, it is a source of satisfaction to the cooperative movement that its membership is continuing in an ever-increasing way its interest in cooperative education. The present efforts are, however, not enough. More cooperators should send in their enrollment cards for the several courses offered. (See advertisement in the back of this issue). If the cooperative movement is to advance, it must have an intelligent membership and trained executives in its management.

TWICE AS MANY COOPERATORS AS TRADE UNIONISTS

At the end of 1929 there were 44,190,559 members of trade unions throughout the world. According to figures in Current History Magazine, there is no international trade union organization to which they belong. They are not united into a world movement or "field man" and "to become an active cooperator."

At Waukegan, a number of cooperators have organized a class in which the excellent course on "The Organization and Administration of Cooperatives" is used as the basis for discussion. This course was written by Cedric Long who was so interested in developing a sound management for the movement that he added to his already-crowded schedule in preparing this course and personally corrected the papers submitted by students.

One seasoned cooperator who has finished our courses writes us from Alberta: "With the extensive mechanization of industry forecast for the coming decade, we may work to the end that a truer, deeper understanding of the fundamentals of cooperative philosophy may develop and that the system founded on that philosophy may become more widely known, more thoroughly effective, and more practiced."

In this period when apathy and financial difficulties have sapped the strength of many efforts toward workers' education, it is a source of satisfaction to the cooperative movement that its membership is continuing in an ever-increasing way its interest in cooperative education. The present efforts are, however, not enough. More cooperators should send in their enrollment cards for the several courses offered. (See advertisement in the back of this issue). If the cooperative movement is to advance, it must have an intelligent membership and trained executives in its management.

INCREASE IN ACTIVITIES

Educational and recruiting activities reported from scores of societies in the N. S. C. L. district indicate that Cooperative Month was successful in this year's campaign. While a few affiliated societies failed to make any special effort and some started in a belated fashion despite the call and announcements sent out by the national and district offices, nevertheless, concerted activities were at a higher mark during the first Cooperative Month than ever before. Some societies to distribute cooperative literature and secure subscribers to cooperative publications, visiting days and specials at the stores, contests in securing new members, etc. In the various activities the Women's Cooperative Guilds and also the Cooperative Youth Leagues gave practical demonstration of their usefulness and further possibilities in building the movement.

Since the Cooperative Month this year was the first sponsored by The Cooperative League throughout the country, it is fair to assume that in the N. S. C. L. district the experiences gained—including the lessons from possible blunders and shortcomings—will result in a greater amount of continued educational and organizational effort and undoubtedly will contribute to make the second Cooperative Month in 1932 an even greater success.

ILLEGAL USE OF WORD "COOPERATIVE"

One of New York's thousands of "hash houses" was apparently inspired by the success of a nearby cafeteria of Consumers Cooperative Services. At any rate it hung out a sign "Cooperative Cafeteria." A member of the League staff who happened to see it dropped in and inquired how cooperative it was. The cashier explained that five lunch rooms belonging to the same man co-operated with each other. Fortunately the New York Cooperative Corporations Law is one of the few in the country that has teeth. A letter to the appropriate State Department immediately brought a warning to the organization to discontinue using the word cooperative as they were not incorporated under the Cooperative Corporations Law.

Are there any fake cooperatives in your neighborhood? If there are and if your state law provides any penalty for the use of the word co-operative by an unincorporated business, it may be worth while to go after them.

LEAGUE OFFERS $50 PRIZE

The best painting to be submitted to the offices of The Cooperative League will win a cash prize of $50. This painting is to be used in the 1933 calendar, which will be distributed the cooperative societies. The painting must have genuine artistic value and must be symbolic of Cooperation. All entries for the contest should reach The League office before April 16th, 1932.
Cooperation Abroad

BUYING ABROAD

In 1928 the British Cooperative Wholesale Society spent for purchases abroad approximately $170,000,000. Of this there went to the Canadian Wheat Pool, $6,215,910; New Zealand Produce Association $4,884,210; Australian Overseas Farmers' Cooperative Federation Limited $3,304,655. Is it any wonder that the cooperative movement desires free and untrammelled arteries of world trade?

COOPERATIVE COAL CARS

Besides the ownership of the best run coal mines in England, the cooperative societies are advancing towards control of coal transportation. Several societies own boats for carrying their coal.

The British Cooperative Union has recently established the Cooperative Coal Trade Association. This new organization has made a survey of the societies and their coal facilities and finds a total of over 5,000 coal cars owned by the cooperative societies. This is the way cooperation works. Before acquiring locomotives and railroads, it creates the goods to be distributed, then it learns how to distribute, and then it takes the next step.

PROFIT BUSINESS FEELS ITS TOES PINCHED

A lecture on cooperation was to be broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation, government-owned radio system of that country, on November 5, but the plan ran against a snag—the organized opposition of private traders. The lecture was one of a current school series, and objection was raised to it on the ground that it would "tend to advertise the cooperative organizations." The B. B. C. issued a statement that the lecture was being withdrawn in order that we "may reconsider the subject."

CONSUMERS' SOCIETIES JOIN TO RUN DAIRIES

Dairies run by federations of cooperative societies seem to be on the increase in Britain. The plant of the Northwest Durham Cooperative Dairies Federation began operations recently. It can handle 500 gallons per hour and capacity can be raised to 1000 gallons per hour. This is the first venture of this kind in the north of England.

The United Cooperative Dairies at Failsworth, in which six societies including the C. W. S. are joined, is another large venture of this kind which will soon commence operations.

COOPERATIVE TANK CARS

Two road-rail tanks for the transportation of milk from farm to consumer have been put into service by the English C. W. S. The milk is collected from the farmers and brought to a central dairy where it is transferred to the glass-lined tank, capacity 2000 gallons. The tank is mounted on wheels, as a trailer. It is hauled to the railroad station by a tractor and there placed on a specially designed flatcar and transported by swift train to the C. W. S. dairy in London. The milk is then siphoned out.

The cooperative milk trade is being pushed rapidly in England.

ONTARIO NOW HAS WHOLESALE

The farmers' distributive societies in the counties of Grey and Dufferin, Ontario, have formed a wholesale society, to be known as The Ontario Cooperative Wholesale Society, Ltd. By-laws have been adopted and incorporated for its formation. Warehousing of goods in the Ontario Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd. is open to all distributive societies in the province.

COOPERATIVE CONTROL OF BREAD PRICES IN SCOTLAND

The largest bakery in Great Britain perhaps in Europe, is the United Cooperative Baking Society of Glasgow. Owing to its remarkable progress during the past years, the society controls the bread prices in the city.

Since 1927 the number of its affiliated societies has increased from 227 to 242, sacks of flour baked per half year from 112,854 to 150,584 and bread sales from £662,238 to £674,760. The society produces the cheapest bread in Glasgow, the price of the 2 lb. loaf being at present 3½d compared with 5½d in 1927. In spite of the fact that the current price of flour would justify an increase in bread prices, the U. C. B. S. recently decided to make no change for the moment. As a result of this decision the private bakers were compelled to follow suit.

A similar benefit has been conferred on consumers by the Tweedside Industrial Cooperative Society of Berwickshire, which has reduced the price of the 4 lb. loaf during this year, first to 6d and then to 5d, with the result that the Society's bread trade increased during the month of October by about 12½%.

IN THE ALPS

The 300 workers on the Berbellino Dam in the Italian Alps can now buy their supplies from a cooperative shop and can be protected for their special benefit by joint action of the cooperative society of Bergamo, the trade unions and the construction company. The shop is over a mile high (from sea level, not in price). The workers get their meals at a total cost of one shilling per day.

THAT'S A-TOOTIN'

A cooperative store was recently opened in Tooting, a suburb of London. "Within an hour of the opening," we read in The Producer, "2356 customers were served and 30 new members enrolled."
COOPERATION GIVES HOPE

The German working people are turning to the cooperative societies for help in their present distress.

Vollrath Klepzig, General Secretary of the Central Union of German Consumers' Societies, writes:

"We are enrolling new members in order to put a stop to the present distress. The small incomes of many millions of people call for wise spending, and money goes further when purchased at the cooperative store. For consumers' societies were, are, and always will be, a protection for the weak against economic domination and injustice. It is significant that the general impoverishment, which is so characteristic of the present day, has not destroyed the confidence of the consumers in the disinterested work of the consumers' societies. We are enrolling new members in order to turn the thoughts of consumers towards an attainable goal. The worries and cares of the present time confuse the minds and darken the outlook of the consumer; the fear of the future weakens his courage and poisons his faith.

"We are enrolling new members to turn the present distress into a fight against their will must be relieved. This can only be accomplished by a conscious effort to dispel their daily cares by strengthening their faith in their future and their own power. The consumers' movement, which has grown up from nothing to one of the strongest economic movements in the world, invites and deserves such cooperation."  

Konsumentenwissenschaftliche Rundschau (Hamburg) October 31, 1931.

COOPERATIVE PRICES LOWEST

A striking confirmation of the fact that the prices of consumers' societies is lower than those of retail dealers is furnished by the comparison between the prices charged by the German Consumers' Societies for 24 commodities in 19 large cities and those charged for the same commodities in the same cities by private traders. Which has just been published by the Central Union of German Consumers' Societies. Basing itself on the returns of the Governmental Department of Statistics which issues a monthly list of prices for 24 commodities in 19 large German cities, the Central Union has drawn up an identical list of average prices. This comparison reveals the fact that the average price of 22 out of the 23 commodities for which a comparison was possible is lower in the consumers' societies. The reduction in the prices of the goods sold in consumers' stores varies between 13% for sugar and 20.6% for potatoes. Only in regard to farm butter, which 6 of the 19 consumers' societies distribute, is the comparison unfavorable to the consumers' store, margarin being most commonly used by cooperative societies.

SHOP S ON WHEELS

The British cooperative movement has 1000 "traveling shops." 621 of these were built by the C. W. S.
afraid to fight. Then came the Franco-Prussian war. France was the aggressor and attacked Germany. "The greatest national crime that we have had the pain of recording... War is declared—an unjust but premeditated war." (London Times, 10 July, 1871). When the German people united and beat off France, in 1871, the Germans became a united and militarist people.

For over forty years hatred between France and Germany was promoted by the armament makers and the chauvinists of both lands. Germany forged ahead as an industrial country, and was rapidly moving toward the front in commerce. Her militarist class, headed by a preposterous and braggart Kaiser, became both dangerous and offensive. Germany's conquest of the markets of the world, however, was her chief offense. Then came the inevitable great war caused largely by envy and by the intrigue of French politicians who corrupted still more a corrupt ruling class in Russia. This war against Germany, planned by French diplomats, and started by France and Russia, had behind it the concealed and sinister armament makers who are busily promoting militarism. French diplomats block the dismemberments of the German people, and their neighbors has been kept alive by the provisions of the Versailles treaty.

The French Danger

The wealthy French armament makers are busily promoting militarism in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and the Balkan countries. A meeting in Paris for the discussion of reduction of armaments has been broken up by a mob while the police stood by and watched; and the next day practically the entire Parisian press applauded the mob and the police.

The French politicians, in control of the Government, are as low a grade as our own. The press is mendacious and corrupt, and the public that looks to it for information is ignorant of the international situation.

So strong is French militarism that it now seems that the long anticipated conference at Geneva for the discussion of reduction of armaments may not take place.

However, there is still hope that other nations will meet. All but the representatives of France will probably be ready to make concessions to peace. And they must, or their military burdens will destroy them.

The hope of peace lies not in the moral sentirment in these countries so much as in the pressing need of economy. Their battleships are breaking their backs. It is possible that they may take the way of peace to save themselves. Militarism is too expensive.

The replacing of the War Department in every country with a Department of Peace, the elimination of war profits, the establishment of international police, the economic boycott, the sympathetic union of the non-belligerent countries, and mutual arbitration are causes that will ultimately impress the French politicians with the disadvantages of continuing their war promoting attitude and should prove the folly of militarism.

Hope Springs Eternal

Fortunately there is in France a well developed movement for peace. Groups of respected people, who understand this world situation, are working for better international understanding. The press and the politicians of France do not deceive all of the population.

Highly significant, as an agency of peace, is the French Cooperative Movement. Its leaders are men with broad international sympathies. The press and the politicians of France do not deceive all of the population.

The replacing of the War Department in every country with a Department of Peace, the elimination of war profits, the establishment of international police, the economic boycott, the sympathetic union of the non-belligerent countries, and mutual arbitration are causes that will ultimately impress the French politicians with the disadvantages of continuing their war promoting attitude and should prove the folly of militarism.

But neither cooperators nor pacifists can bring peace while politicians, as the agents of profit business, rule the affairs of nations. Conscientious objection to war cannot be effective unless it is associated with active objection to capitalism. Mental disarmament is also needed.

Conscientious objection to patriotism is essential. It is as essential as conscientious objection to war.

Chauvinism in every nation must be scrapped along with the cannon and battleships. Mental disarmament must go hand in hand with military disarmament.

Little hope of peace can exist with the business of the world based on capitalist economics and profit-getting. All talk of peace ultimately comes to naught.

Still we should be interested in the palliatives of disarmament because we do not want the disorder which further collapse of capitalism would bring.

The cooperative societies need only time and patience to go on with their great work of reorganizing the economic system of the world. And it can be done without asking the people to suffer more.
TWO MASTERS, By Archibald Gordon Craig, 1901. Published by the Author, 100 Clinton Ave., Jersey City, N. J. Cloth, 75 cents; paper, 50 cents, postpaid.

This book discusses the teachings of Jesus as a contribution to sociology. It is for the religious. But in the documentation of religion is much wisdom which is applicable to the affairs of life. When it is said, "Where thy treasure is there thy heart will be also," the weakness of human nature is proclaimed. People want property. They want things. And in the getting of things they are prone to lose sight of the better life and the finer values. This book shows the conflict between these two principles. It calls them God and Mammon. It is an illuminating discussion of religious principles wisely interpreted in the light of modern social conditions.

THREE LANGUAGES AND COOPERATION

The circulation is mostly in Europe and especially among leaders, writers, and executives of the cooperative movement. These figures, however, are a fair average of the relative prevalence and importance of the three languages in the European countries.

DO YOU WANT TO MAKE FRIENDS ABROAD?

About two years ago, the Editor of the "Genossenschaftsfamille," the Cologne Gepag journal, created the "International Exchange" which serves as a link between German and foreign cooperators, who desire to correspond or to exchange postage stamps and picture post cards. The experiences, which have been made in Germany with this new institution are very gratifying. Many German cooperators of various ages, have made friends in other countries. Thousands are exchanging stamps and thus enriching their collections. Others are bent on collecting picture post cards with views of other countries and on sending in return views of German towns, famous buildings and beauty spots. To establish contact, send your address, name and age to the Editor of Cooperation, 167 West 12th St., New York City.

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THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND POLITICS

By Colston E. Warne

AN ANSWER

By Dr. J. P. Warbasse

COOPERATIVE ELECTRICITY

By Tom Martin

A COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

By MacAlister Coleman
The Cooperative Movement and Politics

By Colston E. Warne

I.

A persistent fallacy has too long dominated cooperative thinking in the United States. It is the feeling that the cooperative movement should maintain an attitude of aloofness toward politics.

This feeling has been based upon the following arguments: (1) That political activities in which the cooperative might engage would divert interest from cooperation and thus lessen its business success; (2) that political interests would cause controversy in the ranks of cooperators, splitting them between democratic, republican, progressive, socialist, and communist cooperators. Unity would be lacking; (3) that political activity would cause retaliation by the dominant, reactionary political parties in the form of higher taxation for cooperatives and adverse legislation of other types; (4) that political activities are contrary to the fundamental theory upon which the consumers cooperative movement is based. This view maintains that the cooperative movement is essentially anarchistic in character, aiming to substitute for the political state an encroaching authority which springs from organized groups of consumers; (5) that the European experience in cooperative circles is demonstrating beyond question the expediency of political neutrality. On this point it is held that where cooperatives have been thriving political neutrality has been the rule. Among the champions of these views one must include Dr. J. P. Warbasse, President of The Cooperative League of the United States of America, and a leading spokesman of consumer cooperation. It is indeed not too much to say that the official position of the American movement has on the whole favored this attitude. When, two or three years ago, this issue was presented to the national convention of the cooperative movement the position taken was clearly one of political neutrality. The Communist groups of the Northwest which were disposed to challenge the attitude of the cooperative neutrality were unable to gain sufficient voting strength to secure the adoption of a political expression by The Cooperative League.

II.

It is the viewpoint of the writer that the American cooperative movement has been proceeding on false assumptions in the matter of political activities; that the current attitude is a result of superficial thinking concerning the nature of the problems facing cooperation. Furthermore, that the European experience points not toward a position of neutrality but rather toward one of direct and forceful political participation.

Let us consider the arguments which are offered for political neutrality.

(1) The business success argument. It is held that business success of cooperatives will be endangered if the cooperative movement is split between the purposes of achieving balance-sheet results and the purpose of registering victories at the polls. This argument calls into the foregound the essential question: Shall the cooperative movement or shall it not recognize the existence of a struggle of classes, within which all economic, political, and parcel of the capitalist system. The answer is that unity is too frequently secured at the cost of progress. Viewing the last decade of cooperative history, one rather draw the line, as the example of the post office—indeed of every economic service of the community. One does not care to distinguish cooperative ambitions, but a reasoned view of the matter points to the necessity of a considerable measure of collectivism in the future social order. It is difficult, for example, to picture the cooperative movement should not have gained considerably by developing a few workers as a group are faced by opponents who are in one capacity industrial and financial leaders and in another capacity dominating factors in the political community, should not the cooperative movement throw its resistance likewise on both fronts? A simple illustration will perhaps make this point clear. If the Andrew Meltons and the John J. Rankobes were leaders of dominant parties and are at the same time spokesmen for giant industrial interests is it desirable for the cooperative movement to strive for business success and to avoid the implication of seeking to upset the political control held by these groups? Surely if the cooperative movement seeks the formation of a new order of society, this new order cannot be attained by striving solely to upset the dominant class from economic power—it must instead be directed against both their political and economic dominance.

(2) But, some will argue, we have in the cooperative movement only a small minority of workers who are sufficiently alert to realize that the two dominant parties are both part and parcel of the capitalist system. Faced with this fact, is not it more desirable to keep unity in cooperative ranks than to endanger the long-run success of the movement by premature political gestures? The answer is that unity is too frequently secured at the cost of progress. Viewing the last decade of cooperative history, apathy has been the most devastating enemy faced by cooperation. In many towns vigorous societies have died through the fact that the organization resembled in many aspects a ladies’ afternoon knitting club. The members have had limited objectives, such as running a small grocery store. Any lack of helping strikes, assisting labor parties in the area, and taking thoroughly class conscious attitudes have been ruled out as controversial. As a result many cooperatives have died of dry rot. An aggressive policy may dispel unity but it will bring to the support of the movement many workers. And such a policy will in itself prove a stimulus toward the increasing of insulation and the utilities while sponsoring the rise of cooperation in the distributive fields and in the light industries? Social development does not follow closely logical blueprints.

(3) Some cooperators have shared the feeling that retaliation by dominant political groups would take place if the cooperative movement were to adopt a political platform. This attitude is refuted by the facts of political history. No group, political or economic, gains strength by proclamations of neutrality against an movement. That cooperation was deemed sufficiently innocuous to receive the indorsement of two recent presidents of the United States reflects not to the credit of the movement but rather to the fact that cooperation had failed sufficiently to reveal its true purpose. It is not too much to say that cooperation would gain considerably by developing a few workers as a group are faced by opponents who are in one capacity industrial and financial leaders and in another capacity dominating factors in the political community, should not the cooperative movement throw its resistance likewise on both fronts? A simple illustration will perhaps make this point clear. If the Andrew Meltons and the John J. Rankobes were leaders of dominant parties and are at the same time spokesmen for giant industrial interests is it desirable for the cooperative movement to strive for business success and to avoid the implication of seeking to upset the political control held by these groups? Surely if the cooperative movement seeks the formation of a new order of society, this new order cannot be attained by striving solely to upset the dominant class from economic power—it must instead be directed against both their political and economic dominance.

(4) Far more basic than these points is the argument that cooperative theory calls for a “fading state.” On this point Dr. J. P. Warbasse has forcefully urged that the cooperative movement should not be satisfied until it has by expansion and growth, not by existing ownership of public utilities, steel mills, coal mines, the post office—indeed of every economic service of the community. One does not care to distinguish cooperative ambitions, but a reasoned view of the matter points to the necessity of a considerable measure of collectivism in the future social order. It is difficult, for example, to picture the cooperative movement should not have gained considerably by developing a few workers as a group are faced by opponents who are in one capacity industrial and financial leaders and in another capacity dominating factors in the political community, should not the cooperative movement throw its resistance likewise on both fronts? A simple illustration will perhaps make this point clear. If the Andrew Meltons and the John J. Rankobes were leaders of dominant parties and are at the same time spokesmen for giant industrial interests is it desirable for the cooperative movement to strive for business success and to avoid the implication of seeking to upset the political control held by these groups? Surely if the cooperative movement seeks the formation of a new order of society, this new order cannot be attained by striving solely to upset the dominant class from economic power—it must instead be directed against both their political and economic dominance.

Surely if the cooperative movement seeks the formation of a new order of society, this new order cannot be attained by striving solely to upset the dominant class from economic power—it must instead be directed against both their political and economic dominance.
It rather flows from the trend of economic institutions as they develop out of the existing setting. How much simpler and how effective it would be for the American cooperative movement (with a provision for democratic management) to proceed by political action than to seek to build a structure from the cooperative base which would ultimately assume this function. The state, it is true, is compulsory, often arbitrary, and often inept. But the same can be said about any democratic development.

(5) Coming to the final, and perhaps the most fallacious argument of those who believe in political neutrality, one must consider the facts of the European experience. Only a most superficial observer could say that the European movement has taken an attitude of neutrality of political issues. In Britain, the home land of the movement, cooperative strength has gone behind the labor party—indeed in some sections where the labor party has not been sufficiently aggressive, a cooperative party has been formed. In Germany, cooperation has been a most active political force. In Austria the cooperative movement boasts of its accomplishments in union with the social democratic party. To be sure the rise of the political interest of cooperators has brought splits. This is an inevitable concomitant. But these splits have served only to bring large and somewhat competing cooperatives to the fore. Austria, for example, has two or more large cooperative groups. Belgium and Finland likewise have developed dualism in the movement. The significant feature is how much cooperatives have developed. The German membership in 1920 reached 3,010,000; the British movement (1929) 6,200,000. The German trade (adjusted for price changes) increased 18% in the last year while the British trade held surprisingly well.

The most spectacular rise of cooperation in the world has been that of Soviet Russia. In 1928 the cooperative movement in that country had enrolled 18,151,000 members. By 1931 this figure had risen to 35,568,000, an increase of more than 200%—61% of the total population had at the last date become enrolled in the cooperative movement. Cooperative trade in Russia advanced until, in 1930, the turnover totalled 87,915,000,000. The number of stores likewise advanced rapidly. From conservative officials of the Russian cooperative movement, one finds that they make this distinction between the aspirations of cooperation and those of socialism. Both are considered as movements reaching toward the one goal—a society in which the system of private profit is eliminated and in which the motive of social service is substituted.

If, then, it appears that the American cooperative movement should press in the direction of political action, taking its place among those movements cooperating toward the establishment of a new economic order the question arises as to the specific policy to be adopted. It is not the purpose of this article to set forth such a policy. For upon this point the cooperatives should have considerable discussion and, indeed, should move carefully in making their decision. It may be (and probably will be) that different societies will choose to back different political parties. But the loss from this lack of unity will be more than offset by the gain which is recorded in the vigor of the movement and the clearer recognition that one travels not along a single road to freedom, but along a number of roads and that joint effort is required to attain that fundamental social reorganization which we desire.

(Professor Warasse submitted this article with the request that a reply be written by Dr. J. P. Warbasse. The reply, stating Dr. Warbasse's personal views on this subject, appears on page 33. Editor.)

Cooperative Electricity

By Tom Martin

President, Mutual Light and Power Association, Spanaway, Washington

"What's the celebration?" inquired an eastern tourist as he pulled up to a gas station in a rural section of Pierce County, Wash., one night last summer. "These farms along the highway are lit up like a silver wedding."

"Nothing unusual," was the laconic reply of the dispatcher of gas, oil, and road information.

The tourist had just entered the mutual power belt of Western Washington, the location of a practical exhibit of what a community can do if it determines to act cooperatively. At the close of the war the local farmers were becoming electric minded, and rural extension of the large power companies was going on rapidly in the thickly settled farming valleys extending out of Seattle and Tacoma. These districts were soon covered with a network of power lines.

This was fine for the valley farmer, but the greater part of the Puget Sound basin consisted of bench land recently logged off and somewhat remote and sparsely settled. The need for electricity was just as urgent, but the greater part of the Puget Sound basin consisted of bench land recently logged off and somewhat remote and sparsely settled. The need for electricity was just as urgent, however, to these farmers. Groups formed and pleaded with the private power monopoly for service but received no encouragement and less courtesy. In fact they were told that their business was too trivial to interest a large concern.

Rolling up their sleeves, these men in Pierce County started to work. A supply of power was available from the surplus generated by large municipal plants owned by the city of Tacoma, this city having built with an eye to future requirements. It was soon found out that there was nothing highly technical or mysterious about building a high power line, just a lot of hard work and some cash.

Small groups consolidated and formed larger units, duplications and errors were ironed out until there are nine of these companies organized on a strictly mutual basis, furnishing power to about 2500 rural homes and industries, mostly farms.

The goal of these companies has been abundant power at lowest possible cost consistent with good business practices. How well this idea has succeeded can be judged by the rates being paid by the members. The Emblem Mutual Co., the oldest of the groups is supplying its members at a rate of 5c for the first 20 KWH and 1c for the balance. This company is entirely free of indebtedness and at the beginning of this year had a surplus of over twelve thousand dollars on hand.

More recently organized units are paying higher rates than the Emblem company, different in that they are partially retired indebtedness and to build up a sinking fund. An example is the Loveland Mutual Co. whose rates are 5c for the first KWH, 3c for the next 130 KWH and 1c for the balance. This company has used its surplus earnings to wipe out the construction indebtedness and has created a sinking fund of over three thousand dollars which is used to help finance new members who are constantly hooking up. Also this unit has returned to its members part of the original assessments which was necessary to start construction.

The rates of the other companies are between the two mentioned above. These companies are all affiliated in one organization for mutual protection and exchange of ideas, under the name of "The Mutual Power Association." Of course the power trust has made repeated efforts to break up this cooperative development, offering to
purchase at flattering figures. Failing in this the members have been circularized at different times. Also a power company representative has been making house to house calls on the members, both circulars and the representative explaining the "graceful danger in such communistic action" as rural cooperation.

However, when John Farmer drives his flivver over to one of the neighboring counties and compares his friend's power rate with his own he decides to stick with the Co-op.

A Commercial Revolution in England

By MacAlister Coleman

(Continued from January Issue)

For nearly a generation the consumers' movement was centered in the industrial districts in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and generally, in the north of England and Scotland.

By 1859, however, when the Rochdale membership had increased to over three thousand, and the yearly trade was over half a million dollars, there were enough societies to make it evident that combination would result in an impressive purchasing power. So the third step in cooperation was the federation of these societies into wholesales. These were fought bitterly of course, as were the Rochdale pioneers, by politicians controlled by commercial interests, but nevertheless they succeeded, in 1863, in organizing the North of England Cooperative Wholesale Industrial and Provident Society. Originally this combination went in solely for groceries, but soon found itself supplying fifty-four societies which had subscribed to its capital stock with all sorts and varieties of goods. Buying on the wholesale market and rebating wholesale prices, and the prospects and congresses for which cooperators are famous today. Everywhere, it seems, when cooperator meets cooperator, whether it be on the banks of a fjord in Scandinavia or on the streets of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, they swap experiences in bucking the profit system, in successful store management, the trend of educational movement progressing quietly and without any great publicity, but nevertheless most effectively.

The cooperators believe in teaching the young idea to cooperate, and throughout England and the other nations where cooperation has taken a firm hold, there are classes in the principles of the movement for children from ten to sixteen years of age. The formal technical education for the personnel of the movement, which in England consists of nearly 200,000 persons, the majority being workers in the retail distributive sections.

The organizational education for elected officers, and finally general cultural education and propaganda for the consumers.

Dr. Harry Laidler, in his "History of Socialist Thought" says: "The Cooperative Movement of Great Britain has given to many thousands of workers a valuable training in the conduct of industry and in the art of working together to achieve significant results. It has inspired them with a confidence in the capacity of the working class to control a still greater share of its industrial life. It has shown them who in their own ranks can be entrusted with their cause. To society at large, it has given some conception of the enormous wastes that may be eliminated under a cooperative system. It has shown that many thousands of efficient managers may be induced to do their best work in industry for other than the profit motive."

It must not be thought, from anything that has been written here, that the road to the cooperative success of today was a royal one. Many a cooperative society failed because of the desertion of its members, bad management and in some cases downright dishonesty. The records of the cooperative enterprises in Great Britain have on the whole been disappointingly poor by no means cooperative in their spirit. But there is no better proof of the integrity and sturdy stability of the cooperative movement than the way in which it has confronted modern man—namely the Great War and the depression thereafter. How firmly its members stood foursquare against the martial whirlwind and the discriminations of the government is evidenced by the fact that mainly through the efforts of the cooperators at the beginning of the war, prices were stabilized, the English cooperators became politically conscious and between the cooperatives and the trade union movements there is a cooperation movement. At the same time there was an amazingly steady growth, amounting to the addition of a round million of members to the roll of cooperators between 1914 and 1919. Here are figures, which sound triumphant horns of good will and brotherhood above the clash of death and destruction.

In 1888 there were 547,000 cooperators in Great Britain. Ten years later there were more than a million. By 1914 there were three million, and by 1919, when the guns were finally silenced, four million men and women were setting their faces against the competitive system which had first fired those guns.

But today, for us in America, all figures before the crash of 1929 seem faintly "dated." How have the cooperatives fared of late? At this writing six and a half million members are enrolled on the books of the various British cooperative societies. This means that one person out of every seven of all ages, classes, color
and degree is a member of some cooperative. After ten years of such a Depression as we in America are only beginning to understand, the trade turnover of the cooperatives of Britain is more than one billion dollars annually, and is steadily growing. That this growth is a cause for deep alarm on the part of the commercialists is shown by the "Rationalization Movement" of the profit-seeking industries of the island. One of these huge mergers is offering money rebates to its customers in obvious imitation of the cooperative idea. The gross sales of the Cooperative Wholesale Society last year amounted to £65,313,000; interest on share and loan capital to £570,000; the total surplus to £2,284,300, and the net surplus to £1,344,200.

Our advertising writer who so often has to draw on his imagination might well sigh with relief when he sat down before his typewriter to tell of the triumphs of the cooperative movement of today. He could, in all truthfulness write: "In far-off lands... in factories, depots and estates... scattered up and down the length of Great Britain, Denmark, Greece, Australia, Canada, Spain, India and Ceylon... in its own coal mines, its own fruit and dairy farms, its own tea plantations and wheat farms, its own coal mines and most extensive shoe factories in Europe, in cotton and woolen mills and gigantic soap works, in clothing factories and automobile factories, in furniture and hardware workshops, in its own building departments and its own printing works, its own departments of banking and insurance—the largest and most extensive of all the cooperative movement are bringing to the people of Great Britain, themselves the employers of these workers, and themselves for the most part workers, the economic and social as well as the personal welfare and happiness of the workers. And this is being done not that any one individual may profit thereby, but that there shall be built up for all men of all classes the consumers' cooperative commonwealth."

We live together in a world where the pressure of things and yet more things is constantly upon us. In this machine age the enormous productive capacities of our industries seem to be rapidly going away from beneath human control. With our economic set-up we dare not allow full play to the machines whose output we would swiftly suffocate our present ability to consume the mass of things which modern production is capable of turning out. In these tragic and yet thrillingly challenging times, filled with revolutionary cries, those who urge that what we need is production for use rather than for profit may seem to raise thin voices in a wilderness. And yet it may very well prove that the dilemma raised by overproduction on the one hand and underconsumption on the other, which darkens the industrial and agricultural world-scene today, may be solved in no other way than by the bold attack upon the profit motive. Of panaceas and magic cure-alls we have had our fill. We know now, after our bitter experience with an economic depression of a duration and intensity such as this country has never before suffered, that there is no easy way to Utopia. And at the same time it is the sole possession of the present economy to add to mankind's cave of dreamt of wealth for all. The cooperative movement in all countries has its feet squarely planted on the good earth. It is enormously experimenting with the practical problems of everyday existence. It is as prosaic as shop-keeping and yet the central idea back of it implies a world-shaking social revolution. And money rebates 'to its customers in order to help them buy the things they need for themselves. Is not this capital in a very real sense 'social capital?' How can it function as social capital if it is withdrawn from its social use and spent?

BARTER INSTEAD OF MONEY

The trade of Old Stone Age men was largely a matter of barter. If was my deerskin for your stone axe; your clay pot for my daughter, etc., etc. It seems that we are getting back to these methods. The United States not long ago made an agreement with Brazil to barter 25,000,000 bushels of wheat for 1,050,000 bags of coffee. Other nations are making similar trades. In Britain we see an ambitious attempt to start a popular movement to buy only British-made or Empire-made goods. Australia and Canada are both making barter agreements with the mother country. Soon we may see business reduced to barter.

WHOSE CAPITAL IS IT?

As a part of the "Means Test" which is applied to British unemployed seeking unemployment insurance benefits, in order to find how great their need is, each is asked how much share capital he has in a cooperative society. In some cases he is refused help until he has withdrawn and used up this share capital. In other words, the government says, "We won't help you so long as you are well enough off to be a co-operator." Absurd though this demand is, if carried out extensively it might seriously embarrass many cooperative societies.

This development arouses several questions. Should the member of a cooperative society retain his individual ownership of the minimum share capital when he becomes unemployed and seeks state aid? Is not the purpose of this capital to enable the society to do things for its members rather than for itself? Is it not able to do so well for themselves? Is not this capital in a very real sense "social capital?" How can it function as social capital if it is withdrawn from its social use and spent?
The Midland Cooperative Oil Association has evidently made a very favorable deal in acquiring the plant and if the large attendance and the enthusiasm manifested at this opening celebration are to be taken as any criterion, the Midland may be expected to progress from now on by leaps and bounds.

It is utilizing the larger part of the building for an oil-blending plant. It has also started to handle the same brand of tires as the Central Cooperative Wholesale.

As part of the Midland's new building rises in form of a tower, four stories high, one of the speakers at the Open House Celebration suggested that it be called the "Cooperative Tower." Let us so call it from now on.

It will be of interest to the readers of COOPERATION to know that the Northern States Coop. League is considering a proposal to move its headquarters to the Midland building.

V. S. A.

THE UNION OIL COOPERATIVE

A sixty per cent increase in volume accompanied by a large increase in profit is the 1931 record of the Union Oil Company (Cooperative), with headquarters at North Kansas City, Mo. This association is made up of more than 100 affiliated local cooperatives, representing over 100,000 farmer consumers. This group has built "from the bottom up" in the short space of three years.

During the past twelve weeks, twenty-one new member companies have been added to the group. More are expected to join this year. The management conservatively estimates that the 1932 volume will reflect something like a 50 per cent increase over the year just closed. The manufacturing facilities of the company have been increased twice since the company began operations in 1929.

With the present outlook for 1932, a further enlargement will be necessary. This will probably include the erection of a new manufacturing plant which will materially increase capacity.

The company made a patronage refund of 15% of gross profits for 1929, and 20% for 1930. It is hoped that the percentage for 1931 will exceed that made in former years.

THE FIRST YEAR OF CLUSA SERVICE, INC.

A year ago a service to provide insurance for cooperators and cooperatives was a pious hope and a faint beginning. Now it is an accomplished fact.

During its first fiscal year, which has just closed, Clusa Service, Inc. placed insurance, the premiums on which amounted to over $10,000. On much of this it made substantial savings for the policyholders. Automobile insurance of cooperators, for instance, was placed in a large and reputable company at 25% less than most companies charge. Up to 30% was saved on fire insurance. The biggest savings were made on the Cooperative League Bond, which covers officers and employees of the member societies of The League. Some societies paid for this coverage half or less of what they had been paying.

The year 1932 should double the 1931 figures, and prove once more in a new field that whatever people want they can get cooperatively.

FRANKLIN CREAMERY NET

The Franklin Cooperative Creamery, Minneapolis, reports a net gain for the first nine months of 1931 of $70,299.07. Supplies for this period totaled $2,019,128.53.
Cooperation Abroad

SHOES FOR THE NEEDY
With every ten pairs of shoes ordered by Austrian cooperative societies, during a ten-week period, from the Austrian wholesale, the latter gave one pair gratis with the understanding that it would be given to an unemployed member. At the same time the price of the shoes was reduced to the point that the wholesale was making no margin, in order that more might take advantage of this offer.

COOPERATION IN MEXICO
A technical school for the teaching of cooperation and how to establish and operate cooperative societies has been set up in Mexico under the auspices of the party in power, states Industrial and Labour Information. The object of this school is to train teachers of cooperation and officials of the public services, who will extend and develop cooperative societies in Mexico. Training in the school will be free of charge.

CENTROSOYUS OVERHEAD LOW
The overhead expenses of operating the consumers' cooperative system of the U.S.S.R. are decreasing yearly, according to the information bulletin of Centrosoyus. In 1929 overhead amounted to 17.56 per cent of the retail turnover of the system; in 1930 it came down to 15.75 per cent; and in 1931 it is expected to be only 14.89 per cent.

IN SOUTH AFRICA
Cooperation is progressing in South Africa. The sales of the Pietermaritzburg society for the half year ending July 18 last were £43,104, a decrease of less than £250 on the corresponding period of 1930. Prices meanwhile had dropped 7½ to 10 per cent, indicating that the volume of goods handled must have increased considerably.

FOILED TAX-COLLECTORS
Can cooperators' rebates be garnished by tax-collectors? It was tried recently in Bo'ness, Scotland, where the town council attempted to stop payment of dividends to members of the Bo'ness Society who were in arrears with their taxes. It did not work, however, as the members concerned had already received their dividend in the form of goods.

It is said that in Scotland a member's dividend can be attached for payment of all debts, but that the society has first call upon the dividend for the payment of debts to itself.

A CURB ON CONSUMERS' COAL
The Shillibottle coal mine of the English C. W. S. has had to pay an income tax for the last five years. Evidently it has been a success, and that in spite of the law which establishes a quota for each coal mine—that is, states that each mine can produce just so much coal yearly and no more. The quota for Shillibottle is so low that the management has had to purchase a share in another mine's quota to supply the demand.

Thus a government in the hands of the money-makers, in order to keep prices up, curbs production by the consumers' own organization to meet the needs of consumers.

CO-OP BOOK PUBLISHING
Czecho-Slovakia's enterprising cooperative book publishing society, Drumnival Press, in 1930, published forty-five books, of which a total of 156,265 copies were printed. Some books ran into several thousands, as the Calendar of Czech Painters, 8000 copies. Of the forty-five sixteen were originals and twenty-nine were translations. One was a literary periodical.

The society now claims one of the finest departmental stores in Natal.

My Point of View
By J. P. Warbasse

COOPERATION VERSUS THE STATE
(A Reply to Professor Colston E. Warne)

The Class Struggle
Let us face some hard facts, even though they are unpleasant. The cooperative movement need not close its eyes to the real struggle which is based on human greed and selfishness.

There is a class struggle; that of the employers is to buy labor and raw materials at the lowest price, and the class struggle of the workers is to get the highest price for the labor they have to sell. This capitalistic dickering is a struggle, of course; and so is the frantic effort of a group of women around a bargain counter a struggle.

In the struggle of the workers to get bargains in wages, they usually do not succeed as well as the employers do in their struggle to get bargains in labor. But the workers, if they could, would like to get into the position of the employers.

If all workers have not the sense of solidarity, nor even the organizing ability to unite in trade unions for the protection of their simple and immediate interests as workers, how much ability they may be expected to bring to bear in uniting in a political party to run the government?

Our industrial magnates in the government have political power because they first had economic power. These men control big industries and banks; otherwise they never would have gotten into the political picture, unless they came in as the political servants of the people who do possess economic power.

Cooperation Requires Harmony

The idea of introducing controversial matters into a cooperative society in order to stimulate interest is na"ive. If cooperation itself, with its capacity to embrace every kind of business and every useful service performed by the State, does not supply interest enough in a society, then it had better wake up to its opportunities, or quit. Setting people into controversy about matters that are extraneous to cooperation and that always produce antagonisms is proved by experience to be unwise. The advocates of the principle that controversy is good for societies are perhaps not aware of the limitless waste of time of such discussions and the futility of their results. Cooperators are better employed discussing constructive policies and their immediate practical problems, of which there is an abundance.

The idea that "cooperation would gain considerably by developing a few enemies, especially those in reactionary circles" is based on the notion of the advantage of controversy. I once believed this myself. Experience has taught me differently. What cooperation needs is friends. It is a friendly movement. It would eliminate human hostilities. And it makes its best progress by exemplifying every day what it aims to accomplish in the red. Peace is a better way of progress than war.

Cooperation, a Common Ground of Union

Retaliation against cooperative societies has always developed when the societies officially have given their influence to a political party that later was defeated. In Italy the cooperative movement and its leaders were committed to the socialist party and worked for it and with it. As a result, when the opposing party, the Fascists, came to power they did the natural and expected thing—they
destroyed the alien cooperative movement, and persecuted and killed its leaders. Economic groups wisely protect themselves by abstaining from exciting the hostility of political parties that may become dominant—and nobody knows what party that may be, nor how long it will stay in power.

It is true that cooperation received the endorsement of two recent presidents of the United States. There were also planks in its favor in the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties. That does not mean that it is innocuous, on the contrary, it means that it has become sufficiently potent economically for politicians to desire to curry favor with its adherents. The Socialist and the Communist parties also gave it the same endorsement. Cooperation is endorsed by leading national bodies of the Catholic Church, of the bishops of the Episcopal Church, and of the Protestant Churches. I do not see that any of these endorsements is to the damage of the cooperative movement, but rather to its advantage. Surely they do credit to the endorsers. The more understanding and the more sympathy toward cooperation that present day society displays, the more hope is there for the human race.

As to reactionaries and radicals, according to my point of view, most of the groups that are called radical are strictly reactionary and are moving toward a reactionary goal. If the cooperative movement should unite with what is now commonly called radical, it would move backward and not forward, because it would be moving toward the expansion of stateism and toward its own destruction.

The State, the Enemy of Man

The one organization in the world which I dread is the State. Here Mr. Warne and I part. He is for a continuous expansion of State functions. I see in it a bad remedy for a bad disorder. There is prevalent a notion that evils of all kinds must be dealt with by the State. This idea arises from natural human indolence and from the disposition to postpone personal responsibility. Put it on the State! This is equivalent to let somebody else do it. And, as a fact, somebody else does do it. That somebody else is the political party which runs the State—a comparatively small body of officials, coherent, having common interests, and acting under central authority.

The growth of stateism goes on. It is the natural product of capitalism. It is not the socialists but the capitalists who are most responsible for its promotion. Prince Bismarck in his exaltation of Prussian stateism, did more to promote socialism than Karl Marx. Under State socialism the big corporation grows into the big State. As the State increases its functions the notion grows among the citizens that more will be done for them, and gradually the citizen assumes that everything will be done for him and nothing need be done by him—except to vote.

People think of what they get from the State as something gratis. They are led to look upon benefits received through State agencies as free benefits. They do not think of looking for more and expecting more to be handed out to them. The development of State socialism, which is going on in all countries, is producing a flabby character. It is responsible for what might be called the higher mendacity. Everybody is trying to get the Government to give him some sort of a pension. It is the capitalist wants tariffs and subsidies. The worker wants State insurance, instead of insuring himself. In these demands the citizens acknowledge the weakness of human character and ability instead of encouraging self-reliance and strength.

Reformers and socialists are demanding new laws to correct old evils. "We should have a law," this and a law to do that is the last resort of the lazy. If we look over the history of parliamentarianism we find that the great advantages the people have gotten out of legislative action have been by the repeal of laws rather than by the enactment of laws.

If the people permit the State to usurp the economic functions, along with that usurpation will go the loss of their liberties. As the human character grows more flabby, it is obvious that the loss of liberties is not regarded very seriously. Liberties are surrendered directly in proportion as popular necessities are supplied and welfare is provided by State agencies.

Under State domination there cannot be mutual agreement between employer and employee, but, instead, arbitrary authority set over the workers. And the workers must accept, with military acquiescence, what is imposed upon them. This is what the English socialists describe as "agricultural and industrial armies under State control." It means orders, discipline, and no rising up as a matter of right. That socialists do credit to the endorsers. And labor's disobedience to the politicians becomes treason.

Russia is pointed out as the splendid example of how stateism works. The experiment is new. It is making a desperate struggle to succeed. The eyes of the world are upon it. It must naturally do its best and present as good a picture as possible. I do not take seriously its autocracy, its suppression of liberties, its ruthless political domination, its corruption and inefficiency. They are not purposeful nor desired nor necessary. But let communism in Russia succeed, and come absolutely into domination without fear of overthrow, as sure of itself as capitalism is in the United States, and there we may expect all of these evils as a permanent and inevitable result of stateism and not as a temporary accident. Communism in Russia will fall as soon as it wins. It is never safe to assume that officialdom will work the way it is intended to work. It never does.

Herbert Spencer wisely said: "It would need but a war with an adja-

cent State, or some internal discontent demanding forcible suppression to transform at once a socialistic administration into a grinding tyranny like that of ancient Peru; under which the mass of the people, controlled by grades of officials, and living lives that were inspected out-of-doors and indoors, labored for the support of the State, which requisitioned them, and were left with but a bare subsistence for themselves."

In my "Cooperative Democracy" I have shown the futility of the socialist contention that the big undertakings, like the postoffice, coal mines, electric supply, telephones and railroads, must be owned and managed by the State. I have tried to make it clear that people, organized into voluntary consumers' cooperative societies, can and do run such undertakings, and that the average man is quite as intelligent when acting as a member of a cooperative society as he is when acting as a citizen of a State, also just as able to employ technical experts, more promptly, in action, expert, perhaps, just as capable of being concerned for his own welfare.

Mr. Sidney Webb (who became Lord Passfield, under the Socialist Government), the leader of socialist thought in Great Britain, never was able to conceive of a voluntary non-political control of industry; like all socialists he thinks in patriotic terms of the noble and expanding State.

I agree with Mr. Warne that the State ownership and control of railways seems simpler and easier than the cooperative method. But the simple and easy thing, I do not agree is the better, even though it may be the more imminent. As I have observed history, the worst thing is often the thing the people can see, and the easy thing is quite common the thing adopted.

Cooperation Is Damaged by Political Commitments

Coming to the fallacious assumption of those who have faith in poli-
ticians, we must look at the facts in Europe. In Great Britain the cooperative societies were tricked by a political ruse into a partial endorsement of the Labour Party. A number of societies also participated in the organization of the Cooperative Party. Between these two a confusion exists which is, at the least, disconcerting. Among the 6,000,000 members of the British society are people of every party, including liberals and conservatives. The result is splits among their members as to growing disunity in the movement. At the last general election the majority of cooperators, like the majority of workers, did not vote for the candidates of Labor or cooperative parties! They cast their votes mostly for conservative candidates. So far as I can see, the great mistake of the British cooperative movement has been to commit itself to any political party.

In Germany the picture is quite the opposite. The German movement has a positive stand against alliance or political parties. The German national cooperative union passes resolutions of neutrality. There is no political alliance or endorsement whatever. Socialists who go to Germany are shown about by their comrades. The German socialist speaks of the cooperative bakery as "our bakery." It is "our" this and "our" that. But one never hears a German cooperative speaker of the Socialist party or any of its works as "our party."

In Austria I have never heard a cooperative boast of the joint accomplishments of cooperation and socialism. The socialists make such boasts. But in Vienna, which has a socialist government, the cooperative movement is purposely retarded by socialist officials wherever they can promote their right to its place. Cooperative housing in Austria, for example, has a better chance of development in the cities not controlled by socialists than it has in the socialist city of Vienna.

In Belgium, that part of the cooperative movement which is committed to socialist and trade union politics, has about come to a standstill. But outside of it is growing an independent non-political movement. In all of the countries where socialism has become a dominant influence in the cooperative movement another competing cooperative movement has sprung up. This latter has for its members, persons who believe that cooperation should be neither political nor religious, persons who belong to some church or sect by nature are antischolastics, anarchists, middleclass people, civil servants etc. The introduction of political socialism is responsible for this split in the European cooperative movement.

In Russia and Italy the cooperative movements are hampered in their pure cooperative expression by political control which amounts to cooperation from above. Revolution is growing in Italy. But in Russia, if communism fully succeeds, the cooperative movement as such will disappear.

There is no cooperative movement in the world that is making more substantial gain and is upon a firmer basis than that of Sweden. It is outstanding for its beauty and progress. It is the only movement of which I know, that is insistently neutral in politics and religion and in trade union matters also. It refuses to participate or take sides in any political or trade union question or dispute. It proceeds as pure cooperation, leaving its individual members complete freedom to take any sides they wish. It is so complete that it has not admitted in its cooperative societies the most radical movement in Sweden today is the powerful and growing cooperative movement. Capitalism is more fearful of it than of socialism or of communism for through it the Swedish people are training themselves to supply their own needs, without asking the state or profit business to supply them.

And that is the most radical thing that can be done in the economic world.

Which is the Party of the People?

In closing, I come to the crucial point. If it would be to the advantage of the American cooperative movement to go into politics, to what political party should it attach itself? This question cannot be answered specifically. Otherwise there is no use talking about political action.

Mr. Warne suggests that each society in the United States go into politics, different societies backing different political parties. Then we should have each society committed to the endorsement of the party supported by the majority of its members. That would mean that the overwhelming majority of societies would be committed to cast their influence for the Republican or Democratic parties. These are the parties of the workers in the United States. These are the parties to which the workers almost wholly give their support. The cooperative masses would strive for the election of the candidates of these parties and make use of their surplus funds for electioneering purposes. The majority would be so great that the cooperative movement of this country would be a bulwark of strength working for these two great parties of the workers—and it would be of distinct assistance to Mr. Hoover and Jimmy Walker in their next campaigns.

It is my own feeling that individual members of cooperative societies who desire to participate in such politics be granted freedom to do so as free individuals. It should be hoped they would be found voting for candidates who would do the best for cooperation. If cooperative societies have enough members voting independently the politicians will be glad to do what they want. The more property the cooperators own, the more business they do, and the more credit they control, the more will the politicians listen to them. If the cooperators possess the majority of economic control in any district, the politicians will lick their boots; and still, the cooperators have gotten that far they will not need any political state. The State is only needed by a minority which wishes to rob a majority. It has no place in an honest society. It has never been anything but an instrument of injustice, privilege and oppression. Nor do I see that it can be anything else.

Let us not make the mistake to put the political cart before the economic horse.

Cooperation is winning its victories in the economic field, by purely economic means. It prosperous by avoiding the muddle of politics. Let it beware that it build up nothing that looks like a State.

The foregoing is in no sense a discussion of socialism. Dr. Warne's viewpoint of the contributions of Socialism to Cooperation ends in a Cobden Club paper. (See "Cooperative News," February, March and April, 1932, Editor.)

Book Reviews


In her warm and sympathetic introduction to this book, Virginia Woolf tells us that "sometime in the Victorian and Edwardian eras a book called The Women's Guild crept modestly and tentatively into existence. For a time it occupied an inch or two of space in the Cooperative News, which called itself The Women's Corner. It was there that Mrs. Adlard asked, 'Why should not we hold our own meetings and hold our own meetings and meetings, when we may bring our work and sit together, one of us reading some Cooperative work aloud, which may afterwards be discussed?' And on April 18th, 1888, she announced that The Women's Guild now numbered seven members.

Today the Guild has nearly 1400 branches and 67,000 members, and Miss Davies tells us "it has given the unity and force which enable women to become a power in the movement and to share in its administration. Outside the Cooperative movement, Guilds-women have effectively voiced the neglected
needs of married working-women. They supported vigorously the establishment of School Clinics. They brought forward a National Scheme for the care of Maternity. The Guild has also made a notable contribution to breaking down class and sex disabilities in public life. Starting from buying bread and butter, on revolutionary principles, the Guildswomen reached an international outlook. This has led to the creation of an International Women’s Guild, in which 27 countries are now taking part. The International Guild has steadfastly stood for Peace, and has laid before the League of Nations the strong demand of its members for Disarmament.”

It is easy to understand how such a growth has come about, after one has read the memories of their lives, written by Guildswomen, and presented by Miss Davies in this book. Here we find an intellectual and physical vitality, a vaunt spirit, that no drudgery, no lack of opportunity, could overcome. Here is Mrs. Leaton who tells, in memories of seventy years, of her childhood in Bethnal Green, where she grew flowers in her mother’s window, spending her halfpence in buying plants. “It was the pride of my life when people admired them and began growing flowers too, and then our street did begin to look gay.”—Of her ten years of domestic service “When I was ten years old, I began to earn my own living” and then of married life, midwifery and Cooperation.

Here lies Hannah Falk, who tells of the day that she was eight years old and began to work in the fields with forty other children of whom she was the eldest; they were followed by an old man with a whip in his hand which he did not forget to use. Here is Mrs. Wrigley who had to gather coal and cinders to make a fire from a pit bank two miles away. One had wishes for space enough to quote from the story of each woman who has contributed to this book, for, though each has, from childhood, had to struggle unceasingly, each managed somehow to find time between attending to her job, and to the care of her children, to read, to attend meetings, to have “full-dress” debates, even when the hat factory in which she worked was a low room with damp streaming down the walls.

One is glad to see the faces of these women, as the photographs in the book enable one to do; these photographs, along with the introductory letter of Virginia Woolf, who recalls a Guild meeting which she attended as an outsider and who gives the impressions made upon her at that meeting by the Guild members and later in reading their memories, and the brief introduction by Margaret Davies who gives a clear summary of the cooperative movement and the history of the Guild, make complete the story these memories tell, and make this book one of significance not only to those interested in the cooperative movement, but to anyone who would deepen his feeling and enrich his knowledge of the lives of working women.

Hannah Falk

THE PEOPLE’S YEAR BOOK, 1932.
The Cooperative Wholesale Society, Manchester, England. (Cloth, $1.35; paper, $0.85).

This is the 16th annual publication of British cooperative statistics, together with reports of the International Cooperative Alliance, of the cooperative movement in 54 other countries, and of the cooperative press of the world. One section is given to a discussion of the standard of living in several countries including the United States. The book is rich in discussions and facts concerning present day economic conditions. Like all British publications, its interest revolves around the State and the actions of the politicians. The lugubrious story of the British cooperators’ last plunge in the murky pool of politics is briefly told. But there are few signs that the lesson has been learned.

THANKS FROM LAWRENCE

Editor, Cooperation: Lacking satisfactory words at this moment with which to express our gratitude for your loyal support to our appeal, we ask you to accept our humble and sincere appreciation for all that you did to alleviate the suffering of the few we could reach.

We say few as the numbers looked out and discriminated against run into the thousands. We feel sure the ones who have come within our reach are just as appreciative of the help as the numbers looked out and along whose thanks too, with good wishes to the workers who made the contributions possible.

Contributions, as a result of the appeal, that were sent to Joseph Salerno or to the Workers Cooperative Union, Mass., amounted to $610.15.

Received 10 660s. of Four Iron Workers Workmen’s Furniture Fire Insurance Society.

Workers Cooperative Union of Lawrence, Joseph R. Salerno, Manager.

INDEX

The index for COOPERATION, Vol. XVII, 1931, will be sent free to subscribers upon request.
A conference on housing, and on prospects for cooperative distribution of food products in New York City, with special attention to milk, was held under the auspices of the Eastern States Cooperative League in New York, February 28th. The speakers at the housing session, held in the morning, were Dr. Edith Elmer Wood, author of "Recent Trends in American Housing" and an international authority on housing; Aaron Rabinowitz, of the New York State Board of Housing; and A. E. Kazan, of the Amalgamated Housing Corporation. Mr. Kazan presented his plans for a general, cooperative housing fund to make it easier for cooperators to buy homes in cooperative houses.

At the afternoon session, Meyer Rubinson, president of the Eastern Cooperative Wholesale, described the present work of the Wholesale; S. H. Farber, writer for the Jewish Daily Forward, described the operations of the farm owned by the Amalgamated Housing Corporation; H. J. Rosner, research secretary of the City Affairs Committee, pictured the present situation in milk distribution in New York; Oscar Cooley, speaker on cooperative milk distribution outside of New York; and A. E. Kazan presented a far-reaching plan for city-wide retail distribution of milk by a cooperative in New York City. Leslie Wood was chairman of this session. A lively discussion followed the speakers.

Invest $425 per room, which is $75 less than was required in the first row of Amalgamated buildings. These cooperative builders also get electric refrigerators, all of which goes to prove that as cooperative housing expands, the cost to cooperators grows less. Half the $425 per room is paid in cash and half over a period of five years. The total cost of this building was about $550,000.

Thus is accumulating the tangible proof in brick and mortar that city wage-earners can have model apartments at the same rentals they have had to pay in shabby tenement houses. The Amalgamated group of buildings now contains 744 apartments, a small city. And indeed it is a much more rationally and socially organized city than any municipality. It is truly cooperative, owned and controlled by the residents. All its many activities are motivated by the principle of "production for use, not for profit."

But words are weak to describe this cooperative achievement. It has to be seen to be believed. Cooperators should make every effort to visit the Amalgamated community and to see with their own eyes the pioneering achievements that are being accomplished there.

AMALGAMATED REDUCES RENTS

A second reduction in rentals was announced by the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments on February 1st. This was cut on a sliding scale from 50 cents up to $4.50 a month per apartment, affecting 281 apartments in the first seven buildings. The first reduction two years ago, affected 130 apartments. The hope is to make such reductions from time to time, to reduce the enormous rent burden which falls on the working class, ready to respond whenever the NEMPA approaches on the farmers half-way, as the latter always holding the whip hand. Milk "strikes" have been called, and the milk has been poured on the land as fertilizer, but in vain; the companies have always been able to hold out longest, shipping milk from Canada and other points when necessary.

"Surplus!" the companies cry, whenever the NEMPA approaches them for a better price. There undoubtedly is a surplus, at the price the companies make to the consumer. How much could consumption be increased by lowering the price? No one knows; they have no experience upon which to base an answer to that question. During these hard times especially, it would be worth trying.

The entire history of the farmers' struggle in New England is impressive evidence that an agricultural producers' cooperative can accomplish little so long as the market remains in control of profit concerns. The hope of the future is a consumers' cooperative, which will come out to meet the farmers halfway, as is being done in England at the present time, and thus reduce the enormous spread between milk prices to producer and to consumer caused by the cock-eyed competition between companies and their equally absurd profits.

COOPERATION

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

Published monthly by The Cooperative League of the U. S. A., 167 West 12th St., New York City.

OSCAR COOLEY, Editor
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.

Our Aims

Do you really believe that the cooperative movement is capable of bringing about a complete re-creation of society?" asked a friend of mine as we were sitting over coffee the other day, "I certainly do," was my reply. "Else I would not be in it. I am not interested in palliatives. Mouthwash is no good for tuberculosis."

"Then," said he, "why don't you offer it to people on that basis?"

This set the editor to thinking. The result was several questions, to which the readers of Cooperation are invited to contribute answers:

Are members of cooperative societies really conscious of the revolutionary character of the change which they are working for?

What is the nature of this change? Are the American people, primarily the working class, ready to respond to a program which over a period of time would completely re-create human society?

To what extent is it practicable to present the cooperative program as such a long-term revolution?

To what extent should our propaganda be restricted to the immediate, bread-and-butter aspects of the movement?

In answering these questions let us be realistic. Let us realize that thousands of people can be persuaded to buy a new toothpaste more easily than a hundred can be enlisted in a long-range movement. Remember how quickly the war psychology was generated in 1917. And could be again. The people are moved by simple emotions. We must find ways to approach them in their own terms. What are those ways?

Consumers must meet producers half-way

The farmers of Vermont, who supply the greater part of the milk consumed in Boston, are netting only about two cents a quart this winter. They have long been organized in the New England Milk Producers Association, but this has never got past the stage of being merely an organization to dicker with the big milk companies, Hood and Whiting, with the latter always holding the whip hand. Milk "strikes" have been called, and the milk has been poured on the land as fertilizer, but in vain; the companies have always been able to hold out longest, shipping milk from Canada and other points when necessary.

"Surplus!" the companies cry, whenever the NEMPA approaches them for a better price. There undoubtedly is a surplus, at the price the companies make to the consumer. How much could consumption be increased by lowering the price? No one knows; they have no experience upon which to base an answer to that question. During these hard times especially, it would be worth trying.

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Getting Acquainted

An open letter to the readers of Cooperation

Oscar Cooley
Secretary of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A.

FELLOW COOPERATORS:

Please pardon a liberal use of the pronoun “I” in the following. I have recently come on the job as Secretary of the League. You are naturally curious to know what kind of person I am and what action you may now expect from the Secretary’s office. You have a perfect right to such information, and I will try to tell you as best I can.

In consumers’ cooperation we have a philosophy and a technique capable of bringing about a complete regeneration of human society. That is my conviction, after considerable study and observation. And so for several months I have been certain that sooner or later I must throw in my lot, somehow, somewhere, with the cooperative movement.

I am rather ashamed, in fact, to have been out of it so long. Why have I been? Simply for lack of the beckoning hand. And I believe that applies to many others outside the movement. Either they know nothing about cooperation, or they see no way to help. Here I have a bone to pick with cooperators: They are too prone to hide their light under a bushel. Millions of people in this country have never heard of consumers’ cooperation. Hundreds of thousands of potential allies are still in the dark, wrestling with an impossible economics which at this moment has them practically floored. Here lie both an opportunity and a responsibility, neither of which we of the cooperative movement have accepted.

It is high time we did. We are the possessors of an idea, a truly big idea, capable of bringing hope to a people wellnigh hopeless. We must carry the idea to them. How much longer are we going to sit tight and wait for something to happen?

The cooperative movement of the U. S. A. must lead the way. The League is the central organization of the cooperative movement. As such it should, of course, to its fullest ability lend power to the arm of every existing cooperative society. But more than that, it should be, as I see it, an active, aggressive, even militant organization for the spread of propaganda for the cooperative idea. Haven’t we faith in that idea? There have been failures, true, but do we lack proof of its success and of its basic soundness at home and abroad? Are we overwhelmed by the numbers of the enemy? Are we waiting for this country to become even more desperately ill before we offer the remedy? "These are times that try men’s souls," wrote Tom Paine in 1774. They certainly are, Tom, right now in 1932.

The cooperative movement is a democratic movement, the democratic movement. Its very essence is faith in the people, in all the people. Then it should be presented to all the people, just as rapidly as possible, in language they will understand. Nor does this imply any high-pressure salesmanship.

This Paper

In my position with the League, I am editor of this paper, COOPERATION. With the help and advice of others, I hope to make COOPERATION a powerful organ of the consumers’ cooperative movement. This is a national movement, the League is a national league, and its organ should be a national organ. Which means that its contents should be representative of news and thought throughout the movement, and it should be presented in such a style as to get the widest possible circulation. Controversy is welcomed—ample space will be provided for "letters to the editor." But the League, so far as I am concerned, will go slow about entering controversy. The League stands for one thing, first, last and all the time—the advancement of the consumers’ cooperative movement in the United States.

I ask your help in building up this publication, both in improving its contents and in boosting its circulation. Send us the news of cooperation in your sector. What are you doing, and thinking, in your society? What are the women’s guilds doing? the youth clubs? What methods of management, of publicity, of labor handling, do you find successful, unsuccessful? Let’s put things into Cooperation which other cooperators can use. Let’s put facts, statistics, logic, a touch of humor into it. Above all, let’s put life into it. Let’s discuss real issues. And then let’s read it and pass it on to our friends. Subscribe to it and ask them to subscribe, so that we will have increasing means to make it better and better. Cooperate, be one of the sharpest tools in the cooperative kit.

We have other tools in the way of printed literature, but we need more, and sharper. We need pamphlets to suit every class of reader. We need more correspondence courses, posters and books. Where are the writers, the theorists and the technicians? Where are the masters of English who can tell the story of cooperation in one-syllable words that will stir the masses? Who will translate cooperation into a form that will catch the imagination of youth? Who will write a novel, a play, a poem, a movie scene about cooperation?

The American people are worshippers of science. They are impatient with theory, they want facts—simple, concrete, machinery which they can see, handle and work with. Cooperation offers them that machinery, painstakingly developed over a hundred years, tested and proven step by step, not perfect by any means but a scientific marvel beside of the bunch of scrap iron the capitalist world is trying to work with today.

Here Are Some of the Facts

Fact No. 1. The Cooperative Store. This is the economic center of the cooperative community. The people build it, the people run it, the people come to it to secure their bread. Its object: The best possible goods at the lowest possible prices. This simple piece of machinery can be understood by the stupidest of the species.

Fact No. 2. The Cooperative Wholesale. The natural extension of the store. The store must have a source of supply. The wholesale—also built and run by the people—provides such a source, complete, reliable, big, or many. Its object: Even better goods, at even lower prices. No waste, no duplication. Not hard to grasp, is it?

Fact No. 3. Cooperative Production. Factory, mine, farm. Cooperatively fathered by the wholesale. Or set up by the operatives. The ultimate link with the land, source of all production. Also people-owned, people-operated. For what benefit? For the benefit of the people, naturally, whose wants call it into existence. All this is simple machinery, evolved and tested in the laboratories of a dozen countries.

Fact No. 4. Cooperative Economic Philosophy. That all industry should be performed in the interest of the one for whom it is produced, the consumer. Who can police this performance best, who more logically than the consumer himself? Here we get into the realm of ideas, but surely not an idea that takes an intellectual genius to understand!

These are facts for your American fact-worshipper. Meat to set his teeth.
The workers of Consumers Cooperative Services, Inc., New York City, 130 strong, are raising and administering their own relief fund during this winter of starvation. The concern, like all others, was asked to take money out of its employees' pay envelopes to give to the city fund for the unemployed. But it smelled graft, and the workers, a majority of whom are colored, were unwilling to contribute to their own relief in that Tammany pork barrel. And so they called a meeting and appointed a welfare committee which adopted the name Consumers Cooperative Workers Relief Fund. (This does not mean that relief was to be provided for C. S. S. workers—who are all employed and at uncut wages—but by C. S. S. workers for needy fellow-workers not lucky enough to be employed in a co-operative.) Each signed to give so much weekly, the total being about $95.

The committee meets every Friday evening. Each member brings in reports of needy cases, chiefly in Harlem, where the negroes are greatly discriminated against in the administration of general unemployment relief. The committee assigns two members to investigate each case. Relief is limited to food, except when the family is in danger of eviction, when $2.50 to $3.00 worth of food a week is apportioned out to the average family. A committee member and one of the family go to a grocer and get the supplies. The grocery's receipt is brought back to the committee. Extreme care is used to see that every penny goes for good food for the hungry, and that none is wasted. Since December 1 the workers have collected and given over $1000, and some 60 cases have been aided, most of them from week to week. All this has been a purely voluntary, cooperative undertaking of the workers.

A benefit show, composed of skits by the workers, was given on February 28 at which C. S. S. shareholders were given a chance to "chip in."

**Minnesota Co-op Reports Good Record**

The Virginia Work People's Trading Company, Virginia, Minn., reports a good year in 1931. Total sales were $32,668.43 and net profit was $11,921.90. Of this net, $2590 was set aside for dividend on shares and $918 was advanced to the educational fund, leaving $9061 available for trade rebates, transfer to surplus and educational fund.

**Saving on Rent**

The average rental paid by cooperators living in the Amalgamated Apartments, New York, is $6.95 per month less than what they used to pay to private landlords, according to a study by Dr. Asher Achadstein of the N. Y. State Board of Housing.

**Nebraska Farmers Gain**

The Farmers Union of Nebraska closed the year 1931 with a membership of 19,433, which is an increase of 26 over 1930. This was accomplished by the addition of 4899 new members, which offset a loss of 4863. In spite of the fact that many parts of the state had no crops last year and others are in depressed condition, cooperation in Nebraska is steadily forging ahead.

**Co-op Papers Combine**

The Co-op Oil News, organ of the Midland Cooperative Oil Association, has been combined with The Cooperative Builder, bi-monthly newspaper of the Central Cooperative Wholesale of Superior. This gives the Builder a total of over 25,000 subscribers, by far the largest number of any newspaper published in the interest of the cooperative movement in this country.
Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance—A Great Cooperative Enterprise

This year, 1932, marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, a true cooperative and a member of the Cooperative League. From a small beginning, it has grown to a formidable organization, with inherent strength for still greater growth. It is a non-profit-making organization having mutual aid as its aim, providing its members with fire insurance on their households at actual cost. The maximum amount on one household is now $3,000. The story of this society is a striking proof of the correctness of the principles of self-help and self-administration.

The great Chicago fire of October, 1871, is the date of the society's founding. 18,000 buildings, with an estimated value of $200,000,000, were destroyed. Many workers were among the losers. Many were insured in capitalistic companies which declared their inability to pay and went into bankruptcy.

This sad experience caused some of the more progressive workers in New York City to act. They were imbued with the cooperative spirit and had for years conducted a Tool Insurance Society, which functioned in a first-rate manner. Unwilling to trust further the profit-seeking and risk-taking fire insurance companies, they began to agitate for the organization of a cooperative fire insurance society, patterned along the main lines of the then existing Tool Insurance Society.

The Society’s beginning was difficult. Lack of confidence on the part of workers and fear of trusting their own efforts were partially responsible. Then came in addition the financial panic of 1873 and close on its heels the disastrous industrial crisis with consequent nation-wide unemployment. But at the termination of the crisis the Society's membership in 1879 increased to 547 and the insured value to $241,225. The first few years were the hardest but they helped to shape the internal structure of the Society and place it upon a firm foundation.

For the first fourteen years not a single regularly employed officer was required. All administration business was conducted on one evening during the week. Only in 1887 when the membership reached a figure close to 4,000 and the insurance in force was $1,500,000, was a regular office established and one salaried officer placed in charge. Now the Society is located in its own building at 227 East 84 Street, New York City.

Heavy immigration in New York helped to further the City's rapid growth but created considerable housing congestion. Many of the Society's members were compelled to move to the suburbs, where housing conditions were better. These members had to be retained while others had to be won for the Society. Thus the changes in the metropolis became the driving force that gave rise to changes in the Society. Expansion by way of branches followed.

The first branch was organized in Patterson, N. J., in 1878. Others followed in Yonkers, N. Y., 1890; Newark, N. J., 1881. Today the Society has 80 branches in 16 states. These cover practically the entire industrial area of the country.

Membership was in 1920, 35,574; in 1930, 57,230—62% increase in 10 years. With increased growth there has come increased need for office help. Extreme economy is practiced. Modest salaries are the rule. These can only be raised by vote of the general membership meeting. This prevents officers from voting themselves fat salaries, as is the case with insurance companies generally.

How Administered

A Board of Management, elected by the members, administers affairs. The Executive Secretary, elected in similar manner, is the executive officer of the Society, and with the Executive Committee of the Board of Management, dispenses all pressing matters which cannot wait for the monthly meeting of the Board.

The administration is conducted as economically as is consistent with the prompt dispatch of the Society's business. All expenses are audited weekly by elected Controllers. A Certified Public Accountant makes periodical general audits every three months. Possibilities of waste, errors and irregularities are completely eliminated.

The method of operation is substantially the same as it was when the society was organized. A member, upon joining or upon increasing the amount of his insurance, deposits in the Guaranty Fund $1 for every $100 of new or additional insurance. Thereafter, instead of a premium that one pays to the privately owned insurance firm, he pays an assessment at the end of each year to cover losses of the Society in the preceding year. This annual assessment is the same for all members irrespective of location or length of membership. A removal from a brick house into a frame house does not carry the payment of more assessment, as would be the case if insured in private companies. One rate no matter where the members reside.

The rate of assessment is determined at the end of the year and is based on the Society's expenditures for that year. For the past 15 years the rate of assessment has never been more than 10 cents for every $100 of insurance. In the years 1917 and 1920, no assessment at all was levied. The Society's income for those years being considerably in excess of the expenditure.
The assessment is due on January 1st, matically extended for another year.

Upon payment of the annual assess

The Guaranty Fund now amounts to $750,000 and a reserve fund of $280,000 has been accumulated.

Investment of Funds

In the investment of the funds of the Society, the same caution is evidenced as in all its business transactions. From the very beginning it pursued a policy of minimum possible risk rather than high yields. The funds had been at first and for many years were deposited with Savings Banks or invested in United States Bonds. In time, however, as the funds of the Society grew in volume, first mortgages in real estate were added as a desirable investment. In the granting of such mortgages preference is given to members. Every mortgage application is fully investigated by the Society's own committees and in addition the property on which a mortgage is to be given must be appraised by a real estate appraiser recognized by the New York Insurance Department.

Insurance in force at the end of 1921 was $70,580,820. In 1921 it was $26,813,100. Thus we see an increase of $44,000,000.

The small annual assessments and interest on the invested funds are more than sufficient to meet the losses and expenses of the organization. These expenses are much less than in the average private insurance company, which is housed in a palatial office and maintains an army of high-salaried officials.

No Renewal Necessary

Membership in the Society is continued indefinitely unless cancelled by withdrawal of the deposit or for non-payment of the annual assessment. No renewals are necessary as upon payment of the annual assessment each year membership is automatically extended for another year. The assessment is due on January 1st, but may be paid any time between January and the end of June.

Is it any wonder the New York State Fire Insurance Examiner, in his official report to the Insurance Commissioner, stated, that this Society is "well and conservatively managed, with the interest of its members and policyholders, as the first and last consideration. Loss payments are prompt and are promptly made."

The facts placed before the reader give ample evidence of the immense value of this organization as compared with privately owned Fire Insurance companies. Every one capable of thinking for himself should perceive that in organizations such as the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society can be seen in a small way how, ultimately cooperative enterprises on a gigantic scale will supplant private enterprises.

BROADMINDED PLYMOUTH COOPERATORS

When anyone asks you how a cooperative business differs, in spirit, from a private profit business, tell him of the following incident, reported in The Cooperative News:

The cooperative society of Plymouth, England, has a competitor, a private bakery firm, whose steam bakery was recently destroyed by fire. A good time, one might say, for the cooperative bakery to take away some of its competitor's trade. But the Plymouth cooperators did not see it that way. Until such time as the private bakery could be rebuilt, the Plymouth society came to its assistance by baking for it the bread required to fill its customers' needs.

When the matter came up in meeting, one member suggested that the society immediately withdraw the help it was giving its competitor. But this suggestion, says the News, "did not appear to meet with any large measure of support from either platform or floor."

With the League Secretary on the Road

Oscar Cooley

I SPENT the week of February 1-8 visiting cooperative societies in New England. On most of my stops I was accompanied by League Auditor Regli who was making his semi-annual audits, and so I got an insight into cooperative books as well as cooperative societies. In general we found conditions in these societies encouraging. In spite of shut mills and much unemployment, some are making money, some are holding their own, and a few are slipping; but we found none in immediate danger of a sheriff's visit. The decrease in sales seems to have touched bottom; in some stores in fact it has definitely turned into an increase.

Everywhere I heard the same tale of unemployment — unemployment because of mills shut down, wholly or in part, and unemployment because of men being displaced by machines. They used to give four looms to each weaver, said Giardini at Winchendon, "but now they give nearer forty." The Winchendon mills weave overall cloth, but with the country full of idle men, where is the demand for overalls? Again it was impressed on me how helpless the cooperative movement is while it depends upon capitalist mills. If the cooperative is to live, it must learn to pull together better. How to do it is a knotty problem we must work out. At Lawrence I found a different labor picture. There the bakers voluntarily offered to accept three weeks' pay—or even less if necessary—for four weeks' work, while the cooperative was suffering so severely from conditions during and after last fall's textile strike. A cooperative is a business, for the benefit of the many, not a philanthropy to subsidize a few.

Journeying from Worcester to Maynard, I was waiting for a bus in Clinton when I overheard one man say to another who had apparently just come up from New Jersey, "How's the business in Camden? Any work there?" The other shook his head dubiously. The first man went on, "I used to work in the shipyards there. Thought I might go back. Now they're starting a war in China, business..."
down there ought to be good." He was very cheerful about it.

At Maynard I was introduced to the Youth Club. These Youth Clubs were more important to them than the cooperative and the scheme. This is a part of cooperation as well as consumers conscious of being partners in the common enterprise. It is a recognition of how important it is in any cooperative to have the complete loyalty of workers and producers. Maynard does a milk business of about 1700 quarts a day, for which the farmers are paid $2.35 per cwt, while other dairy concerns are paying $1.70 to $1.80 per cwt. There is the Workers Credit Union, largest credit union in Massachusetts. There is the United Cooperative Farmers of Fitchburg, which A. E., the Irish poet, recommends the cooperative movement to Ireland, I am interested to find A. E. He is a hard-headed buyer and a shrewd merchandiser. I am confident he will put Quincy on the map. Every week he gets out a handbook, distributed to housewives, advertising his specials, and always somewhere on the bill you will find a cooperative message, calling on Quincans to rally to their cooperative store. Last but not least, Manager Aaltonen informed us that Quincy society is back in the League. He could not have told us anything that would have warmed our hearts more to Quincy.

At Fitchburg I got the impression that cooperation is an integral part of that community. There is the United Cooperative Society with its big main store on Main Street; its restaurant and clubrooms above, its three branches, its bakery and milk plant. Its total sales last year were $330,000. Its net was $11,000. There is the Workers Credit Union, largest credit union in Massachusetts. There is the United Cooperative Farmers, with its capacious new warehouse and offices, the buying and selling center for farmers for miles around. If the people of Fitchburg do not know about cooperation, they must be blind.

I spent a full day in Fitchburg, had a business talk with Granah, and another with John Soumen of Raivaaja Publishing Company, in whose capable hands is the printing of this paper, listened—of course, I say this merely as a matter of fact— to the troubles of Manager Pernaa of the United Farmers (Pernaa and I were in Middlebury College together in 1925) who is the manager, and is a nucleus both to revive cooperation in Gardner and to increase trade. Down at Gardner, Mrs. Laakso, wife of Manager Laakso, has trained a young people's choir, which provided entertainment at a cooperative meeting we attended. At Fitchburg, the Club numbers over 200, some non-Finnish. Though good times are the chief activity thus far—as I think they should be in the Club contains some of the able young people who are ambitious to do more serious educational work, such as debates, lectures, study courses in cooperation and other subjects. At the open forum meeting attended, the relation of cooperation and politics was sharply and ably discussed.

NIEMELA at Maynard told us of an interesting scheme which he hopes to get his society to adopt. He would pay the farmers which supply the society with milk a percentage rebate on their sales, similar to the rebate on purchases returned to consumers. This I believe is done at Waukegan. Niemela would also pay all employees of the society a corresponding percentage on their wages. (Reading in "The National Being," in which A. E., the Irish poet, recommends the cooperative movement to Ireland, I am interested to find A. E. making these same two proposals for Irish cooperatives.) The wages of most of the employees at Maynard are fixed on a normal percentage-of-the-business basis. By the proposed scheme, this percentage would be slightly raised when warranted by net earnings. The aim of this plan, obviously, is to make producers (as well as consumers) conscious of being partners in the common enterprise. It is a recognition of how important it is in any cooperative to have the complete loyalty of workers and producers. Maynard does a milk business of about 1700 quarts a day, for which the farmers are paid $2.35 per cwt, while other dairy concerns are paying $1.70 to $1.80 per cwt. There is the Workers Credit Union, largest credit union in Massachusetts. There is the United Cooperative Farmers of Fitchburg, which A. E., the Irish poet, recommends the cooperative movement to Ireland, I am interested to find A. E. He is a hard-headed buyer and a shrewd merchandiser. I am confident he will put Quincy on the map. Every week he gets out a handbook, distributed to housewives, advertising his specials, and always somewhere on the bill you will find a cooperative message, calling on Quincans to rally to their cooperative store. Last but not least, Manager Aaltonen informed us that Quincy society is back in the League. He could not have told us anything that would have warmed our hearts more to Quincy.

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an all-Italian trade, and in Stafford Springs, Conn., where the smile of Attilio Serafini brightened for me many miles of weary bus travel. "What can the cooperative do about unemployment?" asked Raymond Neri. I am afraid I could not give any very good answer. "Maybe start some cooperative factory or industry?" he suggested. Maybe, although I don't quite see what would be done with the output, at this stage of the development of cooperative distribution in this country. Stores first, then factories. They have got to come. It is time we were thinking about the factories. Perhaps if we think hard enough, we will find ways to make the stores grow faster.

My Point of View
By J. P. Warbase

What Colleges Are Teaching About Cooperation

I HAVE had occasion several times to visit one of our old and well known colleges in New England, devoted especially to the training of students for engineering careers.

A student, with a bit of imagination, asked the Professor of Economics a question about the consumers' cooperative movement. The professor acknowledged that he did not know about it and was surprised at some of the facts the student gave him.

My curiosity was stimulated by this incident. I examined the books used in the teaching of economics, and found two standard textbooks in the hands of the students. One is "Economic Problems" by Fairchild and Compton, both teachers of political economy in Yale University. This book was published in 1930, and contains no information whatever about cooperation — consumers', producers', credit, real or spurious — in any form. "Cooperation" is not in the index; the nearest word to it is "Coolidge."

The other book used to train these young men to understand economic affairs is "Outline of Economics" by R. T. Ely and three other experts in economic research, published in 1930. The examination of the index of this tome of 868 pages yields results. No less than six titles under "Cooperation" are discovered.

"Cooperation between individuals - proves a bit disappointing, and tells how to reduce somewhat the amount of hostility in capitalist business.

Under "Cooperation, an economic institution" we learn that, "the division of labor itself is cooperation on a splendid scale." This is interesting, but the authors do not explain just what becomes of the people whose jobs are divided among the new machines in industry.

Next we come to "Cooperative Marketing," and learn that, "It is probable that the marketing system needs improvement in many points." The fact that farmers are told how to get more money from the consumers, and the Federal Farm Board, appointed by the Great Engineer, is looked to as the farmers' hope.

Then comes "Consumers' Cooperation."

"This is what we are looking for. Now we shall have the light of the master minds of economics thrown upon this subject. With eager hands we turn to pages 710 and 711. Here is the academic classification:"

"Voluntary cooperation takes many forms, from which we may distinguish: (1) distributive or consumers' cooperation, sometimes spoken of as cooperative buying; (2) cooperative borrowing or cooperative credit; (3) cooperative marketing; and (4) producers' or pure cooperation."

"Consumers' cooperation, cooperative borrowing, and cooperative marketing are not of direct concern in a discussion of the agencies for the prevention of industrial disputes. Cooperative or distributive cooperation is merely a method of retail or wholesale exchange in which the purchasers come together to purchase what they need and thus lessen their outlay. Usually they form a stock company, subscribe for shares, employ a manager and clerks, who often do not even share in the profits, and start a business."

"This is all they say about consumers' cooperation. They seem to know no further than that it is merely a method of buying. A dollar-a-year subscription to any cooperative periodical would have saved these eminent professors from this crude ignorance of facts and principles.

Some Are Learning

But there are many college students, despite the teachers, who are finding out that the aim and tendency of cooperation is to produce and distribute for use. It is a sad fact that most college teachers do not know that in many countries some of the largest productive industries are owned and run by organized consumers, that this movement is well established in over four hundred lands and is growing in all parts of the world. In some countries these consumer-owned industries are the largest and most successful in the land. This means not only bakeries and other food factories, but clothing, housing necessities, chemicals, automobiles and everything that people need. It means houses, theaters, and hospitals. It means the control of service, such as banking, insurance, and the supply of electric power and light, telephone service, and transportation by land and sea. It means ownership and control of raw materials such as forests for wood, for building, for boxes and matches. It means coal mines, farms and plantations the world over. And above all, it means the nationalization of the international union of the consumers into the most stable international organization in the world, an organization which is moving on toward the substitution of service for profit business, and toward the elimination of the causes of industrial disorders.

The ancient doctrines which are promulgated by such books as are used in the colleges would look with favor upon the workers in the great cooperative industries owning the industries and running them to make profits from the millions of consumers. But these teachers have apparently failed to learn that the largest flour mills, for example, in Sweden, are owned by the cooperative consumers' societies. These college professors evidently would not favor the idea of supplying the millions of consumers with food at cost, nor would they consider this to be a more significant enterprise than the making of profits for the relatively few workers who might own the mills. It is a bit discouraging to find teachers deprecating the cooperative practice of employing managers and clerks, "who often do not share in the profits," when there are no profits intended and when these employees are better paid than in other forms of business.

I do not wonder that college students sometimes come to me and ask: "How is it that I have studied economics for four years and have never heard of these important facts about the cooperative movement?"

We read on in Professor Ely's book, under the heading "Labor Problems": "The limited significance of the cooperative movement is indicated by the fact that the employees of the British Cooperative societies have formed themselves into a trade union for the betterment of the conditions of their employment." Now the book
begins to be amusing. This is pure waggery. The one class of employers of labor in the world that encourage their employees to organize, and in many instances require them to be members of trade unions, are the cooperative societies. The trade union to which British cooperative employees belong, the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, has mutual agreements with the British Cooperative Union and a joint board for purposes of arbitration.

Producers' Cooperation

Here is more academic humor: "The one variety of cooperation which really attempts to alter or amend the wage system is producers' cooperation." Then the professors go on to relate the sad fact that successful producers' cooperation is rarely met with. Most experiments in producers' cooperation have failed, and we fear they will continue to fail." They explain why this producers' or "pure" cooperation cannot succeed in this competition with capitalistic business.

The best of these "self-governing workshops," or labor-owned industries, accomplish one specific thing: They make successful capitalists of the workers. But this success rests upon the profit system. It is built upon the profits they make from the workers' labor. They do not change the motive of industry. It is only when industry is owned by the consumers that its motive is changed from that of profit to service.

Why are most professors of economics not enough interested in cooperation to inform themselves of its simple facts? Because cooperation does not fit into the general pattern of academic economics. The statistics, the theories, the figures, the methods of theoretical economics are based on profit business. Every professor has his own theories, hobbies, and predilections. And cooperation upsets them all. It is utterly different. It makes more or less useless the arduous years of study and outlay these teachers have given to their education. It is a nuisance and an annoyance. Only the rare economists, with elasticity of mind, are willing to tolerate it at all.

Academic education fortunately has some of this latter type. It is through them that thousands of college students are learning something of the new economics and catching a glimpse of a different economic order even now in the making.

How Northern States Co-ops Are Faring

Reports coming to the Northern States League office indicate the reduction in sales and in net gain of our affiliated cooperative societies during 1931. It is evident that both sales and net gain have dropped in most cases more in 1931 than in 1930.

To quote a few instances, sales of the Prentice Cooperative Supply Company of Prentice, Wis., were $62,653 for 1931 as against $67,304 for 1930. The net loss for 1931 was $35,620 as compared to a loss of $60,88 for 1930. Taking everything into consideration the Prentice Cooperative has weathered the two years better than some of its neighbors.

The Union Mercantile Company of Isanti, Minn., had combined merchandise and produce sales for the year 1931 of $44,070 as against $69,532 for 1930. However, in their case the loss for the year was smaller in 1931 than in 1930, due to the efforts of the board of directors and the management to reduce expenses and increase efficiency.

The sales of the People's Cooperative Society of Superior, Wis., dropped from $70,381 for 1930 to $77,947 for 1931. In this case the drop was really very slight considering the circumstances and without question the volume of merchandise handled in 1931 was larger than the volume handled in 1930. The net gain in their case decreased from $2,304 for 1930 to $2,905 for 1931.

The sales of the Farmers' Cooperative Mercantile Association of Kettle River, Minn., dropped from $89,691 for 1930 to $69,864 for 1931. Their net gain decreased from $4,004 for 1930 to $1,687 for 1931.

The Westworth Farmers' Cooperative Association is one of the very few cooperative societies which show a better financial result for 1931 than for the previous year. For the year of 1930 Westworth showed a gain of only one dollar while for 1931 the gain was $1,611.61. This surprising increase was chiefly due to successful trucking operations carried on by the organization in selling milk for their members and patrons to Duluth and Superior. This substantial increase in net gain is the more gratifying in view of the fact that the sales of the Westworth Coop. decreased from $37,050 in 1930 to $22,540 in 1931.

Of the cooperative store societies in Minnesota which are not yet affiliated with our League we have information from two. The sales of the State Line Farmers' Cooperative Company of St. Paul, Minn., decreased from $6,118 for 1930 to $3,490 in 1931. Their net loss increased from $1,987 for 1931 to $1,133.30 as compared with a loss of $34,515 in 1930 to $31,720 in 1931. Their net loss for 1931 was $1,313.20 as compared with a loss of $386.70 for the year of 1930. The League is doing an active work with this organization.

We have also learned about a cooperative store of which the League office knew nothing previously, the United Farmers' Exchange of Pulaski, Minn. Their sales for the year of 1930 were $62,945, while for 1931 they were only $37,088. While in 1929 their net earnings were $9,293.15, they showed a loss for the year of 1931 amounting to $2,064.22.

None of the four stores mentioned that maintained an operating loss for the last year or two is in a precarious condition financially because they have all been wise enough to accumulate reserve funds.

V. S. A.

Cooperation Abroad

CREDIT TRADING, A CAUSE OF DEPRESSIONS

How credit trading has helped aggravate the depression is well told by a writer in the Cooperative News, England: "The capitalist system is built up on credit. Governments have borrowed for war purposes, businesses have borrowed for development purposes. Every enterprise is in debt to someone. This has meant failure, crisis, and panic. The cooperative movement is not built up on credit. Its buildings, its plants, its raw materials are paid for out of its own resources. It does not borrow from others, it operates on its own. Therefore cooperative societies stand erect and firm, while capitalist businesses totter and fall. They will continue to stand firm in the midst of crisis if their members stand firm for cooperative principles."

OLD-AGE PENSIONS FOR CO-OP EMPLOYEES

English Cooperatives are recognizing more and more the need of old-age pension plans for employees. In 1922 there were seven societies with superannuation schemes covering some 3000 employees. Now, out of 120 retail societies, 120 have such schemes, covering some 90,000 employees. The large societies especially see the need for old-age pensions. Out of eighty-three societies with more than 500 employees each, fifty have insurance schemes. Of those having over 1000 employees only six have not yet put such insurance into operation. Of the entire wholesale and retail industries there are eighty-three per cent of the employees are covered.

GROUP LIFE INSURANCE

The National Cooperative Men's Guild of Great Britain provides group life insurance for its members whereby they pay 26 shillings ($4.86) for $100 ($375) life insurance.

COOPERATORS AND TARIFFS

British cooperators are apparently backing up the "Buy British Goods" movement in that country. The Cooperative Union has recently issued a poster reading "250,000 British workers earn good wages in cooperative factories and shops. Buy their produce here and help the nation."

And yet cooperators are the only group who can take a positive stand against tariffs. The "Buy British" movement is an attempt to restrict importations here by means of propaganda; tariffs accomplish the same result by law.
COOPERATIVE EXCHANGE IN INDIA

To protect themselves against exploitation by private dealers in the Punjab, the agricultural population have formed agricultural marketing societies or commission shops. These shops sell the products grown by the members of agricultural cooperative societies. Members bring in their produce at any time, and the shops, with the aid of money borrowed from the Central Cooperative Bank, pay three-fourths of the value of the goods on delivery and the balance when they are sold. There are now twenty-four of these cooperative commission shops, having 2,286 individual and 1,273 societies as members.

Good Reading


A stimulating book, by a sociologist and cooper at heart and formerly in action. Professor Calhoun once lectured on cooperation at Rand School. This book is an economic interpretation, not simply of history but of art, literature, religion, in fact every activity of man. A few quotations will show Calhoun's close kinship to cooperative thought:

"Common sense has taught us that teamwork is the only solvent of human problems, yet our present social order, while paying lip-service to cooperation, is rooted in competition and conflict."

"Instead of reversing history in a random way to hit or miss proposals for miscellaneous reform, we should... get on the ground floor by control of the economic system."

"Government is bound to be a tool of the dominant economic class and no amount of jockeying can change the fact."

"The next transfer of power must be from the hands of Property to the hands of Labor; not the working-class is richer, or nobler, or purer, or lovelier, or brighter, or sharper, but merely that it is next in order of historical succession."

Speaking of psychoanalysts and their efforts to "adjust" people, he says: "Better be outright crazy than be calmly poised in an unnatural universe."

This book appears to be directed at individuals. A few quotations will show Calhoun's close kinship to cooperative thought:

"We have in this country a productive plant capable, if continuously and efficiently operated, of turning out about four times the amount of goods that we now produce. What colossal folly to imagine that we can increase our wealth and promote our prosperity by increasing this plant!"

"...we have been trained for a century and a half to think of ourselves as producers instead of consumers—one of the most remarkable instances of inverted logic on a large scale that mankind has ever played."

Professor Fairchild has long been a friend of the cooperative movement. Power to his able pen!


M. R. MOORE, editor of MacLean's Magazine, while in England last year became interested in the cooperative movement. This pamphlet, which originally appeared as an article in MacLean's, is the result. It is a good picture of the British movement, from the pen of one who would not be expected to be partial toward it. Having pictured the size of the movement, Mr. Moore continues:

"How, in times of depression, does this colossal system of trade and finance uphold itself? It has had its trials. In the slump of 1921, for instance, loaded with heavy stocks of goods and with stupendous commitments and staggered by the rapid fall of prices, the C. W. S., lost in twelve months, besides its reserves, more than $35,000,000. Yet its members never lost faith. At the beginning of 1930 losses had been made good, reserves had been rehhabilitated, and the structure restored completely. And in those trying years was paid interest on every dollar of capital, share and loan, invested in the C. W. S."

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Reprint of article in September COOPERATION: Organ of the Cooperative Movement in the United States (I. C. A.) .... 10 10 cents

"COOPERATION THE WAY OUT"

Address delivered before the Midland Cooperative Oil Association by L. S. Herron .... 10

Definitions

WHAT is this thing, Cooperation?

1. It is an idea. Ideas are the most powerful forces in the world.
2. It is a denial of the idea that now rules the world, Greed.
3. It is an ordered system for taking the conspicuous waste of the rich and putting it in the mouths of the hungry.
4. It is a demonstrated method of placing man as consumer in control of the sources of consumable goods.
5. It is a rain watering the economic desert.
6. It is a plant, indigenous in men's minds, springing up everywhere as a result of the oppression of industrialism.
7. It is a brand burning brightly in the minds of hundreds, smoldering in the minds of thousands, ready to kindle in the minds of millions.
8. It is the disinfectant for killing the parasites in industry.
9. It is the solution that dissolves the conflict between producers and consumers, by showing them that they are one.
COOPERATION

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

Published monthly by The Cooperative League of the U. S. A., 167 West 12th St., New York City.

OSCAR COOLEY, Editor

Entered as Second Class matter, December 19, 1879, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Price $1.00 a year.

How Much Salary Should a Cooperative Executive Receive?

S ENATOR BORAH opened a subject of vital interest to the cooperative movement when he let loose his blast against the high salaries and commissions paid to executives of "cooperatives"—$75,000 to E. F. Creekmore of the American Cotton Cooperative Association and $50,000 to George Milnor of the Farmers National Grain Cooperation. Farm Board leaders were immediately thrown on the defense. Than their answers nothing could show up more clearly the difference in economic philosophy between purely nominal cooperatives and consumers cooperatives.

"Look at the salaries drawn by private dealers in cotton and grain!" cried Mr. Stone indignantly. Yes, look at them, Mr. Stone. We have been looking at them for some time and we have also been looking at the $1,018,000 stipend of President George Hill of the American Tobacco Company, as well as others of his type—and we have been looking at the millions of people whose salaries are zero and who consequently are not able to buy a cent's worth of your stored cotton and grain, or of Mr. Hill's tobacco.

Did it ever occur to you, Mr. Stone, that because Mr. Creekmore drew $75,000 last year and Mr. Milnor $50,000, and Lucky Strike Hill a cool million and so on, is the very reason the National Grains Corporation is not able to dispose of its wheat and the Cotton Association is not able to sell its cotton for love or money? The highest paid, highest powered executives in the world can not move those commodities until the nation's wealth is distributed to the point that the people can buy; and when it is so distributed, executives of the most unpretentious pedigree will be able to move them.

Is it our imagination, or do we sense, in the attacks on these salaries a suggestion of indignation that such princely sums should be drawn by heads of "cooperatives"? Even our Senators seem to catch a glimmer of the fact that a cooperative is slightly different from a capitalist concern, that it is working in the interests of the people, not of individual amassers of wealth. If so, are not these Senators in a more advanced stage of intellectual development than certain of their opponents? A true cooperative consists of the people, is run by the people, and its benefits are for the people. On the other hand, a capitalist concern consists of a small number of money-brokers, is run by them and for their own benefit. "The public be damned!" is its philosophy, expressed or unexpressed.

This difference is quite obvious in a consumers cooperative. Consumers cooperation stands for a better distribution of wealth. Obviously it does, for it says thumbs down on both profits and high salaries, the two things which concentrate rather than distribute wealth. It gives the "profits" back to the consumer. It pays decent salaries but it frankly asks management to work not for salary but for the more truly substantial reward of satisfaction in a good job well done, and done not for a whip-cracking overlord but for the people.

Where Your Money Goes

The Great and Glorious A & P made $25,792,975 net last year.

Every dollar of "profit" made in a chain store is a dollar wrung from the pockets of the poor, who have to shop on price, and poured into the pockets of the rich, who use it for speculation—which in turn doubles and redoubles the threat of depression. Every dollar of "profit" made in a cooperative store is a dollar returned to the poor who gave it, replenishing their purchasing power, which in turn prevents and alleviates depression.

Another Angle

Another thought in connection with A & P is this: Big as the above profit is, it represents but 2.95 cents on each dollar of sales. Which means that if the A & P were a cooperative, assuming that costs of operation were the same as at present—which they might not be—it could not have re- lished to consumers more than 2.95 cents. The A & P has operated on less than 3% net for the last 8 years. It has 15,670 stores. The question arises: How can cooperative stores, with smaller size and presumably lower efficiency, compete with a concern which operates on such a narrow margin of net?

Is it not time that this troubling question was threshed out in the pages of Cooperation?

Cooperation, or Starvation?

Plans by which bread-line humanity may rehabilitate itself on the land are bolling and seething in different parts of the country. In Minnesota an ambitious scheme for establishing 200 workless families on 25,000 acres of tax-delinquent land is being pushed by the Direct Relief Committee of Minneapolis and cooperative leaders. Each family would be expected to pay for its plot over a period of 10 years. It is said that $100,000 is in sight for the movement. The plan is to make the community as nearly self-sufficient as possible. It would include schools, manufacturing plants, stores, homes, recreational centers, medical clinics, etc., all to be run on a consumers cooperative basis.

An experienced farmer would be employed as manager, working under a management board elected by the members of the cooperative.

A similar plan is being discussed by New York cooperators, under the lead of Leland Olds. This plan visualizes the decentralization of cities during the next generation and the building of genuine cooperative rural communities. These communities would differ from communist colonies of the past, which have not been conspicuously successful, in that certain activities, such as those immediately surrounding the homestead and garden, would be carried on individually, and only those involving large-scale operations, which could obviously best be done collectively, would be done. In this latter class, for example, would come pasturage of stock, raising of field crops, and such marketing as is necessary, as well as recreational and cultural activities in a community center, and industries to deal in crafts or factories during the winter months. This combination of the individual and the collective it is thought would appeal to the American psychology which resists 100% collectivism.

A plan is on foot for the organization of a 50-family unit this year. It is believed that such a project can be accomplished on a low scale, and not any more than the "dole" to these families will amount to in a corresponding period of time. And such a plan would bring permanent rather than merely temporary relief.

These plans are arising from the conviction that is seeping into people's minds that the "depression" is with us to stay and that fundamental changes in ways of living are necessary to permit survival. Since large-scale capitalist production has brought on the disease, many are coming to believe that small-scale, cooperative production, to meet the needs of the community, is the remedy.
With the League Secretary on the Road

Oscar Cooley

APRIL 1, 1932: I have just returned from one of the most interesting experiences of my life. For three weeks I have walked and talked with the leaders in cooperative thought and action in the very heart of “Cooperation Belt,” the Middle-West. From southern Ohio to the prairies of Nebraska, from the Mesaba Range to Sault Ste. Marie, it has been my privilege to touch the poles of contact in the minds of these men and women and to measure the varying strengths of current which are impelling them all on toward the one ideal, the Cooperative Commonwealth. It has been an absorbing and an inspiring experience.

There is a ferment of thought throughout these states. Nor is it by any means confined to the organized consumers’ movement. Much of this thought is “up in the air”; much is without direction. But it is all feeding its way toward the cooperative guide-post. If you should ask these thinkers and actors precisely what they want, not all would give you the same reply, and many of the replies would be vague. But a host of pilgrims are on the road, and unless my guess is utterly wrong, the eventual goal of their pilgrimage will be Rochdale.

“My mother wanted me to be a minister,” said Henry Negley to me in Omaha. “I am. My gospel is Cooperation.”

“What do you think of Cooperation?” I asked Mr. Wescott in the Soo. Back came the answer without a moment’s hesitation, “Cooperation is the entire solution of the world’s problems.”

When I got back to my desk, I read in the report of L. H. Hull, general manager of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association: “The heart aches of a suffering world, a world enslaved to the powerful forces of greed, gasping as our unbalanced economic order totters and reels; these heart aches are driving us today to unite our forces more closely than ever before to restore economic balance in industry and economic and social justice to mankind. As individuals our burdens are greater than we can bear. But we have discovered a way by uniting in one common brotherhood to bear one another’s burdens. Our future progress and success will be measured by the degree to which we are able to forget selfish, personal or group interest and unite to help each other.”

I submit that things are stirring.

Tariffs

In the past farmers have not been conspicuous in their opposition to tariffs and probably are not now. But I attended a district meeting of the Farmers Union in Nebraska at which a resolution was brought in favor of tariffs being abolished. One man got up and objected, saying that he was willing to have tariffs on manufactured goods abolished but be hanged if he thought they should favor doing away with tariffs on wheat, eggs, etc. Others, however, insisted that what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander, and the resolution was passed. Score one for the cooperative movement, which is unequivocal in its stand for free trade.

In Indiana, as in most of these states, there is a well developed farmers’ cooperative for marketing livestock, doing excellent work. But I was interested to hear Lee Highlen and Anson Thomas, director and field man respectively, point out the limitations of such a producers’ co-op. It seems that the manager of their Buffalo agency had a particularly nice bunch of heifers and he resolved to follow them through to the consumer. He sold them to a packer for 6½ cents a pound; they cost the packer 12 cents “on the hook”; and the packer sold them to a Buffalo butcher for 10 cents. Not much prof- itting yet. But the manager went to said butcher’s shop and bought some cuts, 2 pounds of sirloin and a pound of hamburger. Cost $1.20. “You see what is stopping us,” said Mr. Highlen, “the retail butcher’s margin. We can market the stock co-operatively. We can even kill, process and wholesale it, but we can’t retail it. That is up to the city consumer.”

I agreed. It was a challenge. The farmers are fast developing their end of the machine; can we consumers say the same?

The farmer has always been production-minded. He has good reason to be, for who is more of a “producer” than he? But he is first of all a consumer, like all the rest of us, and he is getting to be more self-conscious about that fact. His marketing cooperatives are accomplishing a great deal in getting him more return for his products, but so long as he is hindered by the profit motivators from translating that return into consumable goods for himself and his family, the possibilities of his marketing cooperatives are distinctly limited. He is coming to see

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Indian farmers breaking ground for their own cooperative Oil station

Oil station at Mora, Minn., affiliated with Midland. Those baskets in foreground are patronage refund checks
Better Oil Through Cooperation

The farmers of Indiana are getting better oil since they put in their own compounding plant at Indianapolis and they can prove it. The proof lies in increased mileage which members of the staff of the Farm Bureau Cooperative Association have been getting from their cars since the Association began to compound its own oil under the specifications of its own chemists, about two years ago.

Before the plant was installed the Association's cars, eleven in number, were running only from 30,000 to 35,000 miles before having to be traded in. In 1931, using the same make of cars but using cooperative-compounded oil, the average mileage per car was 75,000 miles. The least mileage for any car was 70,000 and one car made 82,000.

Automotive engineers have stated that 65% of all cars in the junk-yard are there because of poor lubrication. There is no question but the life of the average automobile could be increased 25% by proper lubrication.

The farmers of Indiana alone have an investment in automobiles, trucks and tractors of approximately $150,000,000. This equipment is deprecating at the rate of 20% a year, or about $30,000,000. If, by proper lubrication, the lives of these motors could be extended by 25%, it would mean an annual saving to Indiana farmers of $7,500,000, or about one-half the total value of the Indiana wheat crop—and yet, some talk about wheat as though it constituted the entire solution of the farm problem.

And what about the Cooperative League, is it going to be rear guard, too, in this farmers' Rochdale movement, or is it going to be out in front.
ing their readiness to take cooperation and to take it "straight."

On my entire trip I saw but one window display of cooperative brands. The usual location for cooperative brands is on a high shelf in a dark corner. Too many cooperative stores are engaged in riding their goods into the pantry on the capitalist horse of national advertising. Now I realize fully that at this stage a store cannot be opened with a stock of cooperative brands throughout. The housewife must be educated to these brands. But will she be so educated while cooperative brands are kept in the back- ground, waiting "to be called for"? Chain stores sell their private brands, by window displays, counter displays, low price and by word of mouth of their clerks. By these methods—and without a line of national advertising—the A & P built up for its own brands of coffee the biggest coffee volume of any concern in the United States. We can do the same thing. Some are doing it. In one store I found Red Star wheat cereal, identical with Cream of Wheat and selling for 7 cents a box less, and they told me that it was very popular. And in addition we can use the weapons of high quality and cooperative loyalty. The most obvious way of gaining the acceptance of the cooperative idea is through cooperative brands. On my return I picked up a feed advertisement of the Washington Cooperative Egg & Poultry Association and read:

WHY BUY CO-OP FEEDS?

Because they are cooperative in that they are built for use only. No thought of commercial profit enters into their makeup.

Because their purchase and distribution is built upon the combined efforts of fourteen thousand users in this State who thru cooperative or unitied efforts have established their own system of feed manufacturing and distribution making possible the return of the proceeds from such effort direct to themselves.

Because (italics ours) in this progressive and advanced idea there is beginning to be seen the answers to and the solution of the world's highly competitive system which is being so universally challenged today.

The Washington Cooperative, mind you, is not a member of the organized consumers' movement. But in this advertisement of its co-op brand it is handing out cooperation to farmers and handing it out straight. And yet, when I was in Minnesota I was interested in the work that Labor Minnesota—it was suggested to me that we must use tact in talking cooperation to the farmers, that they would shy off if we talked too radical. Some may, but I would rather lose a timid soul or two than to fail to "start the team" of dozens who in these times are ready and waiting to go once they can see the need.

News and Comment

Y. N. C. L. Meets

The second national conference of the Young Negroes' Cooperative League was held in Washington, D. C., April 3rd. Delegates from councils in Cleveland, Ohio; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Richmond, Va.; New York City, and Washington, D. C., were present. Great emphasis was laid on the necessity of making practical demonstrations of the value of Consumers' Cooperation; but due warning was given against councils attempting enterprises on big scales. The virtue of small business projects, such as buying clubs, shoe shine parlors, cleaning and pressing establishments, was stressed. Each council pledged itself to work out some enterprise along the lines suggested, with several groups presenting plans that were already being worked out in their respective communities. George S. Schuyler was reelected President, and Ella J. Baker was returned to the office of National Director.

The Y. N. C. L. has councils, or affiliated groups, in over twenty cities, studying cooperation, spreading publicity among the colored people and agitating for cooperation as a method by which the Negro can help himself where others have failed to help him.

Convention Dates Set

The sixth annual congress of the Central States Cooperative League will be held at the Slovenian National Home, Chicago, May 29th and 30th.

The 1932 convention of the Eastern States League will be held at Salina Hall, Pittsburg, Mass., the evening of May 21st and May 22nd.

The Central States District comprises Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and the lower peninsula of Michigan. The Eastern States District comprises New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. All cooperatives not affiliated with the Leagues, all trade unions, producers cooperatives, buying clubs, credit unions, and other non-profit organizations interested in the promotion of the cooperative movement are invited to send fraternal delegates to these conventions.

How Will the Chickens Like It?

It happened at a recent meeting of the Eastern States League Board of Directors. League Auditor Regli, seated between Manager Rubinson of the Brownsville Bakery and President Kazan of the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments, was listening with one ear to Rubinson telling how much stale bread he incurred during the year, when with the other ear he heard Kazan enthuse over the rapid growth of the poultry business on the Amalgamated's farm.

Suddenly, putting two and two together, Regli said to Rubinson, "See here, why don't you sell your stales to Kazan to feed his chickens? You might take your pay in chickens and set up a cooperative poultry shop in Brownsville!"

Such an arrangement, he heard, is now being considered.

Net, Nevertheless

A net profit, or saving, of $8,723.88, on sales totaling $265,863.73, was the result of the operations of the Farmers Union State Exchange of Omaha in the first quarter of 1932. In the corresponding period last year, the net saving was $2,906.86 on a sales total of $474,699.24. Thus the sales in the first three months of this year were 56% as great, and the net saving 39% as great, as in the first three months of 1931. Manager McCarthy estimates that this decline in sales is attributable about equally to lower commodity prices and to ruinously low prices for farm products that have reduced farmers' purchasing power.

Producer to Consumer

In seven months of the current marketing year, from September 1, 1931, to March 31, 1932, 513 carloads of grain were handled directly from producer to consumer by the Farmers Union Grain Company of Omaha, the central marketing agency of the Nebraska Farmers Union and the Farmers Union Cooperative Elevator Federation.

This grain has been purchased from individual farmers and farmers' elevator associations in sections of Nebraska that produced good crops in 1931, and has been shipped "cross-country"—that is, without going through a terminal market and being sold on a grain exchange—directly to farmers and farmers' cooperative associations in the drouth- and grasshopper-devastated areas in northern Nebraska, to be used for feed and seed. The very considerable saving effected by this direct dealing, which ordinarily would be divided about equally between sellers and buyers, has been given mostly to the hard-pressed farmers. The possibilities of direct cross-country dealing between farmers and farmers' cooperatives is not so great, of course, when good crops are general. However, J. C. Hansen, manager
of the Farmers Union Grain Company, believes that a good trade can be developed in grain moving directly from farmers' elevators to mills and other users of grain in manufacturing.

**Bear Oil Not for Workers**

Consumers Research, Inc., in a memorandum to Congress arguing against the proposed bill to legalize resale price maintenance of trade-marked goods, gives facts which eloquently prove that in industries in which the selling price of the product is exorbitantly high in comparison with the cost of production, such as industries making trade-marked, highly advertised goods, an abnormally small proportion of the selling price is paid in wages to labor. The lion's share goes in profits to capital. For example, CR states: "Wages in the perfume, cosmetic and toilet preparation trade were about 5% of the value of the product; in the patent medicine and compound trade, wages were less than 6% of the value of the product; in the paint and varnish industries, wages were but 7.4%; and in the tobacco industry they were 6%."

On the other hand, in industries which are not dependent upon brand distinction nor upon the spreading of advertising, an abnormally small proportion of the selling price is paid in wages. Wages in the production of "bear oil," the proportion of labor value to total costs is far higher. For example, in such essentially productive industries as brick and tile, china and porcelain ware and glassware, the percentages of labor to the value of the product run from 26% to 43%. Consequently, a boom in the cosmetic business or any other highly advertised line would result in only one-sixth to one-third as much benefit to workers as would a corresponding increase in staple trades.

**Our Principal Industry**

"Some day Uncle Sam is going to snap out of his jazz mad, money making dreams and discover that the principal industry of men and women is not making steel, automobiles, wheat, talc or such like but making homes where people can live in moderate wealth and comfort and raise happy, healthy children and that all this craze to produce other things is only a secondary part of the picture. He is also going to find out that power and machinery have permanently displaced thousands of workers and farmers and the only way out of the mess is part time work in industry and part time on small farms. One week men will make things for money and the next week they will work in their gardens and fields and an indispensable part of that scheme will be neighborhood canneries to preserve the food grown on these small farms." - Edgar Wright in Washington Grange News.

**Feed Volume 180,000 Tons**

The Washington Cooperative Egg & Poultry Association is both a marketing and a purchasing cooperative. Its total business in 1931 was $15,750,606. Of this the largest item was $9,201,630 in egg sales and the second largest item was $5,576,727 in feed purchased for members. The volume of feed handled was 180,184 tons. The Association has its own mills for feed production. H. L. McIntyre, manager of the Feed Department, is a thorough-going cooperator and a clear thinker on cooperative principles.

**Central Wholesale Reports**

Total sales of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, reported at the annual meeting, April 11th, were $1,509,751.87 in 1931, as compared with $1,767,760.33 in 1930. Net income was $12,035.39 in 1931, and $29,734.54 in 1930. A patronage rebate, to be paid in shares, of .63% on purchases, or $9,157.52 was declared. The remainder, $2,877.87 was transferred to reserve.

**The Battle Hymn of Cooperation**

*(Tune: Battle Hymn of the Republic)*

Oh we are a mighty army though we bear no sword or gun,
We're enlisted till the struggle for cooperation's won,
And beneath our banner blazoned "One for all and all for one,"
Consumers marching on!

Chorus:
Come and let us work together
Come and let us work together
Consumers marching on!

It was long ago in Rochdale that our cause first saw the light,
We were sadly few in numbers but our principles were right,
But today we count our millions as we gird ourselves to fight:
Consumers marching on!

Chorus:
Oh the world today is suffering filled with poverty and pain,
And the day has come for freedom from the curse of private gain,
For all may live in comfort 'neath Cooperation's reign.
Consumers marching on!

Chorus:
Oh we know our scheme is righteous and we know our cause is just,
For on the brotherhood of man we firmly base our trust:
Let us strive to win the victory, for win we can and must.
Consumers marching on!

Chorus:
This song was written by two workers of Consumers Cooperative Services,
New York, Elizabeth Mead, of the bakery, and Carl Ferguson, busboy. Each received a prize of $5 for the best song on cooperation. It was first sung at the revue which was given by C. C. S. workers on February 26th for the benefit of their fund for the unemployed in New York City. At this revue, nearly $100 was contributed to this fund by shareholders and friends of C. C. S. Other cooperators should try this song at their gatherings. Perhaps it should be added to the cooperative songbag.
Cooperation Abroad

Dramatizing Rochdale

A GROUP of German cooperators recently presented in Cologne a play based on the story of the Rochdale Pioneers. The play was written by a contributor to the journals of the Cologne Cooperative Union. In it were introduced the principal characters concerned in starting the Tosa Lane store and in laying down the principles that have since reverberated around the world.

Cooperative Garages?

In a recent issue of The Motor (Brit.) a correspondent writes urging the formation of a motorists’ cooperative society: “Were such a cooperative society formed its attention could profitably be directed towards the supervision of garages and service stations so that motorists could be more or less assured of the proper attention; that is, work would be carried out efficiently and, above all, that he (the motorist) would not be, as often is the case, landed with heavy and unnecessary expenditure.”

Here is another field in which cooperation may be made a guarantee against commercial exploitation.

Producer to Consumer

In Germany we find more and more dealings between farmers’ livestock cooperatives and consumers societies. The G. E. G. (German C. W. S.) at its Oldenburg Meat Factory alone increased its trade with the cattle marketing societies from 482,419,693 marks in 1930 to 701,674 marks in 1930 and 804,916 in 1931. The turnover of the cattle marketing societies was 254 million marks, and the total meat trade of the consumers’ societies was 156,976,970 marks, which was 20.3% of the societies’ total turnover.

German Turnover

The total turnover of the German Cooperative Wholesale Society for 1931 were 428,419,903 marks. This is a decrease of 66,837,500 marks as compared with 1930. There was, however, an increase of 7,707,622 marks, or 5.6%, in the turnover of the society’s productive enterprises, which reached the figure of 145,326,692 marks.

H. G. Wells on Cooperation

H. G. Wells takes a look at the English cooperative movement in his recent book, “The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind.” He says: “Though one English adult in eight is a cooperator, and though I talk freely with all sorts of people, I have never heard any single person boast that he was a member of this great movement… And never have I overheard anyone, pointing to an exceptionally beautiful car or a fine bicycle, or tasting tea or coffee, or butter, or noting a lovely dress, or a wonderful costume, or admiring the decoration of a fine public building, say ‘That is our stuff, cooperative stuff.’”

Swiss Turnover Increases

The turnover of the Union of Swiss Consumers’ Societies’ increased from 163.5 million francs in 1930 to 166.9 million francs in 1931; the number of its affiliated societies increased from 923 to 957; its share capital from 1.63 million francs to 1.65 million francs, and its guaranteed capital from 4.07 million to 4.11 million. Its surplus shows a slight decrease from 920,462 francs in 1930 to 925,335 in 1931.

John Bull Becomes John Cooper

John Bull has never been much beloved. The world has praised his enterprise, applauded his courage, and expected him to pay his debts in sterling. But his cousins have never liked him very much, probably because he has usually appeared among them in the character of a commercial traveller. That is largely his own fault, for no Empire-builder can expect to be regarded with affection.

But John Bull is not the man he was. His character is changing fast, and despite all evidence to the contrary, he is becoming John Cooper. In Great Britain now the membership of cooperative societies exceeds six millions. More than one-third of the total population is linked together in one cooperative movement, and the number of cooperators is increasing every day. Neither the war, nor the peace, nor the financial crisis, nor the collapse of the pound, nor the erection of tariff walls has arrested the progress of the movement.

Possibly London is not the place to look for a typical John Bull; but London is the capital of the British Empire, the heart of the British commercial system, a stronghold of private enterprise. There the forces of capitalism are most strongly entrenched, and are even less vulnerable to attack than they are elsewhere in John Bull’s Island. Having regard to the powerful forces massed together in the Metropolis, it is not surprising that the cooperative movement for a long period made no real headway in the city. A generation ago cooperative pioneers themselves despaired of moving the six millions of people who constitute the living city.

London then seemed to be as barren as a desert, a stony place that never could blossom as the rose. What has happened in the city during the past few years therefore appears to be miraculous. Today there are only four big consumers’ cooperative societies in the metropolitan area, but each one is a giant. Ten years ago there were only 238,000 members of cooperative societies in the metropolitan area. At the end of 1931, the cooperatives numbered 916,000. During the past ten years the population of London has increased by 9.5%, but in the same period the cooperative membership has increased by 240%. The London society alone has increased its membership by 30,000 since the commencement of the present year!

These figures illustrate what is now happening to John Bull. He is becoming a cooperator and a better fellow. That is what is so encouraging to English cooperators. In March, the Metropolitan societies decided to show London what is now happening in its midst. They secured the use of the Royal Albert Hall, the most commodious building in Great Britain, and there held a great cooperative rally. Several thousands of people were present; a fine record was arranged; and three national leaders of the movement proclaimed the old cooperative gospel from the same platform. It was a great gathering, a striking revelation of the new John Bull.

Did London hear the cooperative message then delivered? Millions of Londoners did not bear a single word. The daily newspapers, which then devoted columns to the adventures of Lindbergh’s baby and the prospects of the Irish Sweep, did not even announce that the meeting had been held. Only those people who read Reynold’s Illustrated News on the following day, and the Cooperative News on the following Thursday,
learned that cooperators had taken possession of the Royal Albert Hall, and were made aware that the four metropolitan cooperative societies have a combined capital of £10,000,000 and an annual turnover exceeding £20,000,000. Cooperators turned out in their thousands to tell London what all Londoners should know, and millions of Londoners simply did not hear!

This is the strange thing about the new John Bull. He is becoming a cooperator as quickly as he can, because he knows he is a consumer whose needs simply must be served. But he still depends for his daily pabulum of information upon the Yellow Press, the screeching sheets that publish a new lie every day, and entirely forgets that he is consuming falsehoods every time he reads the daily papers. Those papers attack the cooperative movement, they call upon the government to impose new taxation upon cooperative societies, they openly tell John Bull he is a fool to support cooperation in the way that he is doing now. He knows the Press Lords are no friends of his, and yet he supports their publications even while he patronizes his own cooperative store!

What is one to make of his queer behaviour? John Bull must be wiser than he was for he is more of a cooperator; he has not yet learned how to put two and two together and is in that respect the same blundering, illogical, and foolish old fellow that he was when he planted the Union Jack on every sea and imagined he was master in every country of the world.

**My Point of View**

*By J. P. Warbasse*

**Government Aid to Business**

All kinds of business are asking for government aid. A strongly supported movement favors the creation of a government-controlled corporation to buy domestic farm produce such as wheat, in the amount needed by the United States for home use. The government would fix the price and be the wheat market; the farmers themselves could sell abroad the wheat not consumed in this country at whatever price they wish. The government would fix the price and be the wheat market; the farmers would sell their surplus wheat abroad below the foreign market price. Thus the American consumer would be taxed to lower the price of wheat in foreign countries and make worse the lot of the poor farmers in the rest of the world. When the Russians do this, it is a terrible thing; but of course we are made of finer clay.

To put in operation could not stop with one commodity. The other farm products should in the course of time all be brought under the same roof. And then there are other products of the land. There is coal. And there are iron and copper and Mr. Mellon's aluminum.

And if all of this were done, is there any good reason why the government should not buy all of the shoes, cotton cloth, electric bulbs and everything else? The poor people who actually do the work of making these things are just as badly off as the poor people who sow and harvest the wheat.

If the government goes into this sort of thing there is no place to stop. It must go on to the end. But by the time it had gone very far with such a program, we should see the number of political departments and bureaus so much increased and the number of political officemakers so multiplied that the business of politics would become more profitable and inviting than the drudgery of raising wheat or digging coal. The farmers and coal diggers would find themselves busy supporting politicians who would have become their bosses and overlords.

I am in favor of people solving these problems by the direct and natural method. I believe if they have not the intelligence, social genius and organizing ability to unite and produce and distribute for themselves for their own service, then they have not the capacity to control through a political mechanism the social performance of these services.

If the people are not intelligent enough to be cooperators, they are not intelligent enough to be socialists. If cooperation cannot be attained, then government ownership would be a deplorable mess.

If, on the other hand, the people are capable of developing cooperative administration of their economic and social affairs, then they may leave out the government and get along without the politicians.

**News from the Northern States District**

**Farmers' Union Holds Cooperative Training School**

The first cooperative training school sponsored by the Farmers' Union Central Exchange of St. Paul, Minn., and conducted by the Northern States Cooperative League came to a close at Jamestown, N. Dak., on April 12. Fourteen students registered at the school: of these twelve completed the two weeks' course. They were, from North Dakota: Ournar Balsard, Devil's Lake; Mrs. C. N. Cran- dall, Fergus; O. H. Halonen, Hazen; G. S. Hilliestad, Maddock; E. A. Jeske, Jamestown; Richard C. Joyce, Bemidji Springs; Albert Schroek, Rock Lake; Mrs. Albert Schroek, Rock Lake; Leo Stellman, Valier City; Carl V. Strain, Valley City; R. E. Walsh, Jamestown; From Montana: O. A. Enos, Peerless.

The following subjects were covered during the two weeks: Principles and Methods of Consumers' Cooperation; Administration and
Management of Cooperative Societies: Bookkeeping (as adapted to the needs of cooperative oil companies); Chemistry of Petroleum Products; Farmers' Union Business Institutions; History of the Cooperative Movement.

The following acted as instructors at the session: E. S. Jacobson, Chief Auditor, Northern States Cooperative League, Minneapolis (Bookkeeping): J. L. Nolan, St. Paul (Chemistry of Petroleum Products); Paul Lambert, St. Paul (Farmers' Union Business Institutions); B. H. Lane, Executive Secretary, Northern States Coop. League, Minneapolis (Principles and Methods of Consumers' Cooperation in Administration and Management of Cooperative Societies; History of the Cooperative Movement).

E. E. Greene, for the Farmers' Union of North Dakota, addressed the class telling the students about the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America and the North Dakota State organization. Charles Stevens, manager of the Farmers' Union Oil Company of Valley City, N. Dak., also made a short address to the class.

Five of these students were Farmers' Union oil company (or branch) managers; four others were oil company employees; one student was agent for Farmers' Union insurance companies and two were managers' wives.

During the two weeks the class covered one month's complete bookkeeping for the imaginary "Students' Cooperative Oil Company." At the end of the course the students took a trial balance and prepared a statement of assets and liabilities and an operating statement for this company. In Principles and Methods of Consumers' Cooperation and in the Administration of Cooperative Societies the students were given a written examination. They were also given a "general information test," the purpose of which was to find out what they knew about subjects of general interest in coming to the school.

The intensiveness of the training given at the school is indicated by the fact that during the two weeks altogether 92 fifty-minute class periods were held. The regular schedule called only for 83 such periods but the students willingly agreed to put in a number of extra class periods particularly to finish their tasks in the bookkeeping class.

It is to be hoped that all Farmers' Union oil companies and other Farmers' Union business institutions will give this school idea more attention in the future. A class of twenty-five or thirty students could be handled with very little additional expense and a large attendance would help to spread the knowledge of cooperative principles and such important technical subjects as bookkeeping among the executives and employees of the Farmers' Union business institutions.

The schools of this kind unhesitatingly, as a long way to strengthen not only the Farmers' Union business institutions but the cooperative movement as well.

V. S. A.

Cooperative Youth League News

One of the latest projects of the active Cooperative Youth League of the North Central States is to seek to establish a circular letter on cooperative action and on the workers' movement for the benefit of their members. The aim is to get at least five people from each member league to circulate through the member leagues. The members are asked to donate books on cooperative theory and on labor economics, history and tactics. The plan is to loan these sets of books to the leagues for a period of six months charging $2 for depreciation and for buying new books.

The Cooperative Youth Coaches will be held every Wednesday evening at 7:15 at Cooperative Park, Brule, Wis. The dates are July 29th, Aug. 5th, 12th and 19th. Up to 50 students will be admitted. The entrance fee is to be changed from $10 to $5.

District Committee, Cooperative Youth League, Superior, Wis.

Cooperative Movement Should "Act as Well as Talk"

"Why not act as well as talk?" asks Oscar Cooley in the first editorial in Cooperation for April. A very good question!

Mr. Cooley addresses it to those radicals who berate the capitalist system but do not join the cooperative movement. So far, so good. The question is pertinent, and it can fairly be addressed to those to whom it is addressed in this case. But this is not the only group which should be asked the question. "Why not act as well as talk?" It may also be fairly put to the cooperative movement.

For example, further on in the editorial mentioned, occurs this statement: "The cooperative movement gives us all something to do, why not take advantage of it... the cooperative movement is an economic boycott of the capitalist system.... But is it really? Is it not true that the majority of the goods on the shelves (and in the refrigerators) of the cooperative stores are manufactured by capitalist firms? Is this boycotting the capitalist system? Assuredly it is not!

Furthermore, cooperative members could do a great deal about "protecting the interests of the consumer" in respect to the quality of the goods marketed. Why, cooperators say a lot about the necessity of having cooperative movement get not only wholeheartedly behind Consumers' Research, which scientifically tests products for the consumers' information? Mr. Lever's suggestion for the marketing of goods on a cooperative plan, openly arrived at, based, outlined in April Cooperation, is an excellent one. In this respect, also, the movement is not fairly asked of the cooperative movement. "Why not act in the consumer's interest, as well as talk in his interest?"

Again, cooperators may say quite a lot about the futility of political action and the superiority of economic action as a means of freeing the consumer-worker from exploitation by profit business. And yet, according to Dr. C. W. S. tea, the majority of cooperators do not vote for the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties—which are financially controlled by and for profit business! In other words, cooperators, who as they say are opposed to profit business, go to the polls and help vote into office politicians who, when they get there, spend at least nine-tenths of their time legislating in the interests of profit business! It seems obvious that the very least cooperators can consistently do, is to refrain from voting for candidates of any political party which upholds the capitalist system. In this connection, it would be well for cooperators to consider the question whether a tariff system is imposed in the interests of private business, and which compete cooperators to pay higher prices for their products (as, for example, C. W. S. tea) is a political or an economic measure.

If cooperators are opposed to profit business, why do they support profit business at the polls? Why not act as well as talk! Realistically conceived, cooperation is only one weapon of the labor movement. By the labor movement I mean the collective efforts of those who earn their living—by making some useful contribution to society—to free themselves from the domination of parasites who live by the work of others and from the exploitation and insecurity which this domination entails.

The other two most powerful weapons of labor are labor political action, and labor unionism. The labor movement must make the fullest possible use of each of these weapons if it is to accomplish its purpose. To neglect any one of them is to weaken the others. It is high time that these various divisions of the labor army stopped fighting among themselves and concentrated their energies on the fight against those who benefit from the collective labor of others.

Manford Ettinger,
Commonwealth College, Meno, Ark.

Is the Advertising Invasion Unconstitutional?

I am particularly interested in your editorial entitled "The Remedy for High Taxes" April issue.

It seems that I am on a large number of mailing lists, probably because I once maintained a personal mailing list of professional societies. I recently estimated that about 12 cents a year is expended by direct-mail advertisers in sending me information on commodities in which I have absolutely an interest. For instance this morning I received two circulars selling books or magazines, two solicitations for alleged charities, one advertisement of a number of watches, and one solicitation for funds for a convalescent home that sent me a micro-grained tooth brush, presumably to attract my attention.

All this came second class mail, at rates
which are much lower than any other form of mass mail matter. I am probably on a mailing list with over 5000 other names, as that is the usual direct-mail unit. If I get about $12 worth of postage in second-class mail matter expended per year, the full list of 5000 is having altogether $60,000 per year spent on it, in direct mail.

This is, furthermore, an unwarranted invasion of an individual's privacy, combined with the fraud. The federal government does not give solicitors letters of marque which permit them to physically force entrance into one's residence, but they do give each and every distributor, regardless of his intentions or the quality of his product, the right to infringe on individual privacy with no restriction whatsoever. I am very weak on constitutional rights of the average citizen, but it is too fantastic to suggest that the second-class mail invasion; the telephone solicitation invasion; and the advertising in channels. Roswell Ward

Editor's note: Mr. Aaltanen sends us a copy of the menu of the banquet. At the foot of the menu we find these verses:

It's the close cooperation
Of every bloomin' soul.
That makes them win the day.
Or the rebates they can pay,
Or the members as a whole;
But the everlasting teamwork
Of the Cooperative League, owned by and conducted under the auspices of The Cooperative Union of Canada.

Published monthly $1.00 a year

For full particulars clip this coupon and mail it to:

**NEW ERA LIFE ASSOCIATION**, Grand Rapids, Mich.

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Brantford, Ontario, Canada

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

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The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

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Reprint of article in September Cooperation by Dr. J. P. Warbasse

COOPERATION THE WAY OUT
Address delivered before the Midland Cooperative Oil Association by L. R. Herron
Both 5 cents per single copy, $4.00 per 100

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167 West 12th Street
New York City

COOPERATION
Organ of the Cooperative Movement in the United States
Vol. XVIII, No. 6
JUNE, 1932

CONGRESS TIME APPROACHES
THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the U. S. A. calls upon its member societies to appoint delegates to the Eighth National Cooperative Congress to be held at New York City September 26, 27, 28, 1932

The names and addresses of delegates and alternates should be sent to The League before September 1st.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Cooperative League of U. S. A.
An organ to spread the knowledge of the Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, in voluntary association, produce and distribute for their own use the things they need. Published monthly by The Cooperative League, the U. S. A., 167 West 12th St., New York City.

Oscar Cooley, Editor
Entered as Second Class matter, December 10, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Price $1.00 a year.

Sick of Palliatives

Many people of many minds call on us at the League office. The other day one of our visitors was a man who has been a worker in the New York City Dept. of Public Welfare for many years. His business is the giving of relief, in fact he is a veteran "relief-giver." But he is sick of it. "It doesn't do them any good," he said. "It keeps their bodies alive, temporarily, but it kills their spirits, permanently!"

"How long does it take, this spirit-killing process?" we asked him.

"Two months—one month—depending on how much self-respect he had to start with. "Two months of dole will ruin any man."

He was ready to quit his job, would quit it tomorrow if he could find a way of transferring his energies to the cooperative movement. For he recognizes that cooperation is not "relief," it is self-help. A cooperative society is as far from a Dept. of Public Welfare as George Norris is from Herbert Hoover.

This aspect of cooperation is one that we need always to keep in mind. It is the factor which sets cooperation apart from practically every other radical or reform movement.

Cooperation is a system of collective self-help. No one can carry cooperation to the people on a platter. We can only carry the vision of cooperation; it is up to them to do the rest. Cooperation is a seed; we can plant it, but only the moisture and fertility of the soil in which it is planted can make it grow.

Are there other relief-givers who are sick of their job, who long to help establish a world where relief would be unnecessary?

Let them join the army of cooperation.

Things to Think About

Why does the cooperative movement attract men of ability so slowly?

Have we a right to assume that it is they who are at fault?

Possible reasons:

1. They don't know about it.

2. See no money in it.

3. Top-down reform appeals to them more than self-help.

4. Too slow for 'em.

5. Think cooperators are a smug and holier-than-thou lot.

Some say that, although they approve of cooperation, it is not "in the cards" for us to win, that other forces are "capturing the popular imagination" more rapidly. How much truth is there in that view? What can cooperation do about it?

Have radical causes in the past had much effect on the course of economic history in America? Can you show wherein cooperation is not "just another cause"?—R. S. V. P.

Why Consumers Research Is One of Us

There seems to be some doubt among cooperators as to the ideals which inspire Consumers Research, Inc., the organization which gives its consumer members (now over 35,000) information aimed to help them buy more intelligently. Some feel that inasmuch as a large part of the CR bulletins is taken up with information on the relative merits of different advertised brands, all part and parcel of the capitalist system, the organization itself is merely a part of the capitalist system and so has no place in the cooperative system which we are building. But such a judgment we feel is a hasty one.

It is true that Consumers Research gives information regarding capitalist brands, and that such information tends to promote certain brands, the better ones, at the expense of the poorer. But is it not also true that our cooperative stores, at this early stage of development, sell capitalist brands and even push certain such brands over others? In their attempt to serve consumers, our stores are forced to sell such brands as there are, until cooperative factories can be built and cooperative brands can be produced; and CR likewise is forced to give information concerning such brands as they are, until others can be produced.

But that is not all that CR does. It also provides a wealth of information on how to make goods at home, better and cheaper than the brands you can buy. Such home-made goods are truly "cooperative brands," are they not, since they are made by consumers, even though by only one family, for their own use and not for sale to others? These formulas are available also to cooperative societies who wish to use them in production.

CR does not stop there. It gives the consumer a wealth of "lowdown" on the tricks and lies of capitalist advertisers who seek his money; it tells him why business men do what they do, and in a few brief and pithy sentences it shows up the selfishness and the rottenness of the whole system by which goods are foisted upon him for the one purpose of making profit. No more pièces of the entire market of the group of farmers among whom the proposition is being advocated, says Quentin Reynolds, manager of the Eastern States Farmers Exchange, writing in the May number of the Eastern States Cooperator. Mr. Reynolds points out that such exclusory measures might be a boomerang. He reasons thus: The Eastern dairyman's market depends on industrial workers in Eastern cities, which in turn depend on selling the goods they manufacture to the West, South, North and abroad. If Western dairy products are excluded from the Eastern market, it is not likely that Western states will retaliate by excluding Eastern manufactured goods from the Western market? This will speed the migration of industries out of the East into South and West, and thus destroy the Eastern dairyman's market.

Precisely this has happened because of high tariffs in international trade. We began the high tariff stunt, other countries followed suit. Unable to ship goods into Canada and other countries, American manufacturers have set up branch plants by hundreds in those countries, thus cutting down on their home plants and the home payroll, which means the home market.
Shall We Establish a Cooperators' College in the Northwest?

George Jacobson
Midland Cooperative Oil Association

If an advanced school to propagate Consumers' Cooperation is to be established, just how is it to be done? To date two concrete suggestions have been made in the columns of CO-OPERATION.

George Halonen, educational director, Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, Wisconsin, urges that the old Work Peoples' College located in the Riverside section of Duluth be used by the consumers' cooperative movement around which to build a center of higher learning. He argues that this institution is equipped with dormitory, classroom and library facilities to accommodate just the kind of school the cooperators have in mind. In the February, 1931, issue of this magazine Mr. Halonen outlined in convincing detail how inexpensive this institution could be converted into the long term school desired.

The fact that the facilities of the Work Peoples' College at Duluth are available at a low cost is a strong argument for developing the cooperators' school there. A second strong point is its location in the heart of the most advanced and aggressive sector of the consumers' cooperative movement on this continent, the Central Cooperative Wholesale group. The cooperatives in the Lake Superior country have developed leaders and a rank and file of outstanding cooperative vision. A cooperators' college, if established in Duluth, would not want for students, but also for that youth of the state who come to the university proper in large numbers besides the membership of one is usually identical with that of the other. The course of study could be shaped to engage the interest of young men and women enroged in either field of cooperation. Again there is present in the Twin Cities a valuable group of practical leaders in both consumers and producers cooperatives to aid in bringing information and vision to the student body. Minneapolis and St. Paul being large commercial and industrial centers, afford many other advantages of such study in this modern industrialism. Here as well are many contact and cultural advantages not available in a smaller community.

How would a school located and organized as described in this article be financed? The same plan as Mr. Halonen outlined for a school in Duluth would be applicable. The needed money for operating expenses could be raised by student contributions in the manner of Mr. Halonen's plan. Specialized and advanced courses in technical subjects such as accountancy, mathematics, statistics and business practice which a cooperators' school could not afford to offer could be pursued at the university as well.

Location of the farm campus in St. Paul might even be more desirable from a cooperative viewpoint than location near the main university in Minneapolis. Many subjects dealing with producers' cooperation are already offered at the Agricultural College.

Part time teaching at the cooperators' school, especially of technical subjects, by available members of the university faculty would be another considerable advantage. The influence of the consumers' cooperative movement on at least one land grant college through this intellectual center would also be decidedly valuable. The cooperators' school could serve as a contact not alone between its own students and the cooperatives at large but also between the state who come to the university proper in earnest search of knowledge and preparation for a career of broad social service.

The Twin Cities is the hub of the producers' as well as the consumers' cooperatives of the Northwest. Where both exist in the same rural communities, the membership of one is usually identical with that of the other. The course of study could be shaped to engage the interest of young men and women enroged in either field of cooperation. Again there is present in the Twin Cities a valuable group of practical leaders in both consumers and producers cooperatives to aid in bringing information and vision to the student body. Minneapolis and St. Paul being large commercial and industrial centers, afford many other advantages of such study in this modern industrialism. Here as well are many contact and cultural advantages not available in a smaller community.

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able and cooperatively protected market would be at hand for marketable surpluses raised. The matter of financing a cooperators’ school is a secondary consideration once the movement is convinced of its need. The cooperatives in the Northern States are already spending a tidy sum annually for various short courses and institutes, most of which could be combined with the long term school for economy and effectiveness.

News and Comment

Northern States to Have Own Insurance Service

A cooperative insurance agency, similar to Clusa Service Inc., has been formed in the Northern States district. It began operations June 1st, with C. G. Wright as manager and headquar-
ders in Duluth. Its object is to furnish an expert advisory service on insurance to cooperators and cooperative societies in the Northwestern territory. The agency will also act as a purchasing agency for insurance. A large number of active consumers’ cooperative societies as well as the cooperative creameries and cooperative marketing associations in the Northern States territory provide a fertile field for expansion.

Arrangements are being made for cooperation with Clusa Service, the insurance service that is already functioning under the national League. The first joint project will be the handling of the Cooperative League Bond, Clusa Service Inc., as the League’s insurance representative in New York, will continue to handle contacts with the insurance company and with societies outside the Northern States territory. After July 1st the new service will deal directly with all societies in its territory in matters concerning the bond.

Dillonvale Opens New Branch — Starts Paper

“Cooperative News” is the name of the new paper which The New Coopera-
tive Company of Dillonvale, Ohio, is issuing. The first number appeared in May and consists of four pages, mimeographed. The two outside pages are given over to news and the inside to prices and advertising.

Cooperative Insurance would apply to a new treasurer just as soon as he was elected and took office. This type of bond is so broad that insurance companies issue it only to superior risks. In order to protect itself and to be sure that the bond is continued, the Board of Directors of the League is limiting coverage under it to members of The League whose books are audited by the Cooperative League Accounting Bureau or by accountants acceptable to it.

New Era Management Changes

Some rather sweeping changes took place in the New Era Life Association at its Congress in Grand Rapids, May 12th. G. L. Taylor, former treasurer, was elected president in place of E. E. Branch. A. E. Hanson, former office manager and assistant to Secretary-Actuary Gaylord Nelson, was made general manager in place of H. M. Baxter. A committee of nine, among whom were George Halonen and V. S. Alanne, well-known cooperators, was elected to draft a new constitution and by-laws. The Congress will reconvene within six months to pass upon this constitution.

George Halonen was also elected to the Senate, the law-making body of New Era. A resolution on the cooperative movement drawn up by Halonen and Alanne was unanimously adopted by the Congress.

The injunction which has been impending over the New Era officers for some months was withdrawn.

Cooperation To Go On the Air

The Cooperative League has been invited to broadcast a weekly program over WEVD, the radio station which is owned and operated by the Northern States Institute. In fact, the program is expected to begin about June 15th. Cooperators should watch for a later announcement and tune in. Let’s have lots of fan mail.

Cooperative Fire Insurance Gains in New York State

Cooperative fire insurance companies in New York State in 1931 increased the amount of insurance carried by almost $26,000,000, according to a report released by Boris Fogelson, secretary of the five cooperative fire insurance companies of Sullivan and adjoining counties.

According to Mr. Fogelson, there are in the State of New York 73 county assessment cooperative fire insurance companies (companies which write insurance in no more than five adjoining counties) carrying insurance amounting to over 559 million dollars: 63 town assessment cooperative fire insurance companies (companies which write insurance in townships only).

Last Call for the Summer Institutes!

A week of camp vacation, good comradeship, and instruction in cooperation, is the unique combination offered at any one of the three Cooperative League Summer Institutes. But lay your plans now and let us know!

The Eastern States Institute will be held at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., July 24th to 30th. Courses in Principles of Cooperation, Organization and Administration of Cooperatives and Theory of Cooperative Accounting will be given. Speakers will soon be announced. The cost, which was $300 per student last year, will be $18 per student this year. There is no better place to have a good time plus instruction than Brookwood.

The Central States Institute will be held at No. Riverside, near Chicago, July 17th to 23rd.

The Northern States Institute will be held at Maple Plain, Minn., June 18th to July 3rd.

The Youth Courses of the Central Cooperative Wholesale will be held at Cooperative Park, Brule, Wis., July 25th to August 21st.
carrying over 71 million dollars insurance; and 29 advance payment co-operative fire insurance companies (companies which write insurance throughout the State, receiving premium in advance and paying dividends to the policyholders) carrying over $68 million dollars insurance—so that the total number of co-operative insurance companies organized in this State is 165 and the total amount of insurance these companies carry is $1,100,068,-

The 165 companies have paid during the year the sum of $3,854,931.93 for fire and lightning losses.

Why Jim Could Not Sell His Eggs

FARMER JIM OLSON, jogging into town with a case of eggs, was assaulted by a huge billboard, BUY NOW—BUY NOW AND BRING BACK PROSPERITY. (Jogging, I say, because he isn't driving the Ford these days; he's driving old Jerry instead. The Ford eats gasoline and tires, which cost money; while Jerry eats oats, which you can't give away.)

"Buy now!" he grunted. "Yeah, I'll buy now—if somebody else will buy this case of eggs now."

Six cents a dozen was the best he was offered—and not anxious to take them at that, said the grocer. "What can you expect, with Piggly Wiggly selling for 8 cents retail—and nobody buyin' any eggs anyway?"

So Jim, who had given up grain farming when wheat hit 30 cents and gone into chickens, resolved to try selling his eggs from door to door.

"Fresh eggs, lady? " Fresh eggs! Gee, that sounds good, but since Will was laid off at the harvester factory, I haven't looked a fresh egg in the face. Sorry, guess you farmers are having your troubles too, aren't you?"

Jim, as I said, had given up grain farming and gone into chickens. And because so many "Jims" had done the same thing, Will was laid off at the harvester factory, and now Jim finds it not so easy to sell his eggs.

After a half day's hard hoofing, he had disposed of all of them. They brought less than $5. "Now for a spree of 'buying now', said he, heading first for the hardware store. He needed a watering pan for the chicks, a simple galvanized iron contraption. It would cost about 75 cents, he figured. But it cost $1.25, and he didn't buy it. A new collar for Jerry—$1.00? No, $1.50. But Jerry couldn't be expected to work with a sore neck. Then he looked at a roll of chicken wire, $3.25. No, some-

Niemela Goes to Brooklyn

Waldemar Niemela has been called to the managership of Cooperative Trading Association of Brooklyn, N. Y. He takes up his duties there about June 15th. Niemela has been manager of the United Cooperative Society of Maynard, Mass., since 1916 with the exception of 1919 and 1920, when he was manager of the United societies' wholesale in Boston. Waino Linna, the present C. T. A. manager, has not announced his plans.

Niemela's place at Maynard will be taken by A. N. Rivers, manager of the cooperative society of Rock, Mich.

how he would have to get along without that. (Two weeks later the steel and wire factory where the watering pans and the chicken wire were made closed down indefinitely, but Jim did not know about that—nor would it have meant much to him, unless he had happened to be peddling eggs in the section where the wire factory workers lived.)

Isn't it time that Jim Olson and his wife went and called on Fred and Will and their wives and families and got better acquainted with them? Each has a story to tell the other and when these stories are told, each will have a clearer picture of this "complex" economic world. Two classes whose fortunes are so closely intertwined as farmers and industrial workers should get to know one another better. When they do, Jim will see that it is definitely not in his interest for Fred and Will to get low wages, or no wages at all; and Fred and Will on their part also will see that they haven't much chance while Jim gets so little for his wheat that he can't afford to run a harvester or a tractor or even a Ford. Perhaps Jim will come to see that there may be some sense in "them labor unions" after all, and Fred and Will will not look at the cooperative marketing movement as "just another trust."

The fact is that the standards of living of farmers and of industrial workers must go up together, or down together. If the wages of Fred and Will are depressed, as sure as fate, Jim's income too will be depressed, and when that has gone on long enough, Fred and Will find themselves out of a job entirely.

But if they cooperate, that is, if Fred cooperates with Will, and both of them with Jim, by their united efforts they can raise the living standards of all. How? First, Fred and Will form a consumers' cooperative, in order to deal direct with Jim and cut out the parasites and profiteers in between. They also form another kind of "co-operative," a labor union, in which they and their fellow-workers cooperate to force their employers to give them a larger share of the products of their labor. Jim and his neighbors meanwhile also form a consumers' cooperative out in their neighborhood, for they are consumers too. And they also form a marketing cooperative to accomplish for them the same results that a union does for Fred and Will, that is, get a larger share of the products of their labor. Thus through consumers' cooperatives, plus labor unions, Fred and Will raise their living standards; and through consumers' cooperatives plus marketing cooperatives, Jim and his kind raise their living standards. But the big lift for both groups comes when the consumers' cooperatives deal directly with the marketing cooperatives. Then all the parasitism is cut out, and the only limitation on the raising of standards of living is the ability of hand and brain to produce.

Shall we go up together, or down together? It is in our power to choose.

O. C.
What Cooperation Has Done for Denmark
Fred. C. N. Hedebol

Mr. Hedebol is a Dane, now a teacher in a public high school of New York state. He writes: "The object of this article is to show how cooperation lifted Denmark out of an abyss that might otherwise have proved its extinction as a free and independent nation."

A

BOUT 1870 Denmark faced a great national crisis the main issue of which was competition in the world market with the grain crops of the U. S. A. and Argentina. Denmark, whose agriculture until then was based on grain production, was beaten at the start. What was to be done?

A few years earlier the cooperative movement had been introduced from England, yet it had made but little headway. A few farmers and a dairyman had thoroughly grasped the idea, however, and they began to apply the cooperative principles to production. The response was a miraculous growth of cooperative dairies the country over and the following score of years saw the most marvelous development of agricultural producer's cooperatives the modern world has witnessed. Instead of dumping grain at a loss the Danish farmers imported grain and turned it into bacon, butter, and eggs, that by their quality, soon captured from the market. There was no clamor for tariff protection or state subsidies. The farmers took matters into their own hands and solved their problems through cooperation.

At first, the movement was wholly in the field of production, but soon consumer's cooperatives joined in the boom and before long the Danes were far ahead of the English in cooperative enterprises. In 1914 it was estimated that every 11th Dane was a cooperator, to every 15th English and every 29th German, and still the development went on. In its first phase the movement was practically a rural one, but the towns and cities are rapidly making up for lost time.

A Danish farm now is connected with the outside world through a network of cooperative agencies. The farmer buys his necessities at his cooperative store; he borrows money and places his savings in a cooperative bank; his fertilizer, fodder, seeds, etc. he obtains from cooperative buying and import associations, his cement from his cooperative cement factory, his electricity from a cooperative power plant. He delivers his milk to the cooperative dairy, his eggs to the cooperative slaughterhouse, his pigs to the cooperative meat factory, his butter to the cooperative butter factory, his cement to the cooperative cement factory, his electricity to the cooperative power plant. He obtains from consumer's cooperatives is figured as $1,600,000,000 in 1919.

But, to figure the influence of Danish cooperation in dollars and cents only would be a very serious mistake. It has fostered far greater values than mere accumulations of wealth. Chief perhaps is the practical schooling it has afforded the populace. The characteristics, which one may call "cooperative virtues" that have become common among the members of this vast cooperative structure can roughly be listed as follows:

A broad intelligence.
Faith in fellow-workers.
Willing subordination to self-chosen authority.
A keen sense of moral obligation. Solidarity, or group loyalty.
Unbreakable courage.

Such make life more livable for the individual and form a bedrock foundation for a real democratic society. One must be familiar with Danish history to fully appreciate the thorough and peaceful revolution cooperation has worked in the little kingdom within the last sixty-five years. It has lifted an ignorant, suspicious, dependent peasantry to a citizenship that has been equalled in but few places on earth. A home loving, home owning people who have practically banished landlordism and poverty, in spite of meagre natural resources. A people who have done more to alleviate periods of unemployment, illness, and old age for each member of the whole population than any other nation on earth.

The Danes, did not feel any loss of dignity when Iceland claimed, and was granted, her independence. But, when England hinted that the quality of Danish butter was not up to standard, they gave the matter as thorough an investigation as though the nation honor had been hurt. Should anyone feel inclined to say, as Shaw's editor to Androcles, "Honor. The honor of a tailor?" the Danish cooperator might well answer as the meek Androcles: "Well, perhaps honor is too strong an expression. Still, you know, I couldn't allow the tailors to get a bad name through me." No member or organization of the great cooperative structure is allowed to mar the good name of the whole. That is the fundamental spirit of the cooperatives.

That the world war and our present depression have had their telling effects on the movement is granted, how could it be otherwise? Yet, despite 100% duty, Denmark still exports butter to Switzerland, and American agriculturists know only too well what it means to compete, in both price and quality of goods, with the Cooperative Commonwealth of Denmark.

A second article by Mr. Hedebol, on the Danish Folk Schools and their relation to Cooperatives, will appear soon.

Cooperation Abroad

In Denmark

The dollar sales of the Danish Wholesale Society for 1931 decreased 8.4% over 1930, but goods turnover increased. Thus flour increased from 80.5 million kg. in 1930 to 31.9 million kg. in 1931; sugar from 37.7 to 39.2; and dried fruit from 2.2 to 2.5. Net surplus for the year was 6,088,425 kroner.
Co-op Vacations

France has a cooperative organization, the purpose of which is to provide vacations in the country for children of the members of cooperative societies. It is called L'Enfance Co-operative. In 1931 it entertained 1830 children at its three holiday homes. A fourth home has been purchased in the Vosges mountains and will be ready to take children, age 13 to 18, this season.

Another interesting French cooperative is the Hotels Co-op, a society which runs six hotels at different resorts and provides holiday facilities at moderate rates. Last year was its first year and it realized a net surplus of 69,879 francs.

Co-op Milk in Britain

Retail sales of milk by cooperative societies in England and Wales now exceed 100 million gallons per year, of which 75% is sold as bottled pasteurized milk. In addition, over 23 million gallons a year are sold by cooperative societies in Scotland. Over 30 societies in England and Wales have installed new dairies during the last year: 66 societies are supplying 767,481 gallons of milk per year to school-children.

Big Fellow Grows Bigger

London Society increased its sales for the year ending March 5th by £77,500. The total turnover of the society amounted to £69,821,796. Membership of the society was 450,015 and subscribed capital £6,518,180, an increase of £626,374 in capital and 20,594 in subscribed capital per member. In addition, over 23 million gallons a year are sold by cooperative societies in Scotland. Over 30 societies in England and Wales have installed new dairies during the last year: 66 societies are supplying 767,481 gallons of milk per year to school-children.

Co-operative Oil

The cooperative oil movement is spreading into Alberta. The first tank car of oil purchased through the United Farmers of Alberta Cooperative Committee recently rolled into that province. The brand is Red Head, 6,259,988 gallons of milk were distributed, an increase of 998,783 gallons or 18.96% on the corresponding period of 1931.

Cooperative Ideals Are Common Sense

"The innate sanity of the cooperative method is abundantly witnessed today by the contrast between an unshaken Cooperative Movement and a world-wide capitalist economy driven to panic by complete lack of confidence in its own adequacy... Capitalist apologists cannot explain in terms which do not condemn their theory the disconcerting facts that at the apex of productive capacity, world consumption and exchange of commodities are dwindling. Systematic destruction of valuable goods alleged to have been overproduced, the collapse of credit systems sanctified by banking tradition, and reversions to crude barter, reveal even to the man in the street the lamentable failure of cooperative industry and the flimsiness of its foundations. In such a world of unreality the simple verities of the cooperative ideal stand out as basic common sense."

Trading with Russia

The English C. W. S. has been attacked for selling large amounts of cloth and other goods to Russia. In reply, the Right Hon. A. V. Alexander states: "It is quite true. We trade with cooperators in all countries who are willing to trade with us on honest and decent terms, and I may mention that, since the war, we have advanced £38,000,000 of credit to Russian co-operators and have never lost a penny."

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tion like this the Robert's rules of order seem to offer a method of proportioning the privilege of the floor much more fairly than the old Finnish method.

It seems certain that from now on the parliamentary procedure will be followed by an increasing number of the Finnish cooperatives at their meetings and that the English language will gradually take place of Finnish in these meetings. This is a very gratifying development.

When the crisis came, the Central Cooperative Wholesale had already gone out of business, three failed, and two others have become amalgamated with the Central Cooperative Wholesale in the beginning of 1930, proving the success of the Central Cooperative Wholesale society itself which has weathered four years of economic depression (1921-1922 and 1930-1931) exceedingly well.

In 1925 the Grain Dealers' National Association of Toledo, Ohio, published a book on “Cooperation in the United States.” This book contains a chapter entitled, “Cooperative Stores, 99% Failure.” The chapter winds up with the following summary:

“The cooperative store movement is one place where the farmer has now had 80 years of experience—and it has been 80 years of almost unbroken failure. The business is too competitive. There are too many people who are interested in the business. If the farmer today wants to cooperate, he ought to profit by experience and turn to some other form than the cooperative store.”

And yet, 75% of the membership of the Central Cooperative Wholesale group of stores consists of farmers. These farmers, in spite of the warning given by the book, have affiliated with the Central Cooperative Wholesale alone, with a combined volume of business amounting in the year of 1930 to 3½ million dollars (not including the sales of the Wholesale society itself which amounted to 1½ million dollars).

For years, before these societies were organized, Finnish newspapers published by working-class and farmer organizations carried on intensive propaganda and educational work teaching these workers and farmers the A, B, C's of economics and sociology from a really progressive point of view. These papers analyzed the inherent contradiction of capitalist system and proved to the satisfaction of their readers that the cooperative system of production and distribution was the coming thing. This is why the average member of a Finnish cooperative society in the Northern States district is an ardent cooperator and a loyal supporter of all genuine cooperative undertakings.

My Point of View

By J. P. Warbasse

The Immediate Change to Cooperation

Would it be possible in the United States, within a reasonable time, to change the prevalent practice of business from the profit method to the cooperative method? How could such a change be made?

I shall lay down the thesis that it would be possible.

Such a change, to be permanent must be wrought by the people as consumers. They must learn how to administer economic affairs in their own interest, as pure economic affairs, independent of politics, religion and other external agencies. This program is being slowly worked out by the Rochdale method. The progress it has made in ninety years is, indeed, rapid as history goes. But suppose an immediate reorganization of society upon cooperative lines were desired by a majority of the people, or their representatives, how might it be hastened?

The First Steps

Since society today has adopted the political method of organization, the present political machinery would have to be used for the promotion of cooperation and for the elimination of that selfsame political machinery. If the Congress, the President and the other arms of government were persuaded that cooperation is the only agency to save society from chaos, how might they proceed to establish the cooperative method? It is not so difficult as it might seem, because the wish to effect an end is the first and most important thing in its attainment; and we are assuming the wish.

The first step would consist in bringing together the people who have studied and who understand cooperation, with a few educational experts, to promote cooperative education. This would mean teaching the meaning and methods of cooperation in schools and colleges, in business schools, in forums, clubs, and in other assemblies of people. A campaign of education through the press—newspapers and magazines—precisely as was carried on to promote the war would go far. Brief texts and explanatory articles would be constructed from the rich literature which already exists.

Technical schools would establish departments for cooperative training of executives. The excellent course on “Cooperative Business Administration,” prepared by The Cooperative League, would serve as the academic guide.

All laws which obstruct cooperation would be repealed. This is one of the first and most important steps, because the laws of this country are framed to promote, encourage and protect profit business and are inimical to cooperative undertakings.

The above program would affect the federal, state, county and municipal governments.
For Example

As an example of the transfer of profit distributive business, let us take a town of 5,000 population, having twenty small stores of different kinds. The people of the town would constitute themselves, by a town meeting, into a consumers' commune. The most desirable stores would be bought by the commune, to be paid for by a percentage of the surplus-savings (the difference between cost and setting price of goods and services) set aside as a reserve for that purpose. The burden of capital payment would be extended over a long period by payment with bonds.

Management and service would be placed in the hands of executives whose competence could be proved. The accepted Rochdale methods of business would be used. The same policy would apply to the bank, the motion picture show, the undertakers, and everything else in the town that the people wanted. In most cases, the existing management would be retained.

Doctors and dentists would be appointed by the sanitary committee with guaranteed salaries for their professional services.

Churches, clubs and other cooperative, non-profit service organizations would remain unchanged.

The cooperative societies of each community would federate into a district organization, which for geographical convenience might represent the societies of each state. The state federations would maintain a national federation for larger services. This federation of societies, together with the federation of each state, would constitute the National Cooperative Society, as described in my "Cooperative Democracy" (Macmillan, 1927), in the chapters on "A Democratic Non-Governmental Substitute for the Political State" (page 152).

Businesses in cities would pass into the hands of the consumers who patronize them as fast as the consumers could be brought into united action. The organization would be by wards, or blocks, or by occupations or other uniting interest, as necessary indicated.

Larger Business

Cooperative wholesale societies would develop in each district out of the needs of the district federations. The wholesale would become the owner of the productive industries by the same methods as those by which the individual consumers make themselves the owners of the distributive businesses.

If a capitalist business made ten per cent profit on its investment, then a cooperative society, taking over the business and distributing the product at the same price, could pay for the business. But this is precisely what it would not do. It would extend the payment over a period nearer a hundred years in order that the present generation should not bear all of the burden of the transfer of ownership. The purchase would be made by long-term bonds.

Banking would become a method of service for depositors and borrowers instead of a method of making dividends out of these two for stockholders and officials. An expansion of the credit system would not bear all of the burden of the transfer of ownership. The purchase would be made by long-term bonds.

Banking would be united with the general organization of distribution and production. The same method of organization would apply to insurance, recreation and education.

Transportation would be local and national. The state transportation would be administered by the local society; interstate transportation by the national society.

At present most of the railroads are insolvent; the rest are destined to be.

cope so. How would they be converted into service institutions for the benefit of travellers and shippers? The securities would be appraised at a minimum valuation, and purchased by the National Cooperative Society with long-term bonds. Each traveller and shipper would be sold railroad services at cost, plus an added percentage to be used for the securities taken over by the Cooperative Society and plus an added percentage for reserve. The title of the roads would pass to the Cooperative Society at once. The holders of the Cooperative Society's bonds would receive a low rate of interest on their investments until they had all been liquidated.

The acquisition of coal mines and factories would be by the same process of payment extending over a long period. We became accustomed to seeing 10 per cent added to certain costs during the war. Such an addition could be made for a constructive purpose just as well as for war.

The ownership of the United States Steel Corporation would pass to the national cooperative society because of its need of iron products in its various building enterprises. The same with the Telephone Company and other utilities.

The ownership of the land would undergo the same transfer—to the people who consume the products. Near each town, land would be owned by the town cooperative society for vegetables and local uses. In the large spaces special lands for national cooperative ownership would be acquired and used in the production of grain, lumber, ore and for forest parks. Beyond the needs of town and nation, special lands, producing commodities needed abroad, would be owned by the International Cooperative Wholesale Society.

The Beginning Has Been Made

Already this country has made a beginning and is ready for expansion into such a cooperative system. There are 2500 established cooperative distribution societies, 500 cooperative gasoline and motor oil societies, 1650 cooperative banks, 300 telephone societies, and many housing societies, restaurants, bakeries, undertaking businesses, laundries, and a large number of other non-profit organizations which could be converted into that system in any land in which profit business were not a protected state religion.

There are 2000 cooperative fire insurance societies with over $50,000,000 insurance on over $7,000,000 worth of property. The 12,000 cooperative agricultural marketing societies, with 2,000,000 members are all either doing some cooperative buying or are ready to begin. At least 500 farmers' cooperative purchasing societies are supplying their members with $100,000,000 worth of commodities a year.

The 13,000 building and loan associations, with $8,000,000,000 capital and 12,000,000 members, and the mutual insurance companies are in the forefront of the new movement.

In every state are hundreds of clubs, churches, schools, colleges and other institutions which are non-profit in character and cooperative in spirit. The list is the outstanding cooperative unit: there are some 30,000,000 of these.

Our great public service corporations are owned by a large proportion of the people, who use the service, as a result of the wide distribution of stock holding. When all of this (1) is extended to all by (2) being owned by the town cooperative society for vegetables and local uses, (3) each stockholder given one vote, it becomes cooperative.

In the event of the inevitable collapse of the present impractical profit system, and in the presence of the consequent disorder, communists, socialists and advocates of other schemes of reorganization will attempt by propaganda, force and other means to compel adoption of their particular economic method. There may be some advantage in giving preliminary thought to the expansion of cooperative buying, and in showing how successfully in operation in all the countries of the world and capable of freeing society from the chaos of capitalism—if society would, by chance, care to be liberated.
Statistics on Cooperation in Britain
THE ECONOMIC ADVANCE OF BRITISH COOPERATION 1913 to 1931, by H. J. Twigg. Published by Cooperative Union, Manchester. Price, 2s.

The Cooperative movement, in its economic aspects at any rate, is the outstanding example of "propaganda by deed" for the new social order. Mr. Twigg has chosen the statistical table as his almost exclusive vehicle for conveying to the reader some idea of the magnitude of the problem whose chief role, up to the present at least, has been the maintenance of the economic status quo. Ours is the age of industrial concentration and mergers have taken place since 1913. Although the cooperative movement had more than doubled its membership of nearly 3,000,000 from 1913 to 1931, the number of retail societies declined from 1,917 in 1919 to 1,210 during the same period. Furthermore, that, while in 1914 there was not a single society with a membership of over 50,000, in 1931 there were 18 such societies, and their combined membership constituted nearly 29%, of the total number of cooperatives in Great Britain. This fact is really significant because it proves that cooperators can confront capitalist combinations with cooperative mergers.

The author then proceeds to analyze the percentages which the various types of commodities handled bear to the total volume of cooperative business, and concludes from the statistical evidence: "It is at once evident that more than three quarters of the total trade is still in food stuffs of various kinds, although the proportion of other sales shows an upward tendency." One is tempted to single out Mr. Twigg's own words on the relationship between dividends and cooperative progress. "Sales per member and (through less marked) capital per member tend to be highest where dividends are highest.

"Membership and trade during the period of our review increased most rapidly in those areas where dividends (and so presumably retail prices) were lowest."

Although remarkable progress has been made since 1913 in both banking and insurance it is still true that the cooperative method does not as yet dominate these economic and financial activities. More than half of the £30,000,000 of investments of the Cooperative Insurance Society consists of Government securities of the British Empire, and an additional £15,000,000 of "Railway and other stocks." This fact is not only interesting but also alarming because the cooperative movement, which is revolutionary in character so far as it aims to replace capitalism, is investing its savings in institutions whose chief role, up to the present at least, has been the maintenance of the economic status quo. Off-hand I cannot comprehend such a policy, which makes of the cooperative movement a supporter of capitalism and of a civilization whose destruction is the aim of every cooperator.

Statistical tables are used to inform the reader about the direct trading between, as well as joint buying by, the various National Wholesale, about the progress of Agricultural Cooperation in England, and an aggregate Balance Sheet for the British Cooperative Movement.

Edward Twigg

Pioneer Women of Palestine Tell Own Story
THE PLOUGH WOMAN, translated into English by Maurice Samuel. Published by Nicholas L. Brown, Inc., New York. $2.50.

A simple collection of stories written by some fifty Jewish women workers in the agricultural communes of Palestine. In the early cooperative unit of women workers, known as a "kvutzah," a primitive type of mutual help is pictured. Here cooperation was a necessity in the struggle to survive under most difficult conditions. Faced with unemployment and hunger, in danger from Arab attacks, relegated by men workers to woman's traditional place in house and kitchen—women workers gradually built a definite place for themselves in such branches of agriculture as vegetable gardening, tree planting, chicken raising, and dairy work.

Then came the women's training farm, or "meshek ha-poaloth," the purpose of which was to prepare for the general farm settlement. With this planned, stabilized unit came recognition of the educational value of group living. In the words of one member, the kvutzah "had to be self-supporting; and therefore the comrades in it had to take up all its economic problems. In such surroundings the character of the woman comrade set firm; she developed the necessary independence and initiative. We were amazed sometimes to see the difference which one year made in a woman. Helpless at first, she was at the end of this period an independent woman.

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The Cooperative Builder
The official organ of CENTRAL COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE
An interesting and lively cooperative journal published semi-monthly at Superior, Wis. For full particulars, write THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE 167 West 12th St. New York City.

The Canadian Cooperator
Brantford, Ontario, Canada
The organ of the Canadian Cooperative Movement, owned by and conducted under the auspices of The Cooperative Union of Canada. Published monthly 75c per annum
Cooperative Societies to Set Up Own Credit Machinery!

Central Credit Pool Will Enable Eastern Societies to Get Loans in Emergencies

Certain cooperative societies are in difficulty not because of want of assets but because these assets are not liquid and they find it difficult to secure loans from private banks against their fixed assets. Under the lending policy the banks are now following. Such societies are in danger of being forced to shut up shop even though they have buildings, tools and equipment and enough business to go on operating.

The question before the cooperative movement is: Shall they be allowed to go merely because of this lack of credit during an abnormal period? Shall we stand by and see our assets go for 10 cents on the dollar?

This brings up another and more fundamental question: Can the cooperative movement afford to go on depending upon capitalist banks for its supply of credit? The depression is throwing a pitiless light on the weakness of this position.

What is the solution? Is it a cooperative bank? $100,000 of paid-in capital is required. That is too much. The time is not yet ripe. However, a first step in that direction was taken at the recent convention of the Eastern States Cooperative League at Fitchburg, Mass., where the idea for a "credit pool" among the E. S. C. L. societies was born. It "took" immediately, and the Board of Directors was authorized by the convention to go ahead and develop the plan. This has been done, and the detailed plan will soon be put up to the societies and their members will be asked to back it. It will need the backing of every cooperative and every society in order to help solve our credit problem, perhaps the most vexing problem before the movement today. Meanwhile, all are urged to study this plan and give suggestions.

The Suggested Plan

A central credit Fund will be raised, paid in and subscribed for by the societies and their membership. It will be administered by a Board of Trustees, five or seven, to be appointed by the Board of Directors of the Eastern States Cooperative League. It will be the function of the Trustees to receive, to bank and to loan funds.

Such funds will be obtained by deposit (1) From cooperative societies, and other non-profit organizations if there are such that are interested in supporting this plan; (2) From individuals.

Losses to individual depositors will
be insured against by giving deposits of individuals prior security over those of organizations.

These funds will be deposited in the savings or thrift department of a bank. In receipt the bank will issue certificates of deposit through the Trustees to the depositors. The fund will draw the normal rate of interest obtainable, such interest to be credited quarterly.

Loans will be limited to societies which are members of the Eastern States Cooperative League. Applications for loans will be made by such societies to the Trustees. In order to be approved, loans must be secured through tangible assets. Approval must be by unanimous vote of the Trustees.

Whenever an application is approved, the Trustees will instruct the bank to make the loan, this loan being secured to the bank by an equal portion of the Credit Fund deposited in the bank. Loans will only be made when the bank is large enough to provide dollar-for-dollar insurance. The Board of Trustees will receive 10% of the total fund which will always be held in the home language.

Withdrawals

It should be emphasized that any money placed in this fund will not be a contribution, but will be a deposit, drawing savings and interest. Under what conditions, then, may depositors make withdrawals? Only as the money is available, that is, at the rate at which it is being paid back by borrowers. Withdrawals will only be allowed at stated intervals.

Factors for Success

C. C. S. Endorses Plan

At the annual shareholders meeting of Consumers Co-operative Services, Inc., New York, June 15, unanimous approval was given to the Central Credit Plan of the Eastern States League, here described.

Werner Rogli, League auditor, eloquently pictured the need for the plan and put it up to the shareholders. The response was instantaneous. All seemed to feel instinctively that here was a way of lending unlimited power to the arm of the cooperative movement.

The following resolution, brought in by Board Member Carrel, was passed unanimously: "Resolved, that the Board of Directors be empowered to invest not more than $5000 in a revolving credit for the extension of loans to cooperative enterprises; such authorization to remain in force for a period of one year."

A spontaneous movement started from the floor to sign up individuals then and there for $10 subscriptions to the fund. A considerable number signed. This is the first society the plan has been put up to. It is hoped that other societies will respond likewise. Plans for organization are rapidly going forward.

This Fund, if it will work, will become the nucleus of a central credit pool for cooperatives in the East, if not throughout the United States. It represents the beginning of our own bank institution.

Will it work? That depends, primarily, on the readiness of cooperative societies and individuals to operators to deposit some part of their surplus cash in the Fund. The pooling of credit means the pooling of funds, and, without such funds there is no credit.

The cooperative movement is small, but even so, cooperators probably have no conception of the power that can be theirs through the pooling of their savings, small as they be. If each of the 40 societies in the Eastern States League were to deposit an average of $500 at the outset, a large enough fund would be secured to take care of the needs of the movement. In addition, if each individual of the 16,000 individual cooperators in these societies were to deposit an average of $5, a practically invulnerable bulwark of credit could be set up for the cooperative movement in the East.

We wonder how many of our readers noticed that Cooperation blossomed forth in a new type dress with the June issue. It is called Intertype. This is the first society the plan that we have gone back to the Dark Ages. On the contrary, we want this publication to be as modern in appearance and content and as easy on the eye as possible.

Give the Youth Clubs Free Rein

A certain cooperative, we hear, for some years has barred from membership all but individuals of one nationality. The old folks didn't mind, but recent public relations of the club was formed in another cooperative, and youth is not such a respecter of nationalities. The question arose: Should the one-nationality rule hold in the youth club, as in the society? Shall youth govern, or adult age?

We can see how a group of people, transplanted into a foreign land, surrounded by a strange tongue and strange institutions, would be inclined to set up a cooperative society, the kind of institution they were used to, as their own particular property, a haven for their own people in a strange land. In the store they would stock their own kind of goods and in the back room they would manufacture their own souses and other national dishes. At their socials they would sing the songs and give the plays of the home country, and their meetings would be held in the home language.

Americans would do the same thing if they were transplanted into the Congo—only they would not be fortunate enough to have the tradition of a cooperative society to fall back upon. They would probably establish a chain store, or a movie theatre.

Cooperatives within national groups in this country have undoubtedly been of great service to the cooperators of those groups. Such restricted cooperatives will have been a natural outgrowth arising out of a need, but to continue this restriction upon their youth would be to oppose a natural development which is leveling down nationality and language barriers. This is bound to come, and to oppose it is as futile as to command the sun and moon to stand still. If youth can not "mix" in the cooperative society, it will go elsewhere to mix, and the cooperative will lose its young blood.

No cooperative can afford to limit its membership to one national group. To do so is to artificially stunt its growth. It should, on the other hand, use every means within its power to attract other nationalities, in order that it may become a genuine community enterprise. There are no limits to its size then or to what it may accomplish, except the limits of geography.

The method of bringing this about is through the youth clubs. There we find a natural inclination to reach out and take in all young people who are attracted by cooperation, regardless of their accent or their ancestry. The youth clubs are the melting pot of the cooperative movement. Instead of being halted and hobbled by the restrictive help that they will discourage and given free rein. The cooperative society that does not so has little eye for its own future.

Unemployed Turning to Self-Help

At last the unemployed in some cities are deciding that if the municipality will not adequately help them they themselves will have to do it. The Unemployed Citizens League of Seattle, claiming 50,000 members, are carrying on a variety of enterprises, such as a clothing factory, shoe factory, coal mine, several farms and ranches, garages and barber shops, exchanging among them.
The Only Remedy

We have only a few tens of thousands of capitalists in this country, but tens of millions of working people, toiling in the industries and on the farm, who depend for their subsistence on the productive labor they perform. Imagine one man saying to a thousand people: "You have worked for all these years, but I must lay you off because I cannot any more make money out of your work." And imagine the thousand people helplessly accepting this as the "final verdict," because they have nothing to say about their jobs and because the one man's word is the law at that working place.

Consumers' Cooperation is the only remedy that will peacefully and permanently cure the present economic ills of the human society. It is the most thorough-going and the most radical movement known to man today.

O. C. V. S. A.

In Brief

Three people in this country won enormous prizes on June 1st in an Irish lottery on the English Derby horse races. This says The New York Times, "in number of subscribers and size of the prizes was the biggest lottery ever organized." We might dispute that statement with the Times, for instance, the memory of some things that went on in Wall Street in 1928 and 29, but there is no doubt that this Irish lottery was a far-sized gamble. The worst part of it is that sort of thing holds out hope to the common man of getting rich by simply drawing a lucky number and this tends to renew his faith in the speculative racket which is modern capitalism—modern business by doing business with the Farm Bureau. Knowing the quality of the Canadian twine, we felt that this was the proper connection to make. Tough on those American twine manufacturers, wasn't it?

This reminds us of that 1923 report of the Federal Trade Commission on the billion-dollar tax bill which the fertilizer industry is showing. The report said that fertilizer companies were able to make contracts with some three or four different manufacturers whom they approached, because they didn't want to jeopardize their business by dealing business with the Farm Bureau. Knowing the quality of the Canadian twine, we felt that this was the proper connection to make. Tough on those American twine manufacturers, wasn't it?

What Are the Aims of Cooperative Propaganda?

By Jacques E. Ozanne

In the last analysis the strength of every cooperative society lies in the loyalty of its membership. Upon their understanding of the aims of the movement, their willingness to sacrifice immediate advantages for ultimate benefits and their ability to spread information about cooperative principles is based our only hope of advancing and expanding.

No consideration of the problem of cooperative propaganda can fail to take into consideration the need for a better educated and better informed membership. The natural and understandable desire to keep our members in the thousands and the tens of thousands must give way to the even more pressing need of making certain that those members that we have at present are in the true sense of the word, complete cooperators.

An appeal to consumers at large that they learn to cooperate for their own advantage is comparatively easier to make than it is to explain to those who have already accepted the outward and visible forms of cooperative ideals why they are not yet receiving the full share of the benefits they expected when they became shareholders.

It may be asked whether we have in the past not aimed too much of our propaganda at the consumer psychologically and not enough of it at the cooperative need.

The result has been that in many cooperatives, the natural consumer-tradesman relationship persists and forces the management to regard the enterprise as is humanly possible.

This is a program which requires pioneering in a new field of education.
problems of business management, the intricacies of financial organization, and the technique of merchandising in a way that can be understood by those unschooled in the ways of the accountant or the parlance of the sales executive.

We must learn to dramatize the duller details. Percentages must be interpreted to mean cans of beans or loaves of bread and the whole picture of our cooperative affairs must be reduced to terms not only will the individual be able to see it as it applies to himself and his family, but also where he will be able to judge the effect of his own consumption and to see how he could by increasing his patronage enhance also the position of the investment he has made in a common cause.

Perhaps nothing will so promote an understanding of our affairs by our members as their increasing participation in the work of the society. This is of course not an easy thing to do, but it is suggested that some way must be found to reduce these hitherto incompatible forces—tradesman and consumer—into a common economic personality.

Patience is the first requisite in all this work. Honesty is of course essential. But perhaps it is only the frank admission to ourselves that we are in business and that for better or for worse we must conduct our affairs in a business-like way that will make us realize that education and not agitation is the policy to follow. Our structure is built on a membership of consumers. Let us be sure that it is firm.

Credit Plan
[Continued from page 122]

Not every society will be able to deposit $500, but some should be able to do so. There is a margin, bringing up the average. And practically every individual cooperative operator has at least $5 tucked away somewhere—perhaps in a none too sound bank—which, with the security here offered, he ought to be willing to transfer to this Fund.

The Fund can succeed only as cooperators make it succeed. Every society should carry constant publicity for the Fund among its members.

No one knows when his own society may be the one that is in extreme need of the loan that will carry it through.

Plans for Publicity
The League will embark on a campaign of publicity, spoken and written, for the Fund. It is also planned for representatives of the League to carry word of the Fund directly to the Boards of Directors and membership meetings of the various societies.

It has been suggested that subscription agreements be circulated, whereby societies will agree to deposit a certain sum, at stated intervals, in the Fund. Similar subscriptions may be made by individuals. Thus the Fund would be sure of a constant inflow of deposits.

To the extent that this plan is successful, and prevents the loss of worthy cooperative enterprises are going bankrupt by the hundreds, the cooperative movement will prove beyond all question the superiority of group action by consumers.

C-A-P Oil Association Makes GoodRecord
P. Kokkonen, manager of the C-A-P Cooperative Oil Association, Kettle River, Minn., sends us a copy of their financial statement for the year ending April 30, 1932, "to show what cooperation will do, taking the place of the middleman in the distribution of petroleum products." On total sales of $79,685.89, a gross margin of $20,623.13, or 26.71%, was made, and the net was $12,540.65, or 16.79%. Operating expenses were 10.82% of sales. Stock was turned during the year 12.57 times. The volume of gasoline, kerosene, oils and greases sold was considerably higher than the year before.

Trade Unionists to Study Cooperation
A Cooperative and Trade Union Educational Council has been formed in Michigan with the aim of interesting local trade unionists in cooperative enterprises and informing them about the cooperative movement. Erick G. Wachter, of the Bricklayers' Union, is president.

Testing Tractors in Nebraska
Consumers Research, Inc., learn are not the only folks who are testing goods and giving the purchaser the lowdown on his money's worth. Somebody is doing this work by state officials in No. Dakota and Connecticut, and the work of W. W. Burr of the College of Agriculture, University of Nebraska, in the testing of tractors is especially noteworthy. Every tractor sold in the state is tested and a report on the performance of each brand is made available to the public. In the performance reports, we read such illuminating remarks as "In the test the cab needed additional bracing to hold it rigidly to the engine frame," and "During the drawbar tests it was necessary to place two small bolts in the gear shift lock to keep the gears in mesh." Some tractors! Mr. Burr's work has attracted attention abroad. The Agricultural Machinery Testing Committee of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries in England pays its respects to him by stating that the Nebraska work has led to competition between manufacturers to improve tractors and then submit to further test. Thus it has played an important part in the development of the agricultural tractor in the United States.

Ohio Farmers Purchase Cooperatively
Cooperative purchasing through the Farm Bureau is progressing in Ohio. The Ohio Farm Bureau Service Company, formed in 1923, now distributes more fertilizer and feed than any private fertilizer or feed company in the state, according to Arthur Weed. It does about 17% of the total fertilizer business and 11 to 12% of the total feed business in the state. It also handles seed and inoculator, fence, oil, grease, coal, twine and miscellaneous farm supplies.

Considerable volume goes through the business departments of the county farm bureaus. But about 70% of the total is done through branch stores owned and operated by the Service Company, somewhat like the stores operated by the G. L. F. Exchange in New York. There are 40 of these branches.

"Since the organization of the Service Company," writes Mr. Weed, "we have paid about $1,250,000 in patronage dividends. The greater part of these dividends has been paid on fertilizer.

No. Chicago Opens Branch
The Waukegan-No. Chicago Cooperative Association opened a new branch store at 1245 Victor Street, No. Chicago, recently.
Central Credit Plan Is Born at Fitchburg Convention

By Roswell Ward

The word convention, in the realms of individualistic business, conjures up pictures of long-winded speakers who say nothing of interminable entertainment expenses, and after-conventions. Cooperative conventions are nothing like that! In fact, after attending several cooperative conventions, I am inclined to think that one of the most advantageous contrasts between consumers' cooperation and profit business is in this matter of conventions.

Cooperative conventions are held in places where the hotels are not expensive; they are confined to a discussion of matters relating only to consumers' cooperation (or at least the program committee intends them to be); they are short and they get something done. If you ever feel doubtful of the value of a cooperative convention—go to a business man's convention sometime. You won't be worried about cooperative conventions after that!

The cooperators of Fitchburg, Mass., are ranged facilities for this year's convention of the Eastern States Cooperative League (May 21-22) which will be held in a big hall which belongs to the Finnish Socialist group, the Saima Society. It was big enough, it was comfortable and well ventilated, and you could hear the speakers. And it was easy to get at. After greetings by Emil Waaramaa, secretary, and Arne Oksanen, general chairman; Emil Waaramaa, secretary; David Kurki, chairman on eats; K. E. Grandahl, John Suominen, Vaino Pernaa, Helvi Kazan was reelected president and W. Nierela reelected. New directors chosen were: K. E. Grandahl, John Suominen, Vaino Pernaa, Helvi Kazan was reelected president and W. Nierela reelected. New directors chosen were: K. E. Grandahl, John Suominen, Vaino Pernaa, Helvi Kazan, and A. E. Hanson also made a strong plea that the Eastern League should have a full-time secretary of its own. At the end of this convention we are working toward that, he said.

Twenty-eight societies reported. Some of them are getting directors well; a few not so well. It became very evident that here is a time when the Eastern League needs its forces to the aid of some of its members. A committee was appointed to frame a plan for the co-ops to give financial assistance to co-operatives that need it. This project, described on another page, stands out as by far the most important committee action.

The elections Sunday afternoon were not very thrilling because the candidates were all reelected. New directors chosen were: K. E. Grandahl and Lauri Moilanen of Fitchburg, Frank Altvater of Amalgamated Dwellings, New York. A. E. Kasan was reelected president and W. Nierela was reelected secretary.

At the banquet Sunday evening, Herman Lieberman of the Amalgamated threw a bombshell into our ranks by taking us over the goals for neglecting educational work. He accused us of spending money on everything but vitally needed educational work, particularly education for the white collar co-op workers and for us of being stodgy and too "business-mannish" in our type of educational propaganda and be
COOPERATION

Leland Olds made a strong plea for cooperation at Cleveland, Ohio, May 29-30, stood out as the best meeting ever held by the Central States League.

The keynote of the Congress, which ran through all the four sessions and dominated the discussions and deliberations, was: "It is the unanimous opinion, freely expressed by all the delegates, that the Sixth Annual Congress of the Central States Cooperative League, held at Cleveland, Ohio, May 29-30, stood out as the best meeting ever held by the Central States League."

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"Now Is the Time for Cooperation"

Keynote of Central States Congress

Two groups sent delegates to this Congress which had never before been represented in a congress of the Central States League. They were the Indiana Farm Bureau and the Negro race. Both of these delegations came from the state of Indiana, which has heretofore been almost but a cooperative desert. As a result, the Negro Cooperative Wholesale, of Superior, for the distribution of their cooperative brand products in the Central States district.

Vigorous support of the cooperative summer school was urged upon all the societies and a wider use of the educational and propaganda material being developed and published by the Educational Committee of the League was recommended.

The annual banquet, held at the Slovenian National Home, Sunday evening, turned out to be a rousing and enthusiastic meeting where cooperation’s spirit and good cheer took fire in the hearts of all present.

The Credentials Committee reported 24 regular and 9 fraternal delegates present with quite a large number of visitors at all the four sessions.

Three vacancies on the Board of Directors were filled by the election of J. Luthof, of Waukesha, Ill., and P. M. Murnane, of Chicago, Ill., to succeed themselves and the election of Edwin C. Palmer, of Bloomington, Ill., to succeed G. L. Kennedy, of Villa Grove, Ill.

At the Board meeting following the adjournment of the Congress, Edward Carlson of Waukesha, Ill., was elected president for the ensuing year and Edwin C. Palmer of Bloomington, Ill., was elected vice-president. E. E. Can-non and R. I. Smith of Bloomington were elected secretary and treasurer respectively.

It was decided to hold the next Congress in Illinois early in May, 1933.

A. W. W.

News of the Northern States League

The third annual convention of the Northern States Women’s Cooperative Guild was held in the auditorium of the Cooperative Park at Brule, Wis., May 14-15. Sixty-nine delegates braved the cold, and some 30-40 visitors were in attendance. Edith Halonen and Matti Nummi were in the chair.

In the unfavorable times, the Guild has been able to retain most of its local units in operation all through the past year and at present there are 48 local guilds active, with a total membership of 940. This is a gratifying achievement.

A great deal of interest was manifested in those phases of the guild work as children’s summer camps, campaigning for subscriptions to cooperative papers, regular issuance of the Guild’s Bulletin, etc. It was voted to take active part in the Summer Institute of the Northern States League by offering three scholarships of $12 each to members of the Guild. On the eve of the League convention, July 12-13, a special women’s conference will be called at which the Women’s Guild undoubtedly will take the leading part.

Arrowhead Cooperative Creamery Association of Cloquet, Minn., was recently elected a fraternal member of the Northern States Cooperative League.

Three graduates of the Northern States League’s training school of 1931 have recently been elected managers of cooperative stores. Ed. Sivula is now managing the store of the Farmers’ Cooperative Society of Little Swan, Minn. He revived the store after the death of its owner and has done an outstanding job. Alex Fuller is the manager of the Farmers’ Cooperative Mercantile Association of Herman, Mich. They operate two stores, one at Herman and Cooperative Association of Little Swan, another graduate of the 1931 school, is now managing the branch store of the Wawona Cooperative Society in Jackson, Minn.

As an outcome of the last annual meeting of the Farmers’ Cooperative Mercantile Association of Kettle River, Minnesota, their branch store at Denham, Minnesota, has withdrawn as an independent unit and has been incorporated under the name of the Farmers’ Cooperative Association of Denham, Minn. They operate under the name of the Farmers’ Cooperative Mercantile Association.

A new cooperative store society has been organized at Bagley, Minn. The store was opened for business in May. The membership of the organization is of mixed nationalities. Seventy-five people visited the store on the opening day.

V. S. A.
Policies and Methods by Which London Society Has Advanced

By S. Foster, General Manager

To properly understand the growth and development of the London Cooperative Society one must get a background of the position that existed prior to the great advance.

The L. C. S. came into being as the result of amalgamation in 1920 and 1921 of three fairly old established societies in London. The largest unit (Stratford) had been trading for 68 years, while the other two—Edmonton and West London—had operated for about 30 years. Between them they had reached a membership of 160,000 and an annual trade of 3½ million pounds. The amalgamation was not immediately successful. It took place at the time of great economic depression and in the midst of the deflation period following the war and resulted in great loss of sales, dwindling profits and strained finances.

In 1922 there was a trading loss and no dividend on purchases could be paid to members, and during the following year the whole liquid capital was used up and the society was trading on a bank overdraft.

Complete this year (1923) with the year just ended 1931, which shows the following growth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Net Profits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>110,659</td>
<td>£2,650,538</td>
<td>£66,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>450,000</td>
<td>£9,821,796</td>
<td>£640,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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In a previous article T. W. Mercer traced the chief reason for this development to the co-operative policy within the society which made for effective team work. He is right.

Cooperatives as disappointing and unsatisfactory ground for cooperation to flourish, in many respects it resembles New York big departmental stores, hundreds of shops belonging to chain store companies, a smart customer service, and within a cosmopolitan population a disinclination to cooperate but a desire to retain independence.

The new methods of 1924 recognized the business problems confronting the society and legislated for the special psychology of the Londoner.

We got away from many of the traditional methods of Cooperative business. The first thing was to change the kind of service. Prices must be right and be fully competitive with the multiple shops and departmental stores. If that meant selling some goods at a loss it must be done. No opportunity should be given to the customer to discriminate against us. We developed a note of "confidence" in the customer. Who now said, the L. C. S. prices are not higher, the goods are right and there is a dividend in every purchase. Next we modernized shops and plant.

We brought out new designs in our food stores and provided Londoners with shops so bright and smart and clean in appearance that there is none superior today.

The development program for new shops and services was prepared a year in advance. Incidentally it should be mentioned that practically all the work of building, equipping and maintaining our stores and vehicles is undertaken by our own Works and Engineering departments which between them have kept 900 workers in employment for the job.

Our experience teaches us that however high our standard rates of pay may be in comparison with our competitors, we still need to supplement these by other methods, especially those which appeal to the sporting instincts of the Britisher.

An instance of the team spirit of the L. C. S. is in the membership campaign of last January. This was left entirely to the employees, who were asked to get 10,000 new members in a month.

The scheme was well planned. The chief officials convened a series of conferences of the various grades of staff and explained that on this occasion the object was to complete the "Chain of Responsibility." This was a series of links of a cardboard pattern. Every employee was given a link and asked to go out and make 10 new members.

The links had to be returned to the General Manager by the last day of the month. Extraordinary interest and enthusiasm were shown by the staff, greatly assisted by our Publicity section, and by the end of January 20,600 new members were enrolled.

Modern methods and an aggressive policy may be said to be two of the chief reasons for London's development.

It was my privilege to be in New York last year. I visited the Amalgamated Housing Corporation and Consumers' Cooperative Services, Inc., and met the enthusiastic officers of each.

My stay was too short to formulate accurate opinions as to why Rockdale Cooperation was not in more evidence. In view of the service which the departmental stores and chain stores give, I should imagine it might be hard for new members to get going, but the people of New York stand to benefit as greatly as the people of London by its introduction. Both cities have a cosmopolitan and mixed population, and in both it needs the bold and practical steps to secure success.

I should like to hear the news—"New York for Cooperation."
Cooperation Abroad

Cooperative Undertaking

P. Birney, secretary of the Northern Cooperative Undertakers and Embalmers' Association, England, believes "that there is nothing to prevent any society with over 4000 members from running an undertaking department successfully, provided that the men chosen can also do joiner and carpentry work and are provided with 12,000 pounds of the members, he says, could keep an undertaking fully occupied."

Calls for Lower Rebates, Lower Prices

John Downie, president of the British Cooperative Congress meeting in Glasgow recently, sounded a ringing call for lower "dividend" and lower prices "for the better immediate service of the needy, for the greater competitive efficiency of our movement, and as a sound business proposition." It is not unusual for cooperative societies in England and Scotland to pay a dividend, or rebate, of 15, 20% or more, for the better immediate service of the needy, for the greater competitive efficiency of our movement, and as a sound business proposition. It is not unusual for cooperative societies in England and Scotland to pay a dividend, or rebate, of 15, 20% or more. Mr. Downie pointed to the fact that in Sweden—whose C. W. S. increased its turnover in 1931 by 11%—a rebate in excess of 3% is prohibited, and Germany has a practically standard rebate of 5%. The Soviet has abolished rebates altogether.

The rebate on purchases, was established by the Rochdale Pioneers long before chain store competition came into the picture. Much of the success of the cooperative movement is attributed to the rebate technique, but perhaps it is an idol we worship too fervently. It is significant that in the U. S., where chain store competition on first price is most acute, cooperative store societies make no such fetish of the rebate as apparently some do in Britain.

What Percentage of Total Trade Is Cooperative in Britain

Cooperative retail trade in Great Britain now amounts to about one-eighth to one-tenth of the national total, according to H. J. Twigg, in The Cooperative Review. About one-eighth of the foodsstuffs are cooperatively handled, one-fifth of the grocery, bread and confectionery, one-twelfth of the meat, one-seventh of the milk and of the coal, one-twelfth of the dry goods, one-sixteenth of the house furnishings and 5% of the laundering.

My Point of View

By J. P. Warbasse

LAND TAX

Governments use a most complicated system of raising money from the community to pay government expenses. The money is raised by taxation which is, mostly, a penalty imposed on industry. The total value of land in the United States is about $180,000,000,000. This is a value which tends steadily to increase with the increase of population. The annual rental of this land at 5 per cent would be $9,000,000,000. The average tax on land throughout the country is about 2 per cent. Thus at least 3 per cent of potential land rental goes to private land owners as unearned increment. This means that over $5,000,000,000 which the government might take for social purposes is not collected. The governments—municipal, state and national—could raise all the money they need for all purposes from a direct tax on land values.

About one third of the American population are not properly housed, according to Dr. E. E. Wood's book on "Recent Trends in American Housing." There is a serious shortage of houses. If all taxes were removed from buildings the first step would be taken to remedy this defect. Cooperative housing has been greatly stimulated in New York State by the temporary exemption from taxation, and this exemption might be expected to have the same effect in other states.

An exclusive tax on land would make the use of land necessary. It would have to be cultivated, built upon, or something done with it to yield income to meet the taxes. Nobody would buy or rent the land, the community would have to confiscate it for taxes. Then we should be working back to communal lands such as existed in Great Britain before the "Enclosure Act" deprived the people of the use of the earth.

Where there are unused lands available, labor cannot so easily be exploited. Modern industrialism began its exploitation of labor when all land had passed into private hands. Before that time, if the worker did not like the wages offered him in industry, he could go to the land and dig out a living; but when there was no more land to which he could go, his fate as an industrial slave was sealed.

When the last free acre was taken up in the United States we entered upon the era of industrial expansion and real wage slavery.

The present system of taxation now employed to raise public funds is extremely complicated, the money is difficult to collect, an army of officials is required, much fraud is practiced, and the tax is mostly a tax on industry. Initiative and action in industry are penalized by taxation. The land speculator sits idly and reaps the benefits of increases in his land values which are created by the industry of the people of the community.

A tax on land is most easily collected. Land cannot be hidden. Its potential value is most easily determined. In the cooperative organization the single-tax on land is used.

A cooperative housing society, owning buildings and land, has certain communal expenses to be met. It is the custom today among cooperative societies to impose no tax upon the income of the members nor upon their industry. The members pay monthly a sum to meet overhead costs. This is not a tax; it is payment at cost for something they buy. But the housing corporation has to pay a tax to the political municipality in whose jurisdiction it is situated. This money it collects from its members as a single tax in proportion to the amount of the property which they occupy. The amount of this tax is based on the land on which the building is located. The land is the principal fixed value. The members pay for their domicile less than the current market price. There is no tax there; they get a benefit.

Where cooperative societies own villages, with gardens, streets, parks and vacant lands, or where they own farm lands on which the buildings are but an insignificant part of the total value, the collection of revenue by the society for overhead costs is more obviously a land tax. In the case of some cooperative villages in Europe, the money collected for community purposes is designated specifically as a land value tax.

Of course a single tax on land is not popular because it is a movement in the direction of simplicity in government; it would reduce the number of political officials. No such program can make much headway against the urge for jobs and bureaus. Furthermore, real estate speculators are against it; the single land tax strikes directly at land speculation; it gives to the community the unearned increment in land values which now goes to the speculators.

Anything that opposes the growth of political officialdom and the opportunity for profit-making in land has a hard way to travel in this day of growing complexities and tendencies toward more government and an expanding State.
Cooperation

Cooperators to recommend organizing and open voluntary chains.

The replies

H. V. Nurn, Manager, Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, writes: Relative to the question presented by Mr. Thomas, I would explain to him how our cooperatives are able to compete against the private chains as well as the voluntary chain stores. According to statistics, our operating expenses are 12.5% lower than those of the retail chains for private chain stores and over 18% for voluntary chains.

The cooperative stores are in a better position to compete against the chains if they form their own wholesale buying organizations, such as the Central Cooperative Wholesale. In supporting the cooperative stores, we are working with a view of changing the present social system. In that case, we must support the movement regardless of great economic benefits that may accrue from the chain stores. If he sees you, I cannot help asking Mr. Thomas a question in return: "Why should you throw away your vote in the elections for the candidate who I am positive he will lose?"

K. E. Grandahl, Manager, United Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, writes: I wonder, why should a socialist recommend to his audiences the organization of cooperative stores, unless he sees beyond the immediate commercial benefits accruing from such ventures in excess of those offered by the chain stores? If he sees you, I believe he has an answer to his question.

And to help him, why not reverse the question and ask: "Why should any one become a dues-paying member of the Socialist Party, as that party cannot offer immediately any economic benefits, and is apparently gaining only very slowly control of the political government, local, state and national?"

In my opinion the replies to both questions do not answer his request of organizing and open voluntary chains. In different lines, aside from cooperative stores, such as credit unions and cooperative milk distributing agencies which are not faced with the same necessity of competing in the field for raw material against chain organizations.

Frank Aalten, Manager, Cooperative Trading Company, Woolseym.

My answer to question No. 1 would be that a number of cooperative stores and cooperators are able to make the cooperative store go and before there are a sufficient number of cooperators to try to compete against the chains, there are also true cooperators. Of course, all other cooperators benefit from the education to which members must make a sacrifice, but which is a necessity of competing in the present time. In both instances workers must be educated and when they thoroughly understand the Cooperative Movement, they will also be able to make the cooperative stores a success.

A. W. Warinner, Executive Secretary, Central States Cooperative League, Bloomington, Ill.

I would begin to answer Mr. Thomas's question by asking another one. Why should he be asking us to support him with our votes in his campaign for Congress and delegate efficiency? If he has answered that question, he will have a rather checkered career. When they were first organized, they had no cooperative affiliation, philosophy, no organization to teach or guide the movement. The result in many cases was failure. However, those movement who have weathered the storm, and around these are new building the real cooperative movement in Nebraska.

If by some magic, the Socialist Party could be linked with the cooperative movement, they would be a wonderful addition to the cooperative movement in America. One thing we can always say for the Socialist Party. They do pay their men less for their help in the stores, and they have had a rather checkered career. The third big effort at cooperation in Nebraska was the store movement. Cooperative stores have had a rather checkered career. When they were first organized, the 15% standard of efficiency was a condition to which we have been very successful. The third big effort at cooperation in Nebraska was the store movement with 12.5% efficiency. Cooperative stores have had a rather checkered career. When they were first organized, the 15% standard of efficiency was a condition to which we have been very successful.

The replies

Readers' Forum

Norman Thomas Asks Us A Question or Two

A FEW weeks ago I had a talk with Nor- man Thomas about the cooperative movement in the United States. He asked me two questions: When do you think cooperation should be recommended in the various fields of cooperative activity? Are the various cooperatives that have been started successful or not? In my opinion the same answer applies to both questions.

1. How can cooperative stores, especially newly formed ones and those not located close to other cooperative stores, compete with chain stores? If they cannot, why should I recommend to my audiences that they organize cooperative stores?

2. What cooperative enterprises, then, can I best recommend to my audiences?

The replies

C. McCarthy, General Manager, Farmers Union State Exchange, Omaha:

I would say that any group of people anywhere, sufficiently large to maintain a store, would succeed without the aid of a cooperative wholesale. The cooperative wholesale would help of course, but any group who will organize their own business constantly, can succeed in spite of any competition.

What cooperative enterprises to recommend would depend wholly upon conditions, and the section of the country in which you are working. Among our farmers our first move was the handling of grain. Our second big movement was to handle our own cream, at both which we have been very successful. The third big effort at cooperation in Nebraska was the store movement with 12.5% efficiency. Cooperative stores have had a rather checkered career. When they were first organized, they had no cooperative affiliation, philosophy, no organization to teach or guide the movement. The result in many cases was failure. However, those movement who have weathered the storm, and around these are new building the real cooperative movement in Nebraska.

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conditions we have more chance to socialize the chain stores than we have at this late date to build up a satisfactory cooperative movement for the merchandising of retail groceries. This does not mean that I am not sympathetic with successful attempts to establish such cooperatives. Certainly I regret the fact that we lost our opportunity to do a better job in this operation in this particular field. There are other fields where I think we can act and I want to know more about those fields.

Norman Thomas

Good Reading

How They Cooperate in India

COOPERATION IN INDIA, edited by Hiralal Lallubhai Kaji. All-India Cooperative Institute Association, 9, Balehouse Lane, Fort, Bombay, 1932.

This book opens with the following significant statement: "Of all the many movements in India for the improvement of the condition of the people in matters political, economic, religious and social, there can be no doubt that the cooperative movement occupies the most important place." This book shows that the movement goes on year by year steadily increasing, and already has a larger membership than any other movement.

We read much of the political activities for the freedom of India, but these apparently will come and go, while cooperation goes on steadily developing. Cooperation in India is still largely a rural movement. But we must remember that India is the only country with the great mass of its population largely in the country. Cooperation is the outstanding educational force through which the people are learning to work together, to develop business skill, and to create democratic organization. This book gives an historic view of cooperative development. It is made up of separate articles by many authors, each an expert in his field.

The largest part of the Indian movement is represented in the credit societies. The Anti-malarial societies are unique. In the province of Calcutta there are such societies. They drain wet places, fill swamps, plant gardens, etc. This is an honest beginning. The frontispiece is a picture of the Amalgamated Dwellings, Grand Street, New York—cooperative dwellings. This is an ideal foreground of a dark drab picture.

When we look for cooperative housing, we find this: "Cooperative Ownership of Apartments Abandoned. After careful consideration, the idea of cooperative ownership of apartments was given up. For a variety of reasons, the cooperative ownership of apartments for people of very limited incomes does not appear to be satisfactory, and probably the results of researches would further substantiate this statement." That is the way cooperative housing is treated in a book in which the photographs of the best examples of the needed type of housing are those of cooperative houses! Mr. Hoover will be pleased that his conference stands staunch and true by the old sinking ship.

J. P. W.

COOPERATION

Under a socialist society it might be necessary or advisable to develop cooperatives to operate certain kinds of stores, I think it is neither advisable nor, indeed, possible on any considerable scale to start a cooperative store unless it can bring immediate benefits to the members of it. The Socialist Party at least can show considerable immediate benefits in what it forces from the old parties. Can the cooperatives do even that much as a rule in the United States?

I am still of the opinion that given American
STUDY CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

HISTORICAL

10. "When the Whole House" (Story of the Brethren of the Common Life). $1.00
24. How a Consumers' Cooperative Differed from Ordinary Business. $1.00
27. "Little League Cooperating." $1.00
34. "The Burden of Credit." $1.50
56. What is Consumers' Cooperation? A Book for Members of the League. $1.50
58. "What Consumers' Cooperation Means to Me." $1.50
60. Are You Sure You Are Getting Your Money's Worth? A Book for Consumers. $1.50
61. Farmers' Cooperation, A Way Out. An address by L. B. Herron. $1.50
66. Credit Union Primer (By Ham and Robbisson). $1.50
67. Model By-Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society. $1.00
69. How to Start and Run a Rochdale Cooperative Apartment House. $1.00
74. The Burden of Credit. $1.50
76. What is Consumers' Cooperation? A Book for Members of the League. $1.50
81. Cooperative Youth Songs. $1.00
84. "The Most Necessary Thing in Life." $1.50
85. "What is Consumers' Cooperation? A Book for Members of the League. $1.50
90. What You Have Done for Your Money's Worth. A Book for Consumers. $1.50
91. "The Story Retold." $1.50
92. "Your Money's Worth." $1.50
93. " Consumers' Cooperative Credit, and Production of Goods." $1.50
94. "The Story of Toaet Lane (By Stuart Horn)." $1.50
95. "The Sign or Transparency of League Buttons (League emblem)." $1.00
96. "The Story of the C. W. A. (By Mrs. E. A. Talbot)"
97. "Halsey's Rochdale Flowers." $1.00
98. "Initial Cooperation, Children's story." $1.00
100. "Kayden, E. M., and Antsiferov, A. N.: Cooperative Marketing in Russia During Many Lands (1920)." $1.50
101. "The Burden of Credit." $1.50
102. "To Mothers." $1.00
113. "Your Money's Worth." $1.50
114. "Co-operative Youth Songs." $1.00
115. "The Burden of Credit." $1.50
116. "To Mothers." $1.00
117. "Your Money's Worth." $1.50
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126. "Co-operative Youth Songs." $1.00
127. "The Burden of Credit." $1.50
128. "To Mothers." $1.00
129. "Your Money's Worth." $1.50
130. "Co-operative Youth Songs." $1.00

MONTHLY PUBLICATIONS

Cooperation—In (bundle lots, $1.16 per hundred; subscription, per year (canvass, $1.80; $2.00). REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION (Publ. by the I. C. A.) Per Year, $1.16

BOOKS

The following books are recommended as containing the best discussion of the model's Cooperative Movement. They may be ordered through The League, postpaid as follows:

Berggren, E. F.: Credit Union, A Cooperative Banking Book. $1.50
Blaine, E. L.: Cooperative Movement in Canada. $1.50
Brightwell, L. R.: Animal "Co-op" Book—For Children. $1.50
Chase and Schilblik: Your Money's Worth, A Book for Consumers. $1.50
Gilde, C. Consumers' Cooperative Societies, American edition and notes, 1922. Cloth $1.50
Hall, Prof. Fred: Handbook for Members of Cooperative Committees. $1.50
Hulsey, S. Rochdale Flowers. $1.50
Jackson, J. L.: Initial Cooperation, Children's story. $1.50
Kayden, E. M., and Antsiferov, A. N.: Cooperative Marketing in Russia During Many Lands (1920). $1.50
Life As We Have Known It, Life stories of English guildswomen, telling what the Guild has done for them. $1.50
Madonna, J. P.: The Story Retold. $1.50
Mears and Tobriner: Principles and Practices of Cooperative Marketing. $1.50
Owen, Robert: Autobiography. $1.50
Paton, R: The Cooperative Principle. $1.50
Peters, R. : Cooperative Movement in Great Britain, postpaid as follows:
Sweat-Gordon: A Good, Well-constructed, Well-informed Book. Postpaid as follows:
Smith-Gordon: Cooperation in Denmark. $1.50
Smith-Gordon: Cooperation in Many Lands. $1.50
Stotzley, A. G.: The Cooperative Movement. $1.50
Warbasse, J. P.: Cooperative Democracy. (1927) $1.50
Warren, C. E.: Cooperative Movement in Illinois. $1.50
Wein, R. and R.: The Cooperative Movement. $1.50
Wood, Eneas: Cooperative and the Future of Industry. $1.50
Wood, Eneas: Cooperative and the Future of Industry. $1.50
Cooperation, Bound Volumes, 1915 to 1931 inclusive, each. $1.50
Year Book of The Cooperative League, 1922. $1.50

Work and Play at Cooperative Summer Institutes

As we write, one of the district institutes, the Northern States, has finished its Institute. Another, that of the Central States, is just about to convene; and the third, that of the Eastern States, is getting ready to assemble its students for the week of July 24-31. All of these one-week institutes are held in rural surroundings, close to woods and water. Swimming, baseball, tennis and other sports are a popular part of the curriculum and perhaps give them the lectures in their instructional value in the art of cooperation. Many a student has pronounced the Institute Week an ideal vacation. The same may be said of the Youth Courses at Cooperative Park, Brule, Wis., which are being held for four weeks beginning July 25th. About 50 students are expected. This school is a stronghold of cooperative training in the Central Wholesale territory. The Northern States Institute, held at Maple Plain, Minn., on the banks of Lake Independence, registered 39 students, most of them between the ages of 16 and 21. V. S. Alman was principal. The attendance of many of the students was financed by cooperative societies and trade unions, chiefly of the Minneapolis district. It is planned to collect and publish the talks in pamphlet form.

The Central States Institute, in charge of A. W. Warinner, met at Cook County Forest Preserve, near Chicago. Many outstanding leaders and spokesmen for the movement in the Central States took part in a comprehensive and well planned program.

A slight innovation was planned for the program of the Eastern States Institute held at Brookwood Labor College, Knottin, N. Y. In addition to the regular lectures and discussions, a "Study Project" for the week was inaugurated. (Cont. on page 153)
Let's See—Maybe the Unemployed
Can Use Cooperation

Consumers Cooperation fails to get the support of many today because, they say, it depends upon slow evolution and offers no answer to the urgent problem of unemployment in these desperate times. Is this necessarily true?

It seems to us that the problems of the times call imperatively for a consumers cooperative solution. Here are 10 million unemployed. What do they need? Work, you say. No, they do not need work. They need bread, coats to wear, houses to shelter their families. They need the provisions and satisfactions to meet their bodily needs. They need all that goes to make security. Think of them not as "unemployed"; think of them as consumers in distress. Certainly they are that first, and unemployed second. Consumers cooperation is a way in which such consumers can help themselves.

There are two ways in which the unemployed can approach their problem as consumers. They can go from door to door, and from relief station to relief station begging, as many of them are doing. That is the individualistic way. It is achieving nothing, except, possibly, keeping them alive. It is ruining their morale as self-respecting men and women, creating a class of paupers and placing an intolerable burden on the community.

Or they can adopt the cooperative way. Looking about them see they an over-abundance of raw materials, not even of ready-to-be-consumed goods. They see enormous potential capacity for production on all sides being deliberately sabotaged by owners, simply and solely because there are no profits in production. They see idle factories without number, tools and machines rusting for want of use, farms abandoned and land growing up to weeds and grasses might be growing. And at the moment, hunger is gnawing at their stomachs. Such a state of affairs seems to them absurd, and it is absurd. But there may be a cure for it along the following lines.

Let them go in a body to the owners of these idle factories and say, "Here, these idle factories are doing you no good. Let us operate them, and we will go in on this thing. Not for sale but for our own use. We will keep them in repair, and we will give you a share of the output as rent, or as purchase payment."

Could the owner refuse? Not if the request comes from 10 million consumers, peaceably inclined, seeking simply a chance to get at the sources and means of production of the things they desperately need. Not if the group numbers, in addition to capable workers, skilled and unskilled, foremen, re- pairmen, chemists, engineers, in other lines, transportation systems, mines, fisheries and farms, and of exchanging the output of these production plants among themselves, to each according to his needs.

Such a plan does not require the power of the state or of organized charity or of millionaires back of it. It requires one thing: The concerted backing of those who need it, the 10 million consumers themselves, for their benefit and for no other. Consequently it should be subject to their authority and to no other.

Some may say that each group of workers of any one trade, or in any one plant, should control their own operations. It is probable that they should, practically speaking, providing that ultimate control of production rests with the entire group of consumer-workers, exercised through their chosen representatives. That is where the control must rest. If the scheme is to work. Factories under the capitalist system are run for the benefit of the owners; consequently the owners control. But these factories will be run solely for the benefit of consumers; therefore the consumers should control.

One does not have to be versed in the theory and technique of the consumers cooperative movement to understand such a plan as this. It is merely common sense. To those who complain that there is nothing new, we say, That is true. But the essence of the thing is that this is the obvious thing to do.

A plan similar to the above has already been embarked upon in the state of Washington. True, it appears to be interlarded with political ambitions which have nothing to do with cooperation, but the essence of the thing is what we have described. And we doubt very much that the Washingtonians would say that this was the obvious thing to do.

Such an application of the principles of consumers cooperation to the crisis of the times is not original with us. Many minds in many cities are thinking along the same lines. We forecast that if the depression lasts long enough there will be significant developments in this field of produce-and-barter. It will be consumers cooperation by force of circumstances.

Cooperators can help in this movement. They can help by guiding it into cooperation and keeping it out of local politics. They can help by impressing upon the unemployed individual his position as a consumer and how he can do something about it. For months he has waited for relief to come from others, under the old myth that "the world owes him a living." It owes him nothing and it is giving him just that. It costs him a pound of instruction.

It is time that it dawned on him that one plant, should control their own operations. It is probable that they should, practically speaking, providing that ultimate control of production rests with the entire group of consumer-workers, exercised through their chosen representatives. That is where the control must rest. If the scheme is to work. Factories under the capitalist system are run for the benefit of the owners; consequently the owners control. But these factories will be run solely for the benefit of consumers; therefore the consumers should control.

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1933 League Calendar to Picture Pioneers of Cooperation

The 1933 Calendar published by the Cooperative League will be something different from the usual decorative lithograph. It will contain the portraits of twelve "Pioneers of Cooperation," one for each month, with a short biography of each of its members. It would be a profitable advertisement if distributed to all customers. Let the League know at once about how many of these calendars your society will desire, so that the print order can be placed at once, getting a low price on volume.

Back-to-the-Land Movement May Not Be So Bad

"The depression has caused a strong 'back to the land' movement which some fear will have a disastrous effect by increasing already burdensome surpluses. If the 'back to the land' movement results in opening up any considerable amount of new land, probably their fears would be justified, but if the movement results in breaking up some of the large farms and substituting the commercial type of farming with sustenance type of farming, the movement will be beneficial to both agriculture and the labor situation. The past fifteen years has seen the consolidation of thousands of small farms into large farms, with a net increase in commercial output much greater than the consumption. The farmer, looking at his broad acres, thinks only of making a cent out of selling the food to feed his large family. He appears to visualize the public as an endless market, waiting, with unlimited appetite and ability to pay. He is not thinking of the need to produce enough to feed his family or to feed the world. Why? Is it because we have all to the moon and back, and drawn into our vaults a major part of the world's precious metals. Yes, we are a great industrial nation, but—'

What Consumers Cooperation Means to a Depression-Sick America

By Oscar Cooley

With Illustrations by Hendrik Willen Van Loon and Fritz Brosius

...
Going To It The American Way
By Hendrik Willem Van Loon
Reproduced by permission from The Survey Graphic

Going To It The Consumers Cooperative Way
By Fritz Brosius

HERE WE ARE, THE PEOPLE
WE NEED BREAD, COATS AND HOUSES

CONSIDER BREAD --
WE BUILD OUR OWN BAKERY
WE BAKE ONLY AS MUCH BREAD
AS WE NEED

THERE IS NO "SALES PROBLEM"

WE BUILD OUR OWN RAILROAD SYSTEM
TO BRING US THE FLOUR

AND THERE IS NO "OVER-PRODUCTION"
BECAUSE
WE PRODUCE FOR
OUR OWN,
A KNOWN, DEMAND

AND THESE ARE OUR FACTORIES TO WHICH
TO TAKE THEM

AND THESE ARE THE SHIPS
THAT WILL TAKE
THE FINISHED GOODS TO THE CONSUMERS

AND WHO WILL BUY THE GOODS?
OH, WE NEVER THOUGHT OF THAT!
ways and ample money. To his sorrow he has found out differently in recent years. Your consumer-cooperator, on the other hand, looks at the farmer's fertile fields merely as a source of the breadstuffs and the garment-stuffs which he and all of his fellow consumers need to maintain life.

The industrial worker, too, very largely has "the producers viewpoint." He is hardly to be blamed, for it permeates the country like a plague, the term of which is the desire for profit. Consumption the worker too takes for granted. He looks at the coal pile and thinks, "Maybe Mike and I can get a job shoveling that coal. There's a lot of shoveling for somebody to do." He sees a factory and he says, "Golly, what a big factory. They must hire me." Hire him for what purpose? To do what? Ah, to help Mr. Dupont convert those raw materials into goods to be sold—if you can sell them. Mr. Dupont—to the public at a profit. If—everything depends on that "if." If Mr. Dupont can sell his goods at a profit, all is well with both him and his workers. If he can not, all is decidedly not well. And he does not know. Far less do his workers know. They are all guessing, speculating. If he loses, he, Mr. Dupont, may have to go without what he has given thus far, but his workers—alas, it may starve for them. Dupont perhaps can afford to follow this false "producers viewpoint," but Mike and Bill most certainly cannot afford to. They can not afford to put up with their labor a system which periodically is certain to break down—Marx reasoned that it would break down. And Dupont, if he is not afraid to—and history has proven him right in this respect—and precipitate themselves and their wives and kids into want and starvation. Oh, what is up to Mike and Bill and every other worker in this broad land to get wise, to learn a new point of view and to act on it. It means hunger or plenty, life or death, to them. Consumers Cooperation has the new viewpoint, and so far as we know it is the only movement that has. Study Fritz Brosius' cartoon; hand it to your friend; paste it in your hat. It is our basic philosophy. And don't be worried by the seeming impracticality of—"We build our own railroad system." There are cooperative organizations in the world quite big enough to build their own railroads, or to buy out others, providing they are good railroads. The Mikes and Bills of the United States can build or buy a dozen railroad systems providing they will use their power as consumers and their power of united public opinion to the job. To the Mikes and Bills, we feel like saying, "Here you fellows, haven't you muddled along in this slough of alternate feast and famine long enough? Isn't it time you quit playing the sucker to the racket of production-minded, profit-minded Duponts, Schwaubs, Insulls and their like? They would never turn over a wheel if it were not for your dollars as consumers which they are confident of getting. They say it is all for your good, but you know better, today. Isn't it time you looked into this cooperative way of doing things?"

I T does little good to say that, Radical changes do not come about through exhortation. They come about through great, silent convulsions in the ways of thinking of the people, forced in upon them by circumstances arising, by a slow changing of the people from the producers viewpoint to the consumers viewpoint. When a man is thrown out upon them by circumstances arising, he suddenly becomes consumer-minded. When a group of such men club together and put up a rough shack on a vacant lot to shelter themselves, you have a consumers cooperative. And those who do not have to put up shacks on vacant lots—yet—are beings fed by the city. They are doing their part by offering to take their vacations with its service station at 13th & Ashland, Wisconsin, increased its gasoline and kerosene volume 16 1/2% in the first eleven months of operation. This cooperative is about to build a new branch store.

The oil cooperative of Plainview, Minnesota, reports net of $4,511.84 for the first six months. This cooperative is about to build a new branch store.

The A & B Cooperative Oil Association of Ashland, Wisconsin, reports net of $315.25 for the first six months, having a patronage dividend of 10% on purchases. A patronage dividend of 10% on purchases was voted to member patrons, and 5% to non-member patrons. Payment is being made in merchandise.

The Midland Cooperative Oil Association, wholesaling to oil co-ops in Minnesota and Wisconsin, increased its gasoline and kerosene volume 10 1/2% in the second half of 1932 over the same period of 1931.

Fuel for Man and Car

The Union Oil Company (Cooperative) of Kansas City, in connection with its service station at 15th & Burlington Sts., has established a cooperative lunch room. The turnover of both lunch room and service station is on the increase. One of the features of the station is a 24-hour Western Union service.
Has Your Society Appointed Its Delegates to the Congress?

A Letter to Our Members

July 14, 1932

Dear Fellow Cooperators:

The time for our EIGHTH BIENNIAL CONGRESS is rapidly approaching. This national convention, by vote of the League Board of Directors, is to be held in New York City, September 26 to 28.

The times are critical. Our capitalist economic system is seriously sick. In fact, it may die on our hands any moment. Therefore now we have an unparalleled opportunity to put forward the cooperative system to take its place. Instead of adopting the over-cautious, scared tactics of the capitalist, let us step out boldly and put forward cooperation as the thing which the country needs at this hour.

One way we can do this is by making this Congress as large and enthusiastic a get-together of cooperators, from every part of the nation, as possible.

Your society, as a member of The League, should have a strong delegation at the Congress. You are entitled, as you know, to one voting delegate if your membership is 500 or less, and to one additional voting delegate for every additional 500 members or major fraction thereof. (If yours is an insurance, credit or banking society, you are entitled to one voting delegate per 3000 members.) In addition, we suggest that you urge upon your members that any who can, possibly attend as visitors, in addition to the appointed delegates, do so. They will be cordially welcome, and all sessions and privileges of the Congress, with the exception of the voting privilege, will be open to them.

Again, we say, the time of the Congress is not far off. Accordingly, you will take up the matter of the Congress and appoint your delegates at the earliest possible date, and let us know how many and who will represent your society.

Have you any suggestions as to the conduct of this Congress, and as to the things to be taken up there? We should be glad to receive them.

Please give this matter your immediate attention. Promptness is the watchword.

Yours for Cooperation,

J. P. WARBASSE, President

OSCAR COOLEY, Secretary

The Value of a Cooperative Congress

It costs money for scattered cooperative societies to send delegates to a cooperative Congress in these days, but may it not be that the value of the mutual effort in coping with the many problems that beset the movement today is worth it? On this question, General Secretary George Keen of the Cooperative Union of Canada says: "The gravity of the difficulties with which the country is confronted, the progressive deterioration of the economic fabric, and the obvious failure of the capitalist system properly to function, make it more necessary than at any time in the past that cooperators should get together to propound the cooperative solution of our economic ills, as well as to take concerted action to solve their own problems, and to promote a sane and sound development of the movement."

The annual congress of the Canadien Cooperative Union was held at the Parliament Buildings, Regina, Sask., July 5-7.

Dillonvale Branch at Tiltonsville

A cooperative mass meeting was held in Tiltonsville, Ohio, June 19, under the auspices of the New Cooperative Company of Dillonvale, the purpose being to spread the knowledge of cooperation in this town and to get more members and trade for the new branch store recently opened here by the Dillonvale cooperative. Tiltonsville is on the Ohio River just north of Wheeling.

Prof. Gaspare Nicotri of New York City spoke in the Italian language, there being many Italians in this region. Professor Nicotri is a colorful figure, full of fire and fight for the cause of cooperation. He was formerly a member of the board of directors of the cooperative league of Italy, until that organization was smashed and he exiled by Mussolini. Frank Ledvinka of Bridgeport, Ohio, was another speaker. He pointed out the inconsistency of people who, while they rebel against the capitalist system, continue to support and maintain that system with their buying power.

As a result of the meeting a number joined up on the spot and others promised to do so in the near future. Among those present were cooperators from Dillonvale, Piney Fork, Bradley and Bridgeport, as well as a number of former members of the cooperative store that used to exist in Yorkville.

Cut Margins to Meet Purposes

Sales of the Farmers Union State Exchange, Omaha, Neb., in the first half of 1932 totaled $680,115.82, against $963,728.82 in the corresponding period in 1831. The greater part of this decline in dollars-and-cents sales was due to lower prices for commodities handled, but part of it represents smaller purchases of farm and household supplies by farmers, due to the depression in the depression. Net profit, or saving, for the six months this year amounted to $23,800.19, compared with $46,953.99 in the first six months last year. To a very considerable extent, the reduction in net savings is the result of operating on narrower margins.

The Value of a Cooperative

Cooperator Deal, we assume, refers to the situation that exists in many Minnesota towns where on one side of the street is the farmers' cooperative creamery, usually a member of Land O'Lakes, and on the other is the cooperative store (perhaps affiliated with the Central Cooperative Wholesale),
Waldemar Niemela, veteran Maynard Ronkkonen is also treasurer of the Rockland Cooperative Oil Association. The cooperative wholesale, as general manager of the Rockland Cooperative Wholesale, now has charge of the Midland Oil Association group, of which he is a member. He has been connected with the cooperative movement since 1909 and is a member of the board of directors of the association.

Central Wholesale Celebrates 15th Year

The Central Wholesale will celebrate its 15th year on September 3rd and 4th at Cooperative Park, Brule, Wis. The Wholesale was organized in 1917 by a dozen cooperative store societies. It now has over 100 member societies and many non-member patron members. It is predicted that representatives of all these societies, as well as many from a distance, will attend this grand get-together.

Changes in Managers

Otto Ronkonk has replaced ALVO Rivers as general manager of the Rock Cooperative Company of Rock, Mich. Ronkonk is also treasurer of the Rock cooperative credit union and manager of the Northland Cooperative Oil Association. Rock comes nearest perhaps to being a 100% cooperative town of any in the United States. Rivers has had something to do with that. He is now on the job as manager of the United Cooperative Society of Maynard, Mass., so Rock may have a competitor soon.

The Trend toward Consumers Cooperation

There was once a labor union of clothing workers. They had a strike, which caused the liquidation of one of their employers. Faced with the permanent loss of their jobs, they set up their own factory. Their output was taken by a certain well-known firm of clothing vendors. Then came the depression. That firm withdrew its contract. The workers then started making suits as a producers-and-consumers cooperative, selling the suits direct to consumers through agents. Consumers are expressly invited into membership, each member, whether producer or consumer, having a vote in management. Thus the worker finds that his search for economic security in the end leads him to intimate contact with, and employment by, organized consumers.

Style Builders Cooperative is located at 926 West Juneau Ave., Milwaukee. It has offices also at 209 No. Wells St., Chicago, and in Minneapolis and Detroit. The price of a share is $5, and the maximum number of shares allowed one person is fifty. Each shareholder has one vote only. Any surplus after interest on share capital is paid and adequate reserve is set aside is re-funded to consumers as savings returns. Every cooperator located within its sales territory should join and patronize this organization. The cooperative distribution of clothing does not have to wait for the setting up of cooperative department stores.

No Credit!

Floodwood (Minn.) Cooperative Store on July 10 voted to go on a strictly cash basis. Only 2 members voted nay, and they were for strictly limited credit.

That Knotty Labor Problem

Apparently the British cooperatives have not entirely solved their labor problem. At the recent congress in Glasgow, it was stated that "the cooperatives had all along been in favour of compulsory arbitration, but the trade unions refuse to abandon the principle of the right to strike."

SUMMER INSTITUTES

(Continued from page 141)

This project was: "To plot out a program of aims and activities for Cooperative Youth Clubs." It was outlined at the opening of the school and discussed daily during the week, with the aim of drawing up and "adopting" such a program for Youth Clubs on the last day. The results of this experiment will be told in next month's COOPERATION.

Cooperation Abroad

Theatre Agency

The English C. W. S. has established a theatre ticket agency. Co-operatives wishing to book seats for theatres in London and other large cities may do so through the sub-agencies being set up in the local societies.

In Russia

Mr. Epstein, of Centrevoy, speaking at the British Cooperative Congress, stated that the Russian movement now has 73,700,000 members, or 76% of the entire adult population. The consumers cooperatives conduct between 65 and 68% of the total retail trade, he said, while the State conducts 30%.

Ontario to Have Wholesale

The Ontario Cooperative Wholesale Society, Ltd., is being organized and has applied for incorporation. At first it will operate as a collective buying agency, not warehousing merchandise until sufficient volume has been developed to justify it.

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Finnish Colony in Brazil Seeks Aid

Teivo Uuskallio was in New York recently seeking financial aid for the Finnish colony, Penedo Farm, of which he is the leader, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The colony is settled by a group of 70 people from Finland, many of whom have invested savings in it, and the aim is to make it a cooperative. The holder of the mortgage is pressing for payment and $25,000 must be raised at once. The farm is 8500 acres and is said to be now worth over twice what was paid for it. The crops raised are oranges, bananas, pineapples and other fruits, sugar, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, etc. There is a sawmill, flour mill and power plant: also a main house, smaller houses and other buildings. The climate is said to be salubrious and the water excellent. The people incline to toward vegetarianism, but do not enforce it. Sounds like a good place to go to desert the depression.

Roumania has several Fishermen's Cooperative societies. These are producers' societies. They lease lakes and ponds from which their members take fish. In 1931 one such society sold 1,970,000 kg. of fish.
My Point of View

By J. P. Warbasse

Prohibition and Profits

The conversion of sugar into alcohol, by means of minute yeast plants (Saccharomyces cerevisiae), probably began early in the history of plant life. There was alcohol before there was any animal. Man accidentally discovered alcohol in some fluid which he was, perhaps, keeping to quench his thirst, or in some mass of juicy fruits which he had set aside for later use. After partaking of this spoiled material, he noticed a strange new taste and a strange effect upon his nervous system. After a while he became accustomed to it. Then he decided that he liked it. Then he purposely duplicated the natural process and learned how to make it as he wanted it.

Presently all peoples used alcoholic drinks. All races became intoxicated. No people became sober until they had been thoroughly drunk.

We are all descended from ancestors who have gone through this process. Alcohol has contributed to killing off a large catalogue of people who indulged in excess or whose susceptibility to the ill effects of alcohol was so great as to destroy them. We survivors in this process of natural selection represent the survival of the fittest. We are the descendants of ancestors who could stand alcohol and not go under. We have inherited a capacity to withstand its harmful effects, for those who could not, have perished, and their lines of progeny have vanished.

Still, immunity in any capacity runs out; and, even in the most immunized, alcohol still has the power to inflict damage. It is an alluring substance, capable of creating a habit which is destructive of mind and body. It is also a pleasant food in limited amounts. It possesses the power to benzene and then to paralyse the inhibitory centers of the brain, which means that it can make people more natural and frank.

It brings a sense of forgetfulness of cares. The conflict between the pleasant and the harmful qualities of alcohol developed with civilization. In this conflict, alcohol has usually won, and people have succeeded in getting it.

But there has always been conflict. Some have cried out against its harm and others have extolled its virtues.

In the United States, the conflict has been thick and fast. We had the free exploitation of alcohol quite generally up until the prohibition act in 1916. Alcohol, like prostitution, not only thrived but was promoted because there were profits to be made in its traffic.

The incalculable harm that grew from this commerce had its roots in the profit system. The desire to make profits meant urging people to drink alcohol. Advertising was invoked; the bar and the saloon were made alluring; people were encouraged to treat the non-drinker was scoffed at; the wages of the bartender depended on the amount of sales he could make; free food and other inducements were added; and the traffic was made large and profitable. The curse of wine resisted in the profit motive more than in the alcohol itself. And still the pious people who inveighed against alcoholic drinks were not interested in the perpetuation of the profit system, the thing that was fostering drunkenness and was making prostitution its handmaidens.

The saloon got a bad name. It was the old hunt for profits to be coined out of its destruction. It brought a sense of forgetfulness of cares; it was a source of loot, could not be expected to get any step to that end. A Government which stood for the profit system with a picnic, and which had given lessons to its citizens in racketeering on hundreds of historic occasions (such as the looting of the Indians, the robbery of Mexico, the attempt to steal Canada, the going in for prohibition in Nicaragua and the southern countries for the big bankers, and innumerable other instances), this Government gave to the world the amazing exhibition of assuming the moralist role of suppressing traffic in alcohol. The result was what might have been expected. Business men continued the noble work of making profits out of the people's thirst for alcohol. Racketeering was combined with the enterprise.

The result is a penetration of the alcohol business into every nook and cranny of the country. An army of inspectors and political officials has been created, so corrupt from its top to its bottom that the Government would not dare to start an investigation—it would not be permitted, because the corruption is a part of the Government itself.

One of the beneficent results of the action of the Government has been that the making of alcoholic drinks has been driven back into the homes. The production of beer and wine in the homes has increased to an art. Good wine and good beer are now made in every house where they are wanted, being made for use and not for sale, and profit in the traffic being removed, they are cheaper and better than they were before prohibition. People who never drank before have acquired the habit.

An advantage of the home production of these beverages is that the food consumed at home. While the profit system has been going on in its natural way, it has been destroying the home. But now prohibition is making a fundamental change in its encouragement by this accident of legislation.
COOPERATION

Readers’ Forum

Cooperation in Not Socialism

The expression of opinion to answer to the questions put by Mr. Thomas and a real contribution to the cooperative movement thought. They bring out clearly what many members of the League have failed to understand: namely, that cooperative purchasing has nothing directly to do with socialism, communism, or any other political or social philosophy. It is a tool to perform an economic service. Through cooperative purchasing, individuals should secure sufficient value to justify supporting a cooperative. The benefits derived through cooperative effort should make a conscious conception of the community of interest among the members and of the value of teamwork in securing the greatest satisfaction to the individual.

Mr. Thomas and those with whom he seems to differ are not so far apart. The soundly conceived and soundly operated cooperative can receive and soundly operate a small monthly fee. It is too easy to visualize a time when every state in the union would have one or more of them. The soundly conceived cooperation should never exceed some 200. Bigger institutions would lose the direct control and the wholesome family spirit that made the Danish co-operative so successful. When once able men and women had been found to administer such a school, it certainly could yield an influence little short of a religious rebirth within the cooperatives. Besides the hosts of crusaders who, year by year, would find training to turn their enthusiasm into deeds, future writers, lecturers, administrators, teachers, etc., could be found and given the start that would assure the cooperatives of future understanding and cooperation.

That, I believe, would bring the much loked for progress quicker and better than any other way.

C. N. Hedebol

New York City.

The “How” Is Important

THAT cooperation is not a very potent force: that we have lost our opportunity to develop cooperative enterprises in the economic field, where the problem lies.

The expression of opinion is invited. Let this be the national Open Forum of the cooperative movement. All letters should be signed.

This is the page where the reader gets in his say. Free and open expression of opinion is invited. Let this be the national Open Forum of the cooperative movement. All letters should be signed.

I do not wish to generalize my experience into a specific dogmatic and fallacious set of rules. But I am convinced that mere association or formation of temperment or any social contract or complicity, without pertinent facts and persistent reflection, is an inadequate social force to secure the persistence and development of any sound movement. I am convinced also that to produce such a cultural effort it is necessary to help each other. It is too excessive and complicated and prolonged for the average life and circumstances. In other words, I am convinced that the present Cooperative movement needs a new impulse in the form of a cultural cooperation. This impulse must be prompted by a desire for a better quality of our daily life and a discontent with the shallowness of a commercialized social order. It must prompt to a desire to associate with congenial friends in a way of life more conducive to economic security and cordial social relations.

The kind of schools the movement needs a new impulse in the form of a cultural cooperation. This impulse must be prompted by a desire for a better quality of our daily life and a discontent with the shallowness of a commercialized social order. It must prompt to a desire to associate with congenial friends in a way of life more conducive to economic security and cordial social relations.

Mr. Thomas: The Kind of Schools the Movement Needs

A Cooperative College (essentially on the lines of a good folk high school) I should feel justified in asking the co-operatives to support, both with finances and students. The Workers Education Association in Denmark taxes each member a small monthly fee. This association is doing wonderful work with the accumulated funds, training their own members in two schools of the folk high school type and conducting lecture sessions where more than 14 persons desire it.

I am convinced that any social movement that hopes to become and remain inclusive than a social sect or party, though it may expand to the number of millions, must develop a characteristic comradeship more potent for social adjustment than has yet occurred within the fold of any movement before or otherwise, in the history of the world.

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On the Credit Plan

No Magic Needed in Banking

Answering your question in your letter relative to the Credit Pool plan I would say the weak points of your plan would be the widely scattered locations of the various associations and members.

There is a possibility that this might be extended on a nation-wide basis, but it is much too early as yet to consider this very seriously.

If the guiding spirits have a thorough vision of a cooperative bank, I can see that this movement might very readily be so developed.

Your success will depend wholly upon the spirit of the people who engage in the undertaking. The idea must be gotten to the rank and file of the membership. If they can be made to see the possibilities, it will undoubtedly succeed. There is little prospect for success in any line unless the people are working with understanding what we are trying to do.

Any movement that will teach the average cooperator that he can handle his own money—that he can do a banking business—that the money he now deposits in commercial banks would finance his own business and his own cooperative if deposited in his own bank, would be an unqualified blessing. One of the greatest difficulties we as co-operators have to overcome, is this thought that there is some sort of magic attached to money and banking. When we realize that it is just plain business, our cooperative movement will have made a long stride toward success.

C. McCarthy, Gen. Mgr.

Farmers Union State Exchange

Omaha, Neb.

Has Big Possibilities

I believe that the Credit Pool plan has nation-wide possibilities. As a matter of fact, we are trying a somewhat similar scheme here in Wisconsin, to help a society get back on its feet.

One of our Oil Associations seems to have plenty of cash in the old line bank, and we have agreed with the Midland people to endorse a note in behalf of the society in distress, so that they could get a $2,500 loan.

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Omaha, Neb.

Would Not Use Bank

I think the Credit Pool idea suggested by Mr. Regli at Fitchburg is one of the most constructive proposals that has grown out of our depression troubles. We, in the East, should go ahead with it at once and our experience may prove worthwhile for other parts of the country.

Cooperatives will never be strong until they begin to control their own sources of supplies through their own Wholesales, and their finances through their own banks. This "Credit Pool" idea of Regli's will not only help us over the present depression but, more important still, it can be made the beginning of the financial institution of its own which the movement so badly needs.

The plan as suggested seems to me perfect with one important change. Instead of using the bank to make the loans, we can do it ourselves just as well by having a special department of the League (separately incorporated under New York law like the Wholesale) collect the funds, and make the loans. The loans would be authorized by the same Loan Committee in either case, and the money would be equally protected. The advantage of this change would be that, with no greater responsibility or risk to anyone, our own offices would be slowly gaining the experience on which later to build our own bank.

The legal possibility of handling the situation ourselves without any conflict with the banking department has been looked into and seems quite secure.

Leslie E. Woodcock, Mgr.

Eastern Co-operative Wholesale

New York City.
STUDY CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

HISTORICAL

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<th>Title</th>
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<td>A Study of the United States Cooperative Movement</td>
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<td>How to Start and Run a Rochdale Society</td>
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Two New Pamphlets

“WHAT IS CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION?”

Report of article in September cooperation by Dr. J. P. Warbasse

“COOPERATION THE WAY OUT”

Address delivered before the Midland Cooperative League by L. R. Herron

Skyscrapers and Tenements

Continued on page 176)
COOPERATION

An organ to spread the knowledge of the Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, by voluntary association, produce and distribute for their own use the things they need. Published monthly by the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., 167 West 12th St., New York City.

OSCAR COOLEY, Editor
Contributing Editors
George Halonen A. W. Warriner
L. S. Herron Herman Liebman
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An Editorial Addressed to Cooperative Managers

The doctors of Wall Street report that the patient is doing a little better of late. A tinge of color is coming back into the faces of the commodity markets also. No one is putting any signed statements to the effect that convalescence has actually set in, but it may have. If so, then what?

Let us follow our potato analogy a little further. It has long been the custom for the potato grower of the southern and middle states to get his seed potatoes from the northern states. Such seed is rugged, like the climate in which it grows. Likewise, are not our cooperatives that have successfully weathered the stern winter of depression "good seed" for new cooperatives?

But who will plant this seed, and cultivate and "hill up" and spray for bugs? Obviously, it must be our present leaders. They have the know-how. They also have the vision, and the devotion. But they cannot do it so long as they are chained to the present potato patch!

Our suggestion is that in order to take full advantage of the upturn our leaders, our managers and executives, free themselves insofar as possible from the routine of present enterprises, delegating such routine to the assistants and the seconds in command, and that they, the ablest men and women that we have, lead boldly into the new worlds that are to conquer.

This does not call for a wholesale desertion of posts. That would be disastrous. It does imply a reallocation of work so that managers may give half-time here, two-thirds-time there, definitely to expansion.

The alternative is dry-rot—and potatoes have that, too.

Good Cheer at Cooperative Camp Germinal

I spent a most enjoyable Sunday recently at Cooperative Camp Germinal, just north of Philadelphia. This 86-acre farm, located on a beautiful hilltop, was purchased some 8 years ago by a group of Jewish radicals as a place of recreation and culture for themselves and their children. This is the first summer it has been operated as a cooperative. The rates are $6.50 per child per week and $8.50 per adult, and at that it is more than breaking even, according to M. Beresin, who was my host.

Some 40 children and young people are at the camp. They do what all youngsters do in camps—swim, play ball, hike over the countryside. But more than that they study Jewish lines, under the guidance of Educational Director Gold- man. They compose songs and sing them, adapt plays and dramatise them, issue a little paper called "The Germ," disect frogs, draw and carry on other crafts as they desire. There is a minimum of regimentation. Each is encouraged to develop his own individual bent. More than that, they are taught "to do for themselves by doing." Each takes his turn at setting the table and carrying away the dishes. When the tennis court needs smoothing, all turn a hand to the job. When a backstop is needed, the boys build it.

This principle is carried out by the adults, too, who occupy the big farmhouse and many of whom come up for weekends. There is practically no hired help; self-help is the rule, instead. Consequently the overhead is low, which accounts largely for the low cost. And no "we refuse to buy or sell"—but "We refuse to buy except through our consumers' cooperatives, or sell except through our marketing cooperatives. This would be a real step toward bringing the enemy to his knees. Strikes may be met by bullets and tear gas, but so far as we are informed there is no known type of projectile that can quell cooperation.

New Canadian Federation

An attempt is being made in Canada to federate all of the groups whose objectives are to achieve a cooperative state of society by constitutional methods. It is called the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, J. S. Woodsworth is president, and Norman Priestley, vice-president. Western Canadian Cooperative, is secretary. Their movement indicates that they will work for the cooperative ideal through a combination of methods, political and economic.
WE NEED MORE READERS!

Let us enlist them during October, Cooperative Month

COOPERATION needs more readers. The cooperative movement has an answer to the economic riddle of the times. We have been trying to state and restate and elucidate that answer in COOPERATION recently. We shall continue to do so. Because we believe that Consumers' Cooperation is the need of the hour. The people can save themselves through cooperation if they will, that is, if they have the faith, and the knowledge. To spread that faith and that knowledge is the mission of this periodical. But we need a wider audience.

This is our object: to make Cooperation a clear, simple, popular, straightforward national organ, one that can be read with pleasure and profit by anyone from the president of the local cooperative society to the newest member of the local Youth Club or Women's Guild. If COOPERATION does not come up to that mark, it is the Editor's fault—partly. Not entirely. For a paper can not be edited without readers, especially a paper which is supported by subscribers, as this one is, not advertisers. The more subscribers we get, the more we can afford to spend on making the paper better. We do not make any money on COOPERATION; every cent of its returns is plowed back into its editorial columns. We have ambitions to increase our page size, which in turn would allow us to use more pictures. To be able to pay for occasional articles and drawings would also enable us to improve the publication. But to make such improvements, we need more money; and our income is from readers. In other words, the more readers, the better COOPERATION.

We therefore propose a nation-wide drive for more subscribers to COOPERATION, during October, Cooperative Month. Let us take as our aim: To enroll at least 1000 new subscribers during that month.

We appeal:
First, to Readers who are not subscribers—if you get a kick out of the pages of COOPERATION, send us $1 for a year's subscription.
Second, to Present Subscribers—send us the subscription of one friend or neighbor during Cooperative Month. That is your quota.
Third, to Cooperative Societies, Youth Leagues, and Women's Guilds—appoint one of your number to act as agent, securing all the subscriptions he or she can during Cooperative Month, at $1 each. Each dollar the agent will receive 25 cents as commission. (Surely those quarters should not go begging these days.) Send for agent's receipt book. Our plan is to set up quotas—so many new subscriptions for each society. A letter will be sent to each society stating the quota of subscriptions that will be expected from that society and describing the plan for the drive. In the past, societies have subscribed for their entire boards of directors, or in bundle lots for their employees. This is an excellent plan which others should adopt. The quotas, however, will not be large enough to be burdensome, and can be filled by individual subscriptions as the result of aggressive canvassing.

Sample copies of COOPERATION are now available in limited numbers for free distribution by canvassers or over the counter by store managers. It is well to start early.

To district league secretaries, managers, educational directors, fieldmen, Youth League and Women's Guild leaders—we ask that you begin now and lay plans for boosting the circulation of your national organ, COOPERATION, during Cooperative Month.

Prepare to Make a Big Push During Cooperative Month

OCTOBER is Cooperative Month. That is the time for every cooperative society in the U.S. to make a big push. (1) To increase its membership; (2) To increase its turnover. The Cooperative League will soon send out a list of suggested activities and methods that have been found most effective. For example:

- Distribute Literature:
  - Leaflets and booklets
  - Periodicals (give sample copies and take subscriptions)

- Display Cards:
  - For store windows
  - For home windows

- Windshield pennants
- Banners (painted on cloth)
- Buttons (children like them)
- Banners (painted on cloth)
- "letters to the editor" in local paper
- Give Radio Talks
- Hold Mass Meetings (send to League for discussion)
- Organize Winter Study Circles
- Hold Special Sales, Featuring Co-op Brands

Workmens Furniture Fire Pays Its Losses Promptly

Coney Island had a fire on July 14 that called out all the fire apparatus in the Borough of Brooklyn, and had the first $2,000,000 worth of property in the area. The fire authorities were worried, but they were not too worried. Estimates of the money loss run from $2,000,000 up, and many people were left homeless. Before the smoke cleared the Workmens Furniture Fire Insurance Society had its investigators on the ground. It became obvious that eight members with insurance of $12,500 had suffered losses that were total or nearly so. In order to simplify matters the society waived all formality, and within a week each member had received a check for the full amount of his claim.

Back in the seventies or eighties when this cooperative fire insurance society was young and small a loss of such proportions would have meant a special assessment. The members would have paid it cheerfully, knowing that cooperation insurance paid in the long run, but it would have come hard. Now the society has a reserve fund of more than $200,000 for meeting just such emergencies, and can go on without asking the members for more than the small 1% per $100 per year which constitutes the regular assessment.

"Of course you must remember when you discuss what the government can do that you can't get everything by governmental action. There are many things that have to be done by cooperation among farmers and their organizations."—Governor Roosevelt, in a recent talk with farm cooperative leaders.
Cooperative Oil Plant in State of Washington

We thank the Grange News of Seattle for this cut of the cooperative oil plant of the Grange Supply Company at Pullman, Washington. Edgar Wright, who writes "Co-op Comment" for the News, says: "The plant serves members of five Granges in Washington, also Moscow Grange in Idaho. It is complete with two 12,000 gallon storage tanks, pump house, loading platform, oil warehouse and office. Gas is sold to members only. Since the plant opened April 21st, they have sold 110,000 gallons of gasoline and two carloads of oils and greases."

Whitman county, Washington, has three gas cooperatives—St. John, Pullman and La Mont. Two more are being formed. Lincoln county has two, Lincoln Mutual and Reardan, where the wheat farmers, says the News, "are again showing their belief that if a farmer is to be saved he must save himself."

Spokane county has one gas cooperative in operation and two more on the way. Two cooperatives in Oregon are buying gasoline out of Portland under the Washington State Grange contract.

Central Wholesale Volume Increases

"For the first six months of this year, in comparison with 1931, our sales have gone down 8.8%; states H. V. Nurmi, manager of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, in a report to his Board of Directors. "According to the Fisher index of wholesale prices, the average price decline was 15.99% up to June 30. The U. S. Dept. of Labor price index, which does not seem to detect the price fluctuations as swiftly, shows an average price decline of 12.8%. These figures prove to our satisfaction that our actual volume has increased by 4% at least during the first six months of the year. . . . Our operating expenses, in dollars and cents, have been reduced by $5,325.90 in comparison with the previous year.

Now We Have the Goods on Oscar

Financial statements are pretty full reading as a rule. Not so the statement of the Richland County Oil Company of Wahpeton, N. Dak. For in addition to the usual Arabic numerals, we find a complete list of the shareholders and opposite each name is the amount of his purchase, his shareholding, and his patronage dividend. We find also a similar list of non-shareholder patrons, with the amount of purchases and the amount of dividend accumulated toward the purchase of shares. For instance, picking at random, we find that Oscar Johnson, a non-shareholder, purchased in 1931 $11.85 worth of merchandise, which patronage dividends of $1.18 accrued, and that in all 1931 Oscar has accumulated a dividend of $3.79 toward a $25 share. There we pretty nearly have the goods on Oscar. And so on for the others."

"Open books" is a cardinal Rochdale principle. Wahpeton cooperators are carrying this principle out well. And we will bet our patronage dividends for the last year that they are putting out a financial statement that is read.

D. C. May Now Have Credit Unions

Just before adjourning, Congress passed a law providing for the incorporation of credit unions in the District of Columbia. Unlike most of the state credit union laws, it permits loans to others than to members, the amount of such loans to be determined by the board of directors.

Arkansas, Colorado, and Ohio also passed credit union laws in the last year: 35 states, plus the District, now have such laws.

Herron to Speak at N. S. C. L. Convention

L. S. Herron, editor of the Nebraska Union Farmer, and one of the most aggressive cooperators in the United States, will open the 11th Annual Convention of the Northern States Cooperative League in Minneapolis, Sept. 12 and 13, on the subject "What's Ahead?" In choosing this topic for his address Brother Herron has this to say: "I would deal with the cause of this depression, its probable duration, the futility of some of the proposals to 'snap' out of it, and cooperation as the long-time preventive of depressions. I would pay my respects to all the foolish proposals for 'national planning'. In short, I would make this talk with the purpose of urging cooperators to 'keep their eyes on the ball', and not be led off by any of the short-time sporadic movements that always spring up and flourishes in times of depression."
Seattle's Unemployed Citizens Experiment in Cooperation

By Charles J. Miller
Assistant Professor of Business Administration, University of Washington

ECONOMIC necessity—unemployment and the threat of starvation—causes families and neighbors to share one with the other and to join forces to improve their conditions. When that economic necessity is widespread and prolonged, communities and states organize for the same purpose.

Events of the past three years have been such as to reduce 35,000 of a total of 365,000 people in the city of Seattle to dependence on public money for existence. Little wonder that a group of unemployed met in a suburb of Seattle a year ago to study the causes of, and means of meeting, their situation. Or that 22 other similar groups sprang up in various parts of the city and finally federated under the Unemployed Citizens League. About 13,500 families, in addition to a few hundred single men, have membership in the League. Their immediate object—in this state-wide league for the purpose of safeguarding their industrial positions and eventually of seeking their ends through political action—in all probability they will work with the League for Independent Political Action.

A new kind of cooperation has resulted from the Unemployed Citizens League's activities although the workers, and probably their leaders, are not consciously aware of it. It is not consumers' cooperation as the term is commonly used nor is it primarily cooperation for production. It is cooperation to preserve the existence of 40,000 human beings. With the proper encouragement and guidance, the movement has tremendous possibilities for social good and for educating the workers in the other forms of cooperation.

Their efforts to secure public employment balked, the Unemployed Citizens League (U. C. L.) of Seattle directed their efforts towards securing food, clothing, and fuel and shelter for the needy. To make each dollar of public relief money do as much good as possible, the U. C. L. established 23 commissaries throughout the city, each manned by members of the League without compensation. Food purchased with city and county funds goes direct to these commissaries, thus saving not only the retailer's profit but his expense of doing business. Supervisors, who are responsible for six or seven commissaries, report to the Executive Committee of the U. C. L. Managers of the commissaries are elected by the members of the local in that district. League officials believe that their organization has made a record unsurpassed in the United States by its kind for efficiency, smoothness of operation, and fairness.

The Executive Committee then studied production and decided that their program could be effectively expanded to that field. The cost of bread, now 3½ cents a loaf, they figure can be lowered 50% by producing it in their own plant with free labor; milk costs could be reduced from 6½ cents to 3½ cents. At present the League is operating neither of these plants, despite the fact that a building with a bakery oven has been donated, because public officials have been unwilling to supply approximately $10,000 needed capital. If the League's figures are reasonably accurate, the milk bottling plant and the bakery would save $10,000 of tax money each three months.

The League has a representative traveling through the farm area of the State to secure food for its members. Farm owners have supplied food, and while they hope that eventually they may receive something for it, they appreciate that they probably will receive neither nor products in return. Last fall several farmers offered the League all the potatoes they wanted if they would dig them. An organization of 500 to 1,000 might be able to buy it. It is hoped by League leaders that, if they get their proposed food and clothing factories operating, a system of barter can be worked out between unemployed and farmers.

In connection with each commissary there is a sewing room where women convert donated garments into useful apparel. So extensive is this work that League officials could give no estimate of its total.

Shoe repair shops manned by free labor from the League and supplied with materials from city and county funds have remained in operation for the past six months. An average of 6,000 to 7,000 pairs monthly, or a total of 40,000 pairs. The serious need for shoes during the coming winter led the League to contemplate the establishment of a shoe factory but the distance from the leather market caused them to drop the idea.

Recently a completely equipped overall factory was rented by the League. Some quilts, overalls and other work clothing have been made. The plant is closed temporarily because of the leather market caused them to drop the idea.

The League furnishing at least the com

...
organized at once. They are to be held in the following sections of the city: one in the north-west, and one in central district.

CONTROL by the locals, and a hesitancy to give the central committee power to act, made action exceedingly slow and cumbersome and frequently uncertain. Total absence of capital is perhaps the most serious handicap. Generally speaking, membership is not taken until the applicant is dependent upon society for his existence; thus financing from within is impossible. All production activities are exceedingly slow and cumbersome and frequently uncertain. Total absence of capital now at a standstill for want of a small amount of capital.

Retailers, particularly grocers, protested the use of assessories which took all food supplies around, not through, the retail grocery. Pressure apparently still exists on this point. It is felt that dairy and bakery interests are opposed to the unemployed producing those products.

Finally, the men themselves, working without compensation and with frequent periods of idleness, are becoming restless and inclined not to respond for League work when called.

To organize nearly 15,000 economically dependent men and women of all ages, occupations, and interests; to hold them together in a period of unrest; to keep up their morale and avoid disturbances; to accept full responsibility for the honest and efficient distribution of foodstuffs to 40,000 members and their families; to supply fuel and shelter for the needy; and to take the lead in forming a state organization—these are some of the accomplishments of the Unemployed Citizens League of Seattle. That they were accomplished in the face of major obstacles and some open opposition reflects more credit to the members and their leaders.

Probably for the first time in their lives many men have experienced the sensation of cooperating voluntarily for the good of their group. The lesson will be of more value if the cooperative production plans of the League can be consummated; then the workers will experience the sensation of producing for consumption—and of reaping the full reward of their labor.

**Eastern, Central and Northern States Hold Inspiring Institutes**

**A Student’s Impression of the 1932 E. S. C. L. Institute**

The Fourth Annual Eastern States Cooperative League Institute was held at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, New York, the week of July 24-30. The purpose of this institute is to educate young people to understand cooperative ideals and principles.

Here at the Cooperative Institute, under the tutelage and guidance of leaders in the cooperative movement, we are schooled in the ideals and practices of cooperation. Cooperation in a voluntary association of consumers to supply their own needs, while the one motive of capitalism is the exploitation to the fullest extent for private gain. Simply and individually, we are weak and helpless, exposed to exploitation, but collectively we are an impregnable force capable of yielding an economic power that could better the world, abolish competition and strife and substitute peace and plenty for war and want.

At this institute a program for Youth Clubs to put into effect was drawn up. It is hoped that this program will create an interest in the Youth Clubs of the eastern states whose activities have degenerated almost to the verge of extinction in many cases. In connection with this Professor Leroy Bowman played an important part in his speech on “The Advance of the Movement—The Youth Club Program.” He emphatically stressed that cooperation should be inculturated into the youth, for, after all, they are the progenitors of the movement. This speech comes to us as a challenge. What are we going to do about it? Are we merely going to treat Professor Bowman’s statements as cursory remarks which carry no significance whatsoever? Or, are we going to accept this challenge with the spirit of the Rochdalians who overcame all difficulties; who faced the awful pinch of unpaid competition; who worked that in the face of all the odds so that we could reap the harvest that they had so arduously sown? We appeal to you to carry the torch.

**Institute to Have Reunion**

Speaking personally, I am all for the summer institutes, having had a hand in my first one, that of the Eastern League at Brookwood in July. I was once a public school teacher for a year. I liked it, thought, taught, and could, but I found the Institute a different thing. Here was genuine interest in the problems of consumption and production. Here we have youth, not giving forced attention while their elders lay down to them the law of the Medes and Per sians, but themselves reaching out, willingly, even greedily, and seeking to know more about cooperation, there is indeed hope for the future of this movement.

We had 24 students at Brookwood—26 counting Julia Perkins and myself. Of the 24, practically all of whom were young people of the ideal age for such a school, there were 17 men and 7 women. Seven paid their own way; 15 were students supported by their local societies, and two had scholarships granted by the Educational Committee of the League. About 6 were cooperative employees.

Maynard had the honor of sending the largest number of students of any one society—5. If everyone of our societies had sent as many students in proportion to their resources as Maynard, we should have had an institute of over 50 students. And there is no reason why we should not have. It costs the societies little and is, undoubtedly, an effective way of planting the seeds of cooperation. But to do this we will need the leaders. All of our institutes should be larger. Not too large, because then their present quality of intimacy and comradeship might be lost. But how about in the next year? If each society were to have 50 students in each of our four institutes next year, instead of an average of 25 to 30?

Somehow we all got pretty well acquainted, and the last day that man proposed a mid-winter reunion and it was unanimously voted to have one, probably at Fitchburg, inviting Brookwoodites of previous years also. A committee consisting of John Coleman, Armas Bagge and Sophie Benjamin was elected to make sure that the New York contingent gets there. This will be chiefly a social affair, but it was suggested that we also check up on the progress of the Youth Clubs at the time and see how practical the Youth Club program, developed at the Institute and printed elsewhere, has proven to be. Thus it looks as if the 1932 Institute might have a longer life than one week after all.

Perhaps there will be a movie to show at the reunion, one that Adolph Idle took at the Institute. We hope it will be as good as the splendid travel picture of Finland which Bill Reivo brought down from Fitchburg, and the equally good shots of the New Hampshire picnic. Bill’s movies gave us two of our best evenings at the Institute.

Another good suggestion, made by Leo Wagg of Hubbardston, was that each person who plans to attend next summer’s Institute start accumulating a fund now by a method similar to that of the Christmas Clubs, that is, by depositing a small sum each week, perhaps in the local credit union. Fifty cents a week, 52 weeks, would cover all expenses to the Institute, Leo pointed out. Perhaps the Youth Club treasurer would take care of such deposits for members and be the official “dunner.” The idea seems worth trying.

O. C.
Warinner Pays Tribute to Summer Schools

When the second annual summer school of the Central States Cooperative League came to a close at Cleveland last summer, we were all convinced that we had set a standard of excellence in that school which we could not hope to equal. We felt sure that one of the greatest tasks facing the League in the future would be to live up to that standard. When the third annual summer school came to a close at North Riversides, Illinois, July 23rd, we realized that we had not only succeeded in keeping up that high standard but that we had excelled it in some respects at least.

There were 23 students in attendance throughout the entire week, most of whom were between the ages of 18 and 25 although there were students as old as 50 and as young as 16. Of these 12 were men and boys and 11 were women and girls. They came from Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. Seven attended at their own expense as interested individuals while the remaining 17 were sent by their local societies. Five were employees of local cooperative organizations and most of the others were members of local societies or youth leagues. Twelve of the students were sent by two organizations, the Cooperative Trading Company of Waukegan, and the Junior Cooperator's Club of Chicago, each sending 6 students. Six races and nationalities were represented. 3 of the students being Negroes.

Without a single exception the students were dead in earnest and gave their attendance at every class, lecture period and most of the round-table discussions. Each had come determined to get as much as he or she could out of the course and enough notes were taken to have made a good sized volume. One of the most enjoyable features of the week were the nightly campfires where students, instructors and visitors gathered to roast "hot dogs" and marshmallows, sing songs, tell stories and indulge in other forms of wholesome fun and entertainment.

The week's activities came to a close with a picnic and dance Saturday afternoon and evening which was attended by many cooperatives from Chicago and vicinity. At the closing session of the school resolutions were introduced by a student committee which were substantially as follows:

1. That the Central States Cooperative League continue the summer schools as a regular annual affair and that local cooperative societies and interested organizations, including the Nebraska Farmers Union and the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative, be urged to give these schools more support.

2. That a vote of thanks be extended the Educational Director of the League, the instructors and lecturers for their diligent work in promoting cooperative education and for their sincere and enjoyable companionship in all the activities of the school.

3. That a vote of thanks and appreciation be extended the Directors of the Workmen's Cooperative Mercantile Association of Chicago for the hospitality shown the students and instructors and the excellent accommodations they had provided.

4. That in order to continue the influence of the school throughout the year the members of the League Educational Committee be invited to visit each local society during the year.

5. That in view of the fact that Indiana is the geographical center of the United States territory the Educational Committee consider the advisability of holding next year's school at the Indiana State Park, near Michigan City, Indiana, where ideal facilities for such an affair are available.

All of these resolutions were unanimously adopted by the students.

The writer can safely say that in all his 15 years active work in the cooperative movement he has never had an experience that has been so satisfactory to him personally as has his work with these summer schools. Never has he engaged in any activity where the beneficial results were immediate and so easy to see. He is convinced that these summer schools are one of the most important activities in which the District League can engage for the future. If enough of these youngsters can be reached through the medium of the summer schools the future of the cooperative movement in America will be assured. It is his hope that more time and attention will be given to organizing and conducting short summer schools in the future than has been the case in the past.

The Northern States League held its first Summer Institute this year, twenty miles out of the city of Minneapolis on the Chain Lake Independence.

Practically all of the 38 students arrived from Minneapolis and were sent there with scholarships either by the Franklin Coop, Creamery Ass'n and its Women's Cooperative Guild or by Trade Unions in Minneapolis which are sympathetic to the cooperative movement. The most important activities of the Northern States League.

A most complete program was crowded into one week, besides several hours of open forum at which the Rochdale principles and their practical application were eagerly discussed. During these discussions, Esther Benson of Superior, Wis., and Aili Kastel of Cromwell, Minn., the two students who had been sent to the institute by the Northern States Women's Cooperative Guild, told of the work among women that their organization has been carrying on for the past couple of years and about the accomplishments so far achieved.

Before their departure, the students unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the efforts of the Northern States Cooperative League in organizing the Institute and suggesting that the term of the Institute be extended to two weeks in the future.

V. S. A.

As the Pioneers Calendar Will Appear

H ere is a rough layout of the 1933 League Calendar, which will feature the pictures and short biographies of 12 Cooperative Pioneers, both foreign and American. The background will be a light tint cardboard. The pictorial calendars will be printed in a pad of four sheets, three pictures to each sheet, with each man’s biographical sketch under his picture. The sheet may be torn off or folded back at the end of each quarter. Between the picture pad and the calendar pad there will be a space for the name of the local cooperative society. The prices will range from 10 to 15 cents apiece, depending upon the number ordered.

Calendars are one of the most permanent, as well as one of the cheapest, forms of advertising. They do service all the year round. The Pioneers Calendar should be especially valuable (1) because it is unusual, quite different from the ordinary run of "calendar girl" calendars; (2) because it is distinctly educational—it means something. In short, here is a calendar which is a valuable piece of propaganda for both the local cooperative society and cooperation as a whole.
A Suggested Program of Activities for Cooperative Youth Clubs

The following material was worked out by the undersigned committee of students at the Cooperative Institute held at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., July 24-30, 1932. Each point was then discussed by the entire Institute and adopted. The points were obtained by pooling the actual experiences of students working with the youth movement in the East and from the study of a somewhat similar report from the Cooperative Youth League of the North Central States.

Items included in this report are suggestive only. Each community must meet its own problems in its own way; but it is assumed and hoped that the material here assembled will be usable in large measure in any community where youth clubs are formed.

I—Establishing a Local Youth Club.

1.—Get together a group of young people interested.
2.—Seek the interest and cooperation of the parent society.
3.—Have it extend free room accommodations to the club, at least until the latter is well organized.
4.—Mutual representation between youth club, women's guild, and cooperative society is very desirable. The Youth Club, however, should be self-governing and stand on its own feet.

II—Organization.

1.—National, race, or religious lines should not be recognized.
2.—Dues should be low.
3.—Business meetings should be short and to the point, and governed according to parliamentary committees doing the main work, and members discussing and voting on the items under consideration.
4.—At least one business meeting a month is desirable. To secure good attendance, each meeting should be a combined business and social meeting.

III—Cooperative Work.

1.—Canvass for new members to the local cooperative society, women's guild, and youth club.
2.—Distribute handbills for the society, making posters, writing slogans, writing news items and articles for the cooperative press, etc.
3.—Know and boost cooperative products by aiding with demonstrations, parades, etc.
4.—Make collections and drives to aid workers in distress.
5.—Keep a bulletin board with news items, pictures, etc. of cooperative progress.
6.—Make and tend a question box.
7.—Take a leading part in Cooperative Month activities.
8.—Conduct visitors' parties for outside youth and thus approach outside parents through their children.

IV—Items for Educational Programs.

1.—Make a study of cooperative fundamentals, the why, and wherefore of cooperative action.
2.—Plan and set up a reading room, clubroom, library, and exchange books with other clubs.
3.—Conduct debates on questions that are of special interest to the group.
4.—Plan lectures (single or series) and secure speakers.
5.—Produce dramatic programs, plays, impersonations, reviews, etc.
6.—Organize junior youth clubs (children), with or without the cooperation of women's guilds.
7.—Organize special study circles and youth group institutes.

V—Entertainment Programs.

1.—Dances, both popular and folk dancing.
2.—Such indoor sports as gymastics.
3.—Organize bands, orchestras, and singing societies.
4.—Take outings, hikes, swimming parties, etc., joining with other groups when feasible.
5.—Hold socials, games and banquets.
6.—Build athletic teams and arrange games with other groups.

VI—Recommended Reading for Youth Club Members.

Bergengren, R. E.—Credit Union, Chase and Schlink—Your Money's Worth.
Gilde, C.—Consumers' Cooperative Societies.
Oerke, Andres—Cooperative Ideals and Problems.
Pousson, E.—The Cooperative Republic.
Warbasse, J. P.—Cooperative Democracy.
Warbasse, J. P.—What is Cooperation?

Conference Approves Cooperative Mail Order

General approval of the plan for a cooperative mail order house specializing in the products recommended by Consumers' Research Inc., and aiming to distribute eventually only products under a national cooperative brand, such products to be produced under scientific formulae such as those furnished by Consumers' Research Inc., was voted by the Weekend Conference held under the auspices of the Educational Committee of the E. S. C. L. at Brookwood Labor College, July 30-31. The vote included a recommendation to the League Board of Directors that serious consideration be given to the adoption of this plan.

How such a cooperative mail order house might be set up and operated was described by Jacob Baker, who sees in it possibilities for a wide expansion of the distribution of both cooperative goods and cooperative ideas. Mr. Baker started on a small scale, acting at first simply as a buying agency, proposed that the project be for goods recommended by Consumers' Research Inc. No goods would be stocked at the outset; orders would be taken and forwarded to manufacturers with whom discount arrangements would be made. As soon as practicable, goods would be packaged under a cooperative brand.

At all times the unbiased, scientific information of Consumers' Research would be made use of. Asked as to how such a cooperative would secure democratic control, Mr. Baker suggested that it be under the close supervision of the Board of Directors of the Cooperative League.

"I am convinced of the business practicality of such a plan," said Mr. Baker. "But it has far more than that to recommend it to cooperators. For example, it might be of tremendous help..."
in the bulk purchase and collection of goods for strike relief. It could collect things from all over the country and get them shipped to strikers in the cheapest and quickest way. Also there is the possibility that the Cooperative Mail-order might take payment for orders in Mining Company Scrip and force the companies to redeem it in orders.

"Many department stores have banking departments (some of them called Deposit Accounts). There is no valid reason why the Cooperative might not set up such accounts and make them the nucleus of a nation-wide cooperative banking system.

"Up to the present time the consumers' cooperative market has not been large enough to exert much influence on producers' cooperatives. When the producers were large they did not care what the consumers thought. When they were small they usually had no contact with consumers' cooperatives. A national organization of consumers could exert a real and far-reaching influence as a check on prices and quality on the producers' cooperatives and could act as a bridge between them.

It is probable that the present cooperative wholesales could do a great deal of the purchasing for the mail-order. This would increase their volume, give them firmer standing in the market and give them additional revenue.

"Finally and apart from all business considerations, the very existence of a nation-wide cooperative organization would strengthen every part of the cooperative movement. Its catalogues would be education. Its advertising would be propaganda. Every circular would carry a cooperative message. Its mailing lists would extend out through the circles of the interested, the curious and the doubtful. Its mailings would convince and its savings confirm an increasing membership in the gospel of cooperation."

**Bad Bookkeeping Breeds Bankrupts**

Of 612 bankrupt businesses, 80 of which were food stores, that were studied in New Jersey by the Dept. of Commerce, it was found that "poor business methods and practices" was the chief cause of failure; 29.4% kept inadequate books, and 23.5% kept no books at all. Of the food stores, 19, or 26% kept no books; and 27, or 37% kept inadequate books. This is sad but striking proof of the importance of good accounting.

"Looking Ahead" Will Be Keynote of New York Congress

(Continued from page 161)

**High Spots of the Program**

Congress Subjects: Looking Ahead in Cooperative Education.


Seeking a Closer Affiliation with Groups that Are Already with Us in Spirit, Cooperative & Fraternal, Labor & Farmer.

Banquet by Consumers Cooperative Services, at 49 East 25th Street.

Evening's entertainment, at the Amalgamated houses, The Bronx.

Delegates coming from a distance by train should take advantage of reduced round-trip fares. Such fares, amounting to 1½ times the regular one-way fare, can be obtained from most points in the West providing the traveler leaves on a Tuesday or Saturday and returns within 30 days. For instance, the reduced fare from Omaha to New York and return is $72.05, Chicago $49.05.

The New York societies are our hosts; they will provide lodging for delegates from out-of-town societies. If your bed is hard, or the sheets do not please you, blame it on the Hospitality Committee, which will be composed of the Educational Committee of the Eastern States Cooperative League, cooperated by other representatives of cooperative organizations of New York and vicinity.

**The Trend of Events**

It looks as though it would soon be over. That is, soon in the sense of historic time, which means within the lifetime of people now living.

Capitalism, with its profit system, is a thing that seems destined to continue to the old feudal system with a social organization of industry. Its impracticability is obvious to the intelligent observer, but even if everybody believed in it, there is every evidence that it would continue to destroy itself.

And that is the best way for a system to go—to commit suicide. When the people themselves have come up and destroyed a system, no significant change has ever been accomplished. The Cromwellian Revolution and the French Revolution wrought no change, no significant change. When they destroyed monarchy in this country and established republicanism in its place, they accomplished nothing but the setting up of a different kind of monarch on a different kind of throne.

When they destroyed chattel slavery, they only transferred the negroes into a different sort of slavery. The people have a way of guessing wrong when they decide to take affairs into their hands and do something drastic. What the people do, usually, does not turn out to be drastic. Only politicians and demagogues cry, "Trust the people.""

In Sweden and Denmark, for example, the people are not rising up in righteous indignation to destroy the monarchy. They still have kings, but the monarchy is slowly destroying itself. Their governments are more democratic than ours, vastly more responsive to the will of the people, and infinitely less corrupt. The people of these countries are not deceiving themselves that capitalism or monarchism are noble institutions; they are conflicting themselves in such a way as to prevent contagions, and such enactments are for the interest of the monarchy.

In the United States, the rulership of capitalism and the dominance of the profit system are taking the same course. They are proving their impracticability, and making way for the evolution of other forms. Among the masters of economic affairs, those few who understand something of the nature of events are proposing and approving new plans. The "Dennison plan," the "Swope plan," the "Filene plan," and the "O'Shaughnessy plan" indicate acknowledgment by thoughtful capitalists that there is something wrong, and they offer a device that may remedy the trouble. All of these plans, however, are attempts to make the impractical profit system workable. They are movements in the direction of liberalism, and aim to remove some of the outstanding deficiencies of a system so pregnant with deficiencies that it must ultimately give birth to its own death.

What is peculiar about all of the schemes for saving capitalism is that, with two notable exceptions, they are addressed to making concessions to labor and to giving every consideration to production. They have to do this, otherwise they would not be in the interest of the profit system. No scheme that aims to protect the interests of the consumers, that is of everybody, can be in the interest of capitalism.

Whatever is done for the sake of the consumers, that thing is inimical to the profit system.

The interests of the people and of profits conflict, and cannot be reconciled.

When exceptions to these statements are sought they fail to materialize. If it is contended that pure-food laws, penalties for short weights, health inspections to prevent contagions, and such enactments are for the interest of the
The Cooperative Builder

The official organ of
CENTRAL COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE

An interesting and lively cooperative journal published semi-monthly at Superior, Wis.

Subscription rate $1.00 per year.

Food Marketing

I. If you want to know about Food Marketing, there is a little book just published, written by a good cooperator, Dr. Arthur E. Albrecht, which will help you immeasurably. In form, "About Foods and Markets" is a series of outlines, boiling down each suggested fact and idea to the smallest number of words.

Out of this book you can get sailing orders for a thorough investigation of any section of the marketing field, the most important help being listed below as the point I.

A. General survey of every phase of Food Marketing

B. Classification of greatest detail under "Suggested Readings" and "References for further Study" at the end of each special topic

II. Types of Markets

A. Special reference to New York City fruit and vegetable market.

B. Discussion of the market itself, including the location of markets and the functions of the different classes

C. Discussion of the regional or local markets

III. Methods of the Marketing Process

A. Types of co-operatives in each phase of marketing

B. Maintenance of health standards

C. Transportation—geography, railroads, trucks, refrigeration, rate problems

D. Advertising

IV. The Government and the Food Industry

A. Standardization

B. Maintenance of health standards

V. Cooperative Marketing—History, purposes, methods

VI. Consumers' Cooperation

A. Character and purpose

B. History in Great Britain

C. History in United States

D. Estimate of its success and trends

VII. Appendix for Teachers of Marketing problems

This book can be obtained from the Cooperative, price $2.

Leslie Woodcock

Good Book on Food Marketing

A. Packing, transporting, storing, financing, dispersing

B. Special problems

1. Eggs from hen to breakfast

2. Transportation—geography, railroads, trucks, refrigeration, rate problems

3. Storage—Effect on quality, refrigeration, cost

4. Advertising

IV. The Government and the Food Industry

A. Standardization

B. Maintenance of health standards

V. Cooperative Marketing—History, purposes, methods

VI. Consumers' Cooperation

A. Character and purpose

B. History in Great Britain

C. History in United States

D. Estimate of its success and trends

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Leslie Woodcock

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Superior, Wis.
**STUDY CONSUMERS’ COOPERATION**

The books and pamphlets listed below are available through The Cooperative League. Read them and pass them on to your friends.

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**HISTORICAL**

- 23. Consumers’ Cooperation in the United States (film). $1.50...
- 26. Story of Good Lane (by Ham and Robinson)...
- 45. 4.00

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**TECHNICAL**

- 6. How to Start and Run a Rochdale Cooperative Society...
- 7. Model Co-op Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society...
- 10. Model Co-op State Law...
- 40...

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**MISCELLANEOUS**

- 16. Model Co-op State Law...
- 16. "When the Whistle Blew" (story, by Bruce Calvert)...
- 6. How a Consumers’ Cooperative Differs from Ordinary Business...
- 150.

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**BOOKS**

- 80. Consumers’, Credit, and Production Cooperative Youth Songs...
- 75. "Little Lessons in Cooperation"...
- 1.00

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**ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS**

- 8. "When the Whistle Blew" (story, by Bruce Calvert)...
- 15. "Little Lessons in Cooperation"...
- 2.00

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**MONTHLY PUBLICATIONS**

- 20. Consumers’ Cooperative Monthly (In bundle lots, $15.00 per hundred)...
- 10. What Is Consumers’ Cooperation...
- 1.00

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**REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION**

- 6. "Little Lessons in Cooperation"...
- 1.50

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**TECHNICAL**

- 7. Model Co-op Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society...
- 3.00

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**ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS**

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- 16. "When the Whistle Blew" (story, by Bruce Calvert)...
- 6. How a Consumers’ Cooperative Differs from Ordinary Business...
- 150.

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**BOOKS**

- 80. Consumers’, Credit, and Production Cooperative Youth Songs...
- 75. "Little Lessons in Cooperation"...
- 1.00

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**ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS**

- 8. "When the Whistle Blew" (story, by Bruce Calvert)...
- 15. "Little Lessons in Cooperation"...
- 2.00

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**MONTHLY PUBLICATIONS**

- 20. Consumers’ Cooperative Monthly (In bundle lots, $15.00 per hundred)...
- 10. What Is Consumers’ Cooperation...
- 1.00

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**REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION**

- 6. "Little Lessons in Cooperation"...
- 1.50

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**TECHNICAL**

- 7. Model Co-op Laws for a Rochdale Cooperative Society...
- 3.00

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**ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS**

- 16. Model Co-op State Law...
- 16. "When the Whistle Blew" (story, by Bruce Calvert)...
- 6. How a Consumers’ Cooperative Differs from Ordinary Business...
- 150.

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**MISCELLANEOUS**

- 16. Model Co-op State Law...
- 16. "When the Whistle Blew" (story, by Bruce Calvert)...
- 6. How a Consumers’ Cooperative Differs from Ordinary Business...
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COOPERATION

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

Published monthly by The Cooperative League of the U. S. A., 167 West 12th St., New York City.

OSCAR COOLEY, Editor

Contributing Editors

George Hallock - A. W. Warinner
L. S. Herron - Herman Liebman

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The Congress

COOPERATION has come and gone.

Again, consumers' cooperatives from Massachusetts to Puget Sound have come together under the aegis of the Cooperative League, shook hands, talked over their mutual problems and laid plans for further "nationalizing" strengthening and extending the movement.

We can not give details of the Congress here; full account will appear in the Suffice it to say that the spirit of the Congress was excellent. There was no heckling or squabbling over petty matters having nothing to do with cooperation. The Communists did not honor us with their presence, nor did anyone feel hurt on that account. The sessions were marked with the common desire of all present to get on with things constructive.

Again and again the discussions returned to the question: How can we secure a closer working alliance with trade unions, farm producers cooperatives, credit unions, workers' fraternal organizations and others who are working toward the same end as we, that is, a system of production for use and not for profit, elimination of parasitic middlemen and money-lenders, and an evener distribution of wealth.

Upon a motion by Herman Liebman, it was voted to create a joint committee of trade unionists and cooperators to work out and put into effect ways and means of spreading the knowledge of what consumers' cooperation means to the working man, and of bringing about a better understanding and closer relations between trade unionists and cooperators. The need of this was strongly urged by Joseph Martinik of the Cooperative Company of Cleveland, who is also prominent in Bohemian labor circles, by J. J. Nylander of the Cooperative Trading Association of Brooklyn, by Meyer Rubinson of the Brownsville Bakery, and was concurred in by the Central Wholesale and Northern States League groups. The need of closer relations with farmers groups was also stressed.

There was a strong feeling that the League should do more field work among the member societies and with non-affiliated groups, and provision was made in the budget to the extent of $1000 for such work during the coming year.

Much enthusiasm was expressed over the credit pool recently established by the Eastern societies, and a national committee on credit pools and cooperative finance was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Regli (chairman), Woodcock, Nurmi, Cort and I. H. Hall.

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast." It was surely evident in this Congress. The depression has not killed the cooperative societies. Far from it. Even the worst hit of them are coming up with "Looking Ahead." As H. V. Nurmi put it, let us "look ahead with systematic planning."

Consumer Is Defenseless Against Patent Medicines

How patent medicine makers are free to poison us to their hearts' content is told in the following quotation from "Poison for Profit," a book by Arthur Kallet and F. J. Schlink to be published by Vanguard Press in October. Mr. Schlink is president and Mr. Kallet a director of Consumers Research, Inc.

"The person who goes to an unknown physician in an emergency has this comfort, at least: the man will probably be a graduate of a medical school, subject to certain standards and control; the medical man must know something. But what of the manufacturers and vendors of proprietary medicines who are not required to pursue studies even of the grammmer school grade, or to demonstrate their competence in any way whatever; who are permitted to prescribe for thousands and hundreds of thousands with the product of their uncontrolled and unimpeachable factories; who diagnose in advance and treat with complete assurance almost every disease that has ever afflicted human beings? What are the qualifications of these men who take the place of the physician in millions of homes?"

"...One of the most astounding features of modern civilization," says the Bureau of Investigation of the American Medical Association, "is the fact, daily verified, that any person, however ignorant of medicine or pharmacy, can put up the most fantastically worthless drugs and sell them as cures for some of the most serious diseases known, and there is no legal machinery for stopping it—unless the exploiter is so coarse as to violate either the national Food & Drugs Act or the postal laws against fraud!"

"Yet such men offer to provide... medicines and medical devices for a hundred million people. They are required to have no degrees in medicine, bacteriology or pharmacology, no pharmaceutical, scientific, or any other type of education or training; the reputable firms with education and training at their disposal can and do disregard them at will; there are absolutely no legal checks which a quack cannot evade by taking out papers as a corporation, or if that fails, by a simple change of name and a new incorporation, they can main or even kill, either through ignorance or carelessness or in their desire always find a fresh supply of plant victims."

For that matter anything we buy, from suits of clothes to brake bands and houses, may be of shoddy or even dangerous construction. The consumer is utterly at the mercy of those whose one idea is profits. His only hope is to organize in cooperatives, which being under his control will supply him honest goods at honest prices.

Vine-Ripened

Strictly cooperative tomatoes have been on the bill of fare of the cafeterias of Consumers Cooperative Services, New York, during the last few weeks. They came from the Cooperative Farm, in Otisville, N. Y., the project of a group of Amalgamated cooperators. Vine-ripened and brought to the city by truck the day they were picked, they easily outshine in quality anything the market has to offer. The Farm had a bumper crop, almost more than it could dispose of, due to the tender care of Max Singer.

Eggs to the tune of 75 dozen a day or more have been coming from the Farm to cooperators in the city for some time now.

A feature of the Cooperative Congress was a banquet at the Amalgamated, practically all the edibles for which, from tomato juice cocktail to preserved cherries, came from the Farm. Thus city cooperators are reaching back to the land in an attempt to produce for themselves their needs.

Cooperative Youth Convention

The Cooperative Youth League of Massachusetts, a federation of local youth leagues of that state, will be organized at a convention to be held in Fitchburg, Oct. 9 at 2 p.m. in the clubrooms of the Fitchburg Cooperators' Club. Every cooperative in the Bay State should have representatives at this convention, and encourage its young people to form a local cooperative youth league. Is the East going to let the West run away with the laurels in cooperative youth organization?
Student Cooperators at Brule

Here we have the students and staff of the Second Cooperative Youth Courses held at Co-op Park, Brule, Wis., for four weeks, July 25 to August 21. There were 52 students, 27 boys and 25 girls. They came from 46 different communities in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Upper Michigan, and one from Illinois. This is three more than attended the first Youth Courses last year. Both the philosophy and the technique of cooperation were studied, as well as the general subjects of economics, sociology, labor history, etc. Also, everyone turned a hand to the necessary work of the school, in true cooperative fashion, and needed to say everyone participated in the sports and entertainment which were an important part of the four weeks activities. A. J. Hayes, editor of The Cooperative Builder, was the director, ably assisted by H. C. Sankari, Mrs. Ida Lauri and Henry Koski, Jr. Special lectures were given by cooperative executives of the region.

The school was sponsored by the Central Cooperative Wholesale, the Northern States Women's Guild and Cooperative Youth League. In addition it had the support of the Northern States Cooperative League, the Midland Oil Association and other local organizations. Contributions to the joint Course Fund financed the school, each student being required to pay only a registration fee of $5.

At the close of the school, some of the students remarked that it had been "the most profitable four weeks they had ever spent anywhere." American cooperators can well be proud of this school. In trade our movement may be comparatively small, but we believe that this school at Brule compares very favorably with any similar educational effort by cooperatives abroad.

Music Plus Cooperation

An orchestra composed of six students of the Cooperative Youth Courses is touring the Northern States district, giving programs and playing for dances, as well as doing Youth League organization work. The proceeds go to the District Committee of the Youth League and half to the boys for their work. This is a fine example of cooperation in practice, for what must be more cooperative than an orchestra? At the same time the boys are mixing the light and the serious, the kind of balanced ration which all our meetings and particularly our youth meetings need. Success to the Co-op Orchestra!

News and Comment

Northern States League Changes Dues Basis

The Northern States Cooperative League held its annual convention in Minneapolis, Sept. 12-13. The following resolution was passed:

We recognize that the existing economic situation, which has brought distress to millions of consumers and producers of the necessities of life, calls for a fundamental solution that shall prevent the recurrence of depressions and periods of economic chaos that have been a part of our recorded history up to the present time.

We affirm our belief in Consumers' Cooperation, fundamentally, thoroughly applied, as the ultimate solution to the problem. At the same time that we welcome every genuinely constructive effort—whether in agriculture or on the industrial and political field—to further the interests of the exploited, we consider it of the utmost importance at this time to stress the need for avoiding all unsound, irresponsible or disruptive movements that may be offered as mere palliatives or alleged short-cuts to the goal we are striving for through the genuinely constructive, organized and fruitful efforts of the workers and farmers themselves. Another resolution reaffirmed allegiance to union labor.

The dues of member societies, heretofore based on number of individual members, will henceforth be levied according to total sales. No society is to exhibit at the Todd County Fair, and the Freeborn County oil association exhibitors at Long Prairie and at Clarissa, Minn., joined in putting on an exhibition at the Trico Cooperative Oil Association.

Net Savings

The Trico Cooperative Oil Association of Cloquet, Minn., made a net saving of 12.62% for its members last year. Volume of business increased 17%. Gross operating income was 24.28%.

The Mille Lacs County Cooperative Oil Association made a net saving of 16.4%.

Co-op Buttermakers Form Credit Union

Employees of the Duluth branch of the Land O'Lakes Creameries have formed a credit union. Miss Alma Olson was elected treasurer. Credit union growth in the North Central States, especially among the cooperative oil associations, is going on rapidly. Thos. W. Doig, field secretary of the Credit Union Extension Bureau, is largely responsible for the good work.

At the Fairs

Several cooperatives in the Northern States district are having exhibits at fairs this fall. The women's guilds of Superior, Wentworth, Maple, Brule and Iron River jointly conducted a very successful booth at the Tri-State Fair at Superior. Cooperative oil associations at Long Prairie and at Clearwater, Minn., joined in putting on an exhibit at the Todd County Fair, and the Freeborn County oil association exhibited at the fair at Albert Lee, Minn.

Setting a Good Example

The Peoples Cooperative Society of Superior, Wis., recently voted unanimously to grant no more credit.
COOPERATIVE MONTH

Is a good time for cooperative societies to distribute copies of COOPERATION

This issue is edited to be of especial value in Cooperative Month campaigns

In bundle lots, $7.50 per 100

Order it for all your members

WHY YOU SHOULD BUY CO-OPERATIVE BRANDS

An Editorial for Cooperative Month

That kind of goods. Every cent that you pay for them goes for honest goods; you are not paying for "hokum."

3. Because they are your brands. Nobody is trying to put cooperative brands over on you. You cooperators wanted them, and here they are. You are not paying for "hokum." They will be cooperatively employed, and you will get the best results. Cooperative brands are absolutely essential. We shall never get on the way to a better world so long as you demand advertised brands in the cooperative store.

Credit Pool Under Way

The long-agitated credit pool for Eastern cooperatives became a reality on September 14 when the board of directors held its first meeting. The name of the new corporation is the Eastern Cooperative Agency, Inc. The board consists of Meyer Rubinson, A. E. Kazan, W. Niemela, Werner Regli and Mary Arnold. Regli was elected chairman and Leslie Woodcock secretary.

The Agency is incorporated under the cooperative corporations law of New York State. Bylaws are now in process of being drawn up. A Loan Committee will soon be appointed, and the Agency will commence to function immediately. It will be controlled solely by cooperative societies which are members of the Eastern States Cooperative League, each of which is expected to buy common stock. Only such cooperative societies will be eligible to borrow. Securities carrying voting privileges will also be issued to the cooperative societies and the individual cooperators.

In this way it is hoped to gather together the credit necessary to assist societies that need it.

This Is Cooperative Month

During this month every cooperative organization should make an especial effort to (1) Increase its membership (2) Increase its volume of business (3) Increase the knowledge of cooperation in its community.

"How to Boost Cooperation in Your Town during Cooperative Month" is the title of a special bulletin which has been sent out by the Cooperative League. If you have not received a copy, send for one. There are 17 points or suggestions in this bulletin. We have space here to quote only one:

How Waukegan Has Done It

The Cooperative Trading Company of Waukegan, Illinois, has had a wide experience in conducting campaigns for new members and customers and their campaigns have been an outstanding success. They have found, as a result of several years experience, that a campaign based on cash prizes has produced the best results. Such campaigns have been open to employees only or they may be open to both employees and members. Experience proves that employees work harder in a campaign of this kind and they get the best results. Some of their campaigns, conducted for a period of one month in which only employees participated, have resulted in bringing in over 300 new members.

The plan is to award points to each employee or member who gets a new member or customer. The value of these points is usually $1.00, that amount being paid to each participant for each point he or she scores. At Waukegan the usual practice is to award 3 points to any employee who gets a new member who becomes a customer also. For a new customer in the meat and grocery department 2 points are awarded for any customer in any other department 1 point is usually awarded. These amounts become payable when the customer has traded a certain minimum amount in a limited length of time. The usual provision is that each new customer must trade at least $5 per week for a period of 60 days.

Prizes are also offered for the one having the highest number of points, the one having the second highest number of points, the one having the third highest number of points, and the one having the fourth highest number of points. These amounts can, of course, be adjusted to suit local conditions and at the same time maintain the same general principle. Always follow up new members and new patrons with educational literature.

GOOD LUCK DURING COOPERATIVE MONTH! And don't forget to send the Editor of COOPERATION the news of what your society did during Cooperative Month.

Enter the "Spirit of Cooperation" Contest

The Educational Committee of the Eastern States Cooperative League will give $10 for the best true story illustrating "The Spirit of Cooperation," $5 for the second best, and five third prizes each of one year's subscription to COOPERATION. The contest will end on October 31. Thus it coincides with Cooperative Month.

What is the spirit which animates cooperators, or cooperative societies? How do they act differently from the way "ordinary mortals" act? How do cooperative societies serve people differently than profit businesses do?

What happens or incident have you heard of in your cooperative, or in your community or in a neighboring
Have You Sent In Your New Subscriber?

OCTOBER is here, and it is time for us all to be thinking about getting those 1000 new readers for COOPERATION. To show how easy it should be— if every cooperative society affiliated with the League were to send in two new subscriptions, and every present reader of COOPERATION were to send one, our quota would be more than made. But some will slip up. It’s a busy time, and there are many things to be attended to, and so we should not count on its being easy.

Quotas have been fixed for each society, depending upon their size and the number of subscriptions they already have, and they have been notified by letter. Each is asked to appoint an agent, or agents, who will receive 25% commission on all new subscriptions sent in.

We are also depending upon our present readers, both members of cooperatives and those who are scattered hither and yon where no cooperatives exist. We are depending upon each of them to send us, at the minimum, one new subscription, early in the month; and we hope that many will get more than one of their neighbors and friends to subscribe.

Remember, when you are talking up COOPERATION, the magazine, you are talking up Cooperation, the movement.

As fast as we increase our reader list, we can improve the magazine, and as we improve the magazine, we shall attract more readers. Let’s start the ball a-rolling!

The Cooperative League, 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

Harvard Co-op Reports

G. E. Cole, manager of the Harvard University Cooperative Society, whose handsome store fronts on Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass., states that sales for the year 1931 were $1,296,000 and that net earnings were 8.66%. Patronage refunds of 8% on charge accounts and 10% on cash were paid to members. 20% of the business is done with persons not eligible to be members. There are 12,000 members, all students of Harvard, Radcliffe and Mass. Institute of Technology being eligible.

The Folk High Schools of Denmark and What They Have Done for Cooperation

Fred. C. N. Hedebol

TO the average American schoolman the Danish Folk High Schools would seem little short of shocking. Their requirements for admission are: The student must be 18 years of age or over, he must be able to pay his very modest bills, and he must come with a desire to learn. As attendance is voluntary this last requirement is easily met.

When admitted, a student finds himself sharing his school life with everyone in a most democratic institution. He takes his meals with principal, teachers, and classmates; he finds himself side by side with artisans, peasants, teachers, professionals, servants, etc. He is expected to work to the best of his abilities, and work and play are shared by young and old alike. In short, he finds himself a member of a large intimate family circle and he is always treated as such. He never worries about examinations, for they do not exist, and he can always receive what personal attention and guidance he wishes.

These schools are privately owned, usually by the principals, and they live or die with their own ability to attract students. They are, with few exceptions, located in pretty rural surroundings, usually in historic spots and in attractive buildings that harmonize with the landscape. The state gives generous support to both schools and students but leaves their educational life free to develop as best it can. The aims of the schools are purely cultural; they are ethical in spirit and the "living word" of principal and teachers is the chief vehicle of instruction. Every effort is made to have the students themselves call forth the enlightenment desired.

As Grundtvig worked tirelessly for his high educational ideals, another was to actually build the first real folk high school. Kristian Kold, the son of a poor shoemaker, revolted against current educational practices. By chance, he became acquainted with Grundtvig's ideas and in them saw a justification for his own beliefs. Through trying years, he built his high school and laid the foundation for the modern institutions. We may get a glimpse of his ideas and ideals from the following.

As Kold walked along a country road, one day, he saw a strapping young farm lad working near by. "Come and join my school next winter," said Kold. "Well," answered the youth, "what good would it do me? Can I become a teacher or a preacher by attending?" "No," said Kold, "that
I cannot promise, but if you come, I can wind you up so you'll never stop going.” Or the following. One day a friend, Peter Larsen, entered the school room without removing his dirty wooden shoes, “Take off your wooden shoes,” Peter said. “What,” shouted Larsen, “is your floor too good to walk on with wooden shoes?” “No,” answered Kold, “the floor is not too good to walk on with soiled wooden shoes, but my sister’s work is.” It was his sister who scrubbed the floors.

From about 1850, the folk high schools took on their inner spiritual character and their simple outward form. It was Kold’s feeling with, and understanding of, the common people and their problems that gave them their fundamental tone. In 1873 over 3000 students attended and it was at that time the cooperative movement germinated in the little kingdom. The cooperatives gained ground at a rate that astonished even the most hopeful of the cooperators themselves. Not that the schools taught anything pertaining to cooperation in the strict sense, but they were concerned with such everlasting human values as responsibility (both personal and collective), creative instincts, the joy of daily work, making of sound personalities, etc. They were opening the eyes of responsive youth to the great happenings of the times and beckoning them to play their roles, large or small. This measuring stick was not how much one could accumulate in a lifetime, but rather, how much one could contribute to the common good. Yet, are not such ideals of world outlook, faith in ones fellow workers, joy in common tasks, about what we need today? Small wonder then that the cooperatives found their leaders chiefly among the best men from the high schools, and that practically all who had high school training should become advocates of cooperation in field and shop, and the substance of the new curriculum. Schroeder’s central idea was that words must beget achievement to be worthwhile and he took for his slogan a line from an old Danish song—“Day and deed are rhymes for men.”

Other developments of modern times are agricultural colleges and folk high schools for industrial workers (of which the Danish Labor Party now conducts two). Of particular interest perhaps is the International Folk High School at Elsinore, where Peter Man- nich, the principal, brings Grundtvig’s ideals out to the busy world: he is a new leader, pointing out to our sick civilization the light that lifted Den- mark’s rural population from spiritual and economic serfdom to a level of freedom and prosperity that no other agricultural population has attained.

Already other nations have built similar institutions and from everywhere come visitors to see and learn. Denmark has thus become an educational laboratory for the world, a laboratory cooperators may well give some attention.

The Cooperative Guilds—Organized for Voluntary Service

By T. W. Mercer
Editor, The Cooperative Official (England)

RESPONSIBLE leaders of the Brit- ish cooperative movement have ever realized the value of auxiliary bodies of cooperators eager and ready to propagate cooperation.

The Cooperative League, another propagating and teaching body. After that was dissolved, The Guild of Cooper- ators was established, and this body helped to establish scores of new co- operative societies and generally gave an impetus to all forms of Cooperation in London and the South of England.

The value of these little organiza- tions was that their membership con- sisted of rank and file members of co- operative societies. They had no official status, were unburdened by business responsibilities, and were in fact groups of free-lancers who combined for the purpose of effective action. Being entirely unofficial they were free to criti- cize, to try out new ideas, and to do pioneering work in regions far beyond the official coutnies of the movement. Their freedom gave them mobility, and as a consequence they became an ener-
of membership, which often spurred official leaders on to new adventures and bolder enterprises.

The existing Cooperative Guilds that are so active in England today only differ from these old Guilds in one or two particulars. They are not composed of picked men and women, a kind of cooperative intelligentsia, but welcome into their ranks anyone who cares to join them. Moreover they are “officially recognized” and financially supported by the Cooperative Union and the Cooperative Wholesale Society, and though they cannot possibly be regarded as “the fifth wheel of the coach,” each does claim to be an integral part of the living Cooperative Movement.

The oldest and largest of these Guilds is the English Cooperative Women’s Guild, which was founded in 1883 and now has a membership of 7,000, and its influence in the movement is complete, is not derogatory, for the Guild has always aimed to improve the status of women both as cooperators and as citizens. Naturally its leaders care most of all for the development of the cooperative movement, and its educational work is mainly directed to making women better cooperators, loyal workers, volunteers who give their time freely because they adhere to the basic principles upon which the whole fabric of Cooperation stands.

and service freely because they adhere to the basic principles upon which the whole fabric of Cooperation stands.

In days like these in which we live, when money is often worshipped as a god, and comparatively few people are willing to do or give anything for nothing,” the Guilds, by the work they do, by the spirit they inculcate in their own members, and by the example they set to all other cooperators, are at least doing something to keep the Cooperative Movement alive. Their unpaid service can never be ignored. The ideals they unity proclaim must prevent Cooperation from degenerating into a new type of commercialism incapable of bringing salvation to the world.

Cooperation Abroad

Steady Increase in England

The English C. W. S. for the first quarter of 1932 reports total trade of £20,008,917, an increase of 561,948 or 31½% over the corresponding period of 1931. Supplies from the society’s own works reached a total of £6,018,822, an increase of £336,640 or 25½%.

Co-op Windows Good as the Best

In a recent window-dressing contest open to all London grocers, the second third and fourth prizes were won by the Cooperative Societies, which in their manufactures. This would have meant the closing of many American branch plants in Canada. Immediately there was a howl from the towns in which these plants are located, who foresaw the unemployment it would cause in their town. This is typical of the dilemmas which men get into when they try to make money with the free flow of international trade.

Another resolution requested the Central Council to examine ways and means of introducing the system of compulsory auditing among (1) Societies which receive loans from the Cooperative Bank (2) Societies which have purchasing contracts with the C. W. S. and (3) Societies which display the standardized shop front “Les Co-op Windows.”

* The Cooperative Movement is here to stay,” says a writer. So much for the fears that it would be absorbed for anyone to complain of competition or overlapping while millions remain untouched by any educational organization. Time will prove which type of Guild is best fitted to serve the movement, and meanwhile each one has ample room in which to work and grow.

My own view is that the more Guilds there the better it must be for the good health of the Cooperative Movement. Every Guild branch, each little group of Guild members, is a center of helpful activity. Together they help to vitalize the vast body of the movement, which will always be in need of stimulation. Besides, it is very desirable that the spirit of voluntary service should be widely spread. Members of the three different Guilds are unpaid workers, volunteers who give their time

S E C O N D to the W. C. G. in age and size is the National Cooperative Men’s Guild, which also is a one-sex organization. The N. C. M. G. was formed in 1911, and has this year celebrated its “coming of age.” It now has a membership fast approaching 7,000, and its influence in the movement is considerable. Generally the Men’s Guild works in much the same way as the Women’s Guild, with which it has never been in conflict. If its membership grows slowly, that is because great numbers of men cooperators are busily engaged in cooperative administration as members of cooperative committees, or are active in trade union work, or are ardent politicians who serve the community as members of local public authorities.

Until a few years ago, most cooperators imagined that the Men’s and Women’s Guilds were inclined to regard it as a poacher, especially after one or two of their own branches linked themselves bodily to the new comer. Very few adhere to that unfriendly view today, for the National Guild of Cooperators also has secured recognition by the central authorities of the movement, and so is entitled to the same respect as the older Guilds.

It cannot be said that the N. C. G. is in competition with the Men’s and Women’s Guilds, although being young, some of its more ardent members are vociferous and a little militant. The truth is that the world is wide, that the cooperative movement is big enough to embrace many different organizations and still not be overcrowded. In England alone there are approximately 6,000,000 members of cooperative societies. Only 60,000 of these yet belong to any Guild; and it would be absurd for anyone to complain of competition or overlapping
The Great Lesson

As Taught in India, but Applicable Everywhere

By F. L. Brayne, M. C., I. C. S.

SOCRATES was going down a hill with an ex-officer, a country gentleman and an old shikari, and they found a big boulder blocking half the road.

"How long has that been there?" asked Socrates.

"Not long," said the ex-officer, "it fell into the road the last time it rained.

"You have passed it then as you came up and down the hill."

"Yes, several times," said all of his companions.

Then why didn't you push it off the road, asked Socrates. "You know how dangerous a big stone like that is lying in the middle of a narrow road."

"What's it got to do with us?" they said. 

"Well, start thinking now," said Socrates. "Then there will be some hope for the improvement of your villages. Anyway when I went to a Boy Scout Camp they taught me that a Boy Scout has to do at least one good deed a day and he can't go to bed till he's done it. All three have done your good deed. I dare say, by consenting to walk down this hill with such a cantankerous old meddler as Socrates, but Socrates can't remember having done his good deed yet today, so he's going to do it now. Come on. Here goes."

And Socrates pushed at the boulder with all his weight. Nothing happened. The others all joined in, but for all their encouraging noises made by the old shikari, whose principal strength seemed to lie in his lungs, the boulder stayed where it was.

"Leave it alone," said they all, months before they send and remove this stone. Why it may be that time before they ever know it's on the road.

"And meanwhile it will be a danger by day and by night and none of you will remove it and none of you will even tell the Board that it's there."

"No, I don't suppose so," said the ex-soldier. "We don't think of things that way, I'm afraid."

"Well, start thinking now," said Socrates, "and then there will be some hope for the improvement of your villages."

Explain it, please."

"The others opposite or ridicule me up or help me!" "Quite right," said the village Guru, who was standing by. "I have discussed it often enough but each one says, "Yes, all you say is right, but what can I do against the whole village? I am alone, and one will back me up or help me!"

"Quite right," said Socrates. "I agree with every word the villager says, one man can do nothing alone."

"Then it's no use bothering," said the Guru.

"That's what they said on the hillside when we found the boulder blocking the road," said Socrates. "Now, just think of that boulder. As long as it held together, we were helpless against it. When we broke it into small pieces we mastered it. One of us could do nothing against it. When we all worked together we were still helpless till we used wits. Working together with our brains and not merely muscles we won, but only when the stone had lost its unity."

"Doesn't that teach you something, friends?"

"What do you mean, Socrates? Are you teaching us a new parable?"

"Nothing new, my friends. My lesson is certainly as old as Aesop, probably far older, but of late years it has been acquiring an ever-increasing value and importance for you villagers."

"I have, and its name is Cooperation. By Cooperation you can clean up your village and work in your villages I see no other possible remedy for your trouble and difficulties but cooperation."
My Point of View

By J. P. Warbasse

Lifting Themselves by Their Bootstraps

The farmers of Iowa are on a strike against low prices. They packet the roads and will not let farm commodities go to the towns until higher prices are paid. They are using force in this campaign and the soldiers have been called out. Their slogan is that nothing shall be sold till they have a dollar a bushel for wheat.

The farmers of the three central potato-growing counties of New Jersey have just held a meeting and agreed to unite with others not to sell any more potatoes until the price advances.

The groft system is not working. It is badly enough. Millions of them are simply doing it. The groft system as solid as the rock of Gibraltar. And the public went on and bought with money saved, borrowed and stolen, all of the stocks and bonds they could get at prices about three times their real value. These gentlemen, employed to look out for the people, used their mighty influence to keep credit in the hands of private bankers who made their fortunes speculating with other people's money, selling stocks and bonds, and putting the people's capital into new industries to make more things the people could not buy.

When the public found that it could not buy much of anything more, the wheels began to stop. We all know the result. Business will not start up again until the people regain something of their lost buying power.

The only way to restore public buying power is to put money in the hands of the consumers. Mr. Hoover and the politicians are instructed by the financiers to put money into the hands of the financiers, the people who got us into trouble. But that will never start the people buying. The people want things badly enough. Millions of them are hungry. They are in dire need. Some twelve millions are out of work. The distress is driving about one hundred to suicide every month in New York City. This news is now excluded from the newspapers. The public cannot buy; and the crisis will last until the people can buy.

Now the question we ask is, how will this effort of the farmers to increase the prices of farm produce start the people buying? If they do not buy now, how much more will they buy at higher prices? The farmers have necessities to sell and he thinks the people will have to buy. His idea is that, if the farmers can get more money, then at least one class will begin to spend again. That is fine, but why the farmers? The shoemakers, and the clothing workers, and the building trades all have something to offer that the people need; why should they also want higher prices so that they can begin to spend?

The people cannot now buy the shoes, clothing and housing they need. Putting up the prices of these things will solve no problem. It will only make the situation worse.

A demand cannot be created by first increasing the prices against the interest of one industry at the expense of all other classes. Business cannot lift itself by its bootstraps.

The industries of this country are saddled with debts of some 200 billion dollars, put on them by the bankers. The interest amounts to about 12 billion dollars a year. Industry cannot carry this and pay a living wage to the workers. If the workers do not get a living wage they cannot buy from the farmers or from anybody else. And they are proving this to be true.

Cooperative business is free from just those weaknesses that have brought profit business to the brink of collapse. While the people are in the midst of their worries and are puttering with the old machine to make it work, they might as well occupy themselves building a cooperative movement. They will need it soon enough. They cannot build it too fast. But while they are building, they should build surely and safely upon sound Rochdale foundations with plenty of educational cement, or even their cooperative structure will collapse. These are no times for shoddy work. The world has seen enough of that to have learned its lesson.

Readers' Forum

Norman Thomas Makes His Position Clear

Just to clear up possible misunderstandings, may I make this point clear on the matter of consumers' cooperation.

I believe that the proper formation of consumers' cooperatives is ranked with the fundamental forms of organization necessary in the United States. Unfortunately I believe that there is such a thing as outliving a necessary. The cooperatives, in the field of distribution in competition with chain stores, we shall therefore be forced to socialize the chain stores. This does not mean that I do not think consumers' cooperatives can be formed for retail distribution with cooperative housing or under other favorable conditions.

The fact that we may be too late to form in competition with chain stores does not mean that we will be too late to push consumers' cooperatives in the matter of housing, cafeteria service, possibly also in supplying milk, as in Minneapolis, and in various other ways.

These are no times for shoddy work. The world has seen enough of that to have learned its lesson.
petition for promotion, for the remuneration of service, for honor. No people are so far removed from this healthy competition as the families of the rich. Cooperation, with its tendency to equalize capital ownership, intensifies, if anything, competition for the rewards of service rendered. In the Cooperative Commonwealth a very important part of this competition would occur in the training schools from which would largely be drawn the future managers of industry.

But the objection to capital competition mounts as our economic system becomes more intricate. The vital relation of capital expenditures to monetary circulation and the price level create the necessity for a planned economy. But effective planning is impossible without control, and control that is not collective is intolerable. Add to this the countless wastes of duplication, the mounting advertising and selling costs, and then be told that this senseless type of competition has sufficient value, biological or otherwise, to justify it!

R. D. Avey
Kent, Wash.

Cooperative Wholesaling in France


WHEN Neale and Holyoake came as fraternal delegates from Great Britain to attend the French national cooperative congress in 1889, they brought with them information about the British Cooperative Wholesale which in that year celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. The French cooperators discussed wholesale organization and in 1906 launched their wholesale. This book tells the story of its growth and development. From that time on, the Magasin de Gros took a large part in the history of the French movement. The development has been steady and sure. The ironing out of the difficulties between cooperation and socialism was all conducted smoothly and ended in cooperative neutrality to the advantage of the wholesale and all of the societies. This story of the M. D. C. is fascinating and significant and represents something in which all cooperators may have pride and satisfaction.

J. P. W.

Cooperation in India, Well Described


It is a curious thing that the British Government, even in the Indian people for years by heavy taxation, now sees fit to give back some slight amount of this tribute in the form of subsidy to cooperatives. For admitted the cooperative movement there is Government-initiated and Government-nurtured. Each province has a Government official, called a Registrar, whose duty it is to promote and assist cooperatives. More than that, since 1912, considerable Government money has been loaned to the movement. Miss Hough, in this excellent picture of the Indian movement, makes this plain, but says, "If the Government had waited to introduce cooperation until there was widespread demand for it from the illiterate people it was designed to benefit, a start would hardly have been made yet." India is largely rural, and once the people lived mostly in villages which were practically self-contained and self-sufficient. Under British rule these independent villages have largely passed out. In other words, India once had, practically, a cooperative system, but it expired with the coming of British domination, and now the overlords are fostering a new "cooperative" movement.

However, there is cause for hope. Among the Canadians themselves there is a strong desire for "de-organization" of the movement. The need for educating the people to form and control their own cooperatives is recognized. Moreover, the Indian psychology as affected by the ideals of the great Indian religions is peculiarly susceptible to cooperation. They have not the materialism of the Western nations to contend with. The thought occurs to us, in reading this admirable book, why do not the Indian leaders of the movement preach cooperation as a religion—which it indubitably is to those of idealistic mind—rather than merely as a partial escape from the money-lender.

Henry Negley
Omaha, Neb.

Thank You, Mrs. Kastel

There is always a real scramble at our home as to who first gets the "New" Cooperation under your editorship. I must certainly agree that the mission of that magazine should be to bring home to Cooperators all over the country the necessity to realize that our movement is bigger than the interests of any one locality or section. Our Farmers Union folk especially need to catch that vision.

Mrs. A. A. Kastel
Cromwell, Minn.

Movement Bigger Than Any One Locality

I certainly like the vigorous style of the "New" Cooperation under your editorship. I must certainly agree that the mission of that magazine should be to bring home to Cooperators all over the country the necessity to realize that our movement is bigger than the interests of any one locality or section. Our Farmers Union folk especially need to catch that vision.

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COOPERATION—Organ of the Cooperative Movement in the United States

Vol. XVII, No. 11 NOVEMBER, 1932

Congress 1932—What Was Said and Done

How to get closer relations with other organized groups of a cooperative nature was the ever-recurring subject of discussion at the Eighth Biennial Congress of the Cooperative League, which met in New York, Sept. 26-28.

Sixty-one delegates attended, 11 from the Northern States district, three from the Central States and 32 from the Eastern States. Nine delegates were large. There were six fraternal delegates and over 100 visitors. The Dr. J. P. Warbasse, president of the League, opened the Congress Monday morning at Russell Sage Auditorium, with an address on "The Neglected Consumer." He pointed out how all economic activity has been organized on the basis of production and desire for profits, rather than on the basis of service to the consumer. We have succeeded in producing with smarter; but we have failed to distribute the rewards of labor, and so now the laborer, that is, the consumer, has not the purchasing power to absorb this abundant production. Consumers' cooperation, in which the people as consumers, not producers, produce according to their needs, is the remedy. He gave figures to indicate the great extent of the consumers' cooperative movement throughout the world.

Frederic C. Howe, author of "Denmark: A Cooperative Commonwealth," was the next speaker. He traced the origin of our currency system and showed that it was a monopoly system, with the banks by the government. He said that a community could build its own currency system by a cooperative banking plan. Instead of gathering up money deposits and sending them to New York, it would turn them back to the service of the local community.

He suggested that a "research group of cooperators" be appointed to "educate the President and leaders of Congress in Cooperation." By the response to this suggestion, the audience showed that it agreed with the idea.

The usual committees were elected. In addition a Committee on National Women's Guild Organization and on the Youth Movement were named.

It was voted that the Certificates of Merit, usually awarded the Congress to societies that have come up to a certain standard of cooperative principles, be awarded this year by each District League.

At the afternoon session, each delegation reported for its society.

BRIEF REPORTS OF SOCIETIES

Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, Wisc.—H. V. Nurnei reporting: 15 years old. 101 retail societies; 125,000 consumers. Stores—282; supplies 27-28% of the needs of its retail societies. Total yearly sales and $3 million. Publishes The Cooperative Builder, over 20,000 circulation.

Northern States Cooperative Women's Guild, Mrs. H. L. Lanto: Established three years ago. Has 50 units, about 1,000 members. Educational work among women and young people.

Cooperative Youth League of North Central States, H. O. Saulnier: Two years old. Has about 1,300 members. Recognizes paramount need of educating youth in cooperation. Represented at national Congress for first time.

Franklin Cooperative Creamery, Gilead, Edgerton, O. S.: Old problem has been a price war. Not making money, but a reserve was built up in the past so not having any difficulty. Publishes the Minnesota Cooperator, 6 or 7 times a year; have an educational committee and a Women's Cooperative Guild, made cuisine, bread, and several Youth Leagues. Five years ago they (Continued on page 204)
Cooperative Movement, whereby the people, New York City. In 1931 the cost of operating filling stations that are not needed and taking by our wasteful and duplicative system. But, some will say, if you were of the men that would be thrown out of work. The answer to that, as Mr. Hull well pointed out, is that if this great sum were saved to the consumer, it is pretty certain that the direction will be toward a more cooperative world. And youth is interested. Dr. Warbase and others representing The League have spoken before many college audiences, with good response. They listen sympathetically, but what can they do about it? They are caught in the meshes of the present system and it is their job in college, amply impressed upon them by parents and teachers, to learn to adjust themselves comfortably to that system. Many of them believe that the system should be rebuilt, but just how?

Consumers’ Cooperation offers them a way. But to receive an indelible impression of it on their minds, they need to live it rather than merely listen to lectures about it. Does not the student cooperative society offer them the chance? Isn’t it possible for these student cooperative stores, in other words, to become an actual demonstration, within the institution, of the idea of cooperation? And if this could be brought about, might it not mean a great deal, such as to the future of the cooperative movement?

If this could happen—we realize that the obstacles are great—would it not also mean a great deal to education? Prof. George Jacobson, of the University, in a recent sharp attack on our entire educational system, says that teachers have the cart before the horse: They go to great pains to know how to teach youth and pay very little attention to knowing what to teach. Thus education lacks any conscious direction. The result is that youth drifts in the same old rut of the same old outworn system. It is time, he says, that educators have a program. What have cooperatives to say to this? They have a definite program, which parts very sharply with the old system, a program which contains the seeds of a new and hopeful culture. Would not a closer association of the cooperative movement and the colleges be a healthy thing for both?

Said at Congress:

H. V. Nurmi: “The cooperative stores can compete successfully with any of the mail order houses in tires and batteries.”

Roy Bergengren: “Let us have in the United States one spot (the cooperative movement) where men of varying opinions, religious and political, varying backgrounds, races, traditions, occupations, etc. can come together and sink their differences.”

Benj. Stringham, of the Natural Development Association: “As the money situation gets worse, cooperation will grow.”

Jacob Liukku: “The Cooperative Trading Company of Waukegan is employing the same number of workers as in the peak of 1929.”

A. S. Goss: “The theory of cooperation without profit is the soundest basis for the return to a normal prosperity. We have come to the end of the capitalistic system, and there must be great changes. It is an economic revolution brought about not by people who want something, but by economic laws righting themselves.”
1932—What Was Said and Done

started a credit union which now has 4,000 members and $800,000 in assets.

Franklin Cooperative Women’s Guild, Mrs. Franklin: This credit union has 170 members. Started branch this spring with 20 members. There are 50 women’s members and the unions have not yet modernized.

Rock Cooperative Co., Arno Rivers: Has the credit union and a credit union. Handles general merchandise. Has 611 members, does a successful business.

Cooperative Trading Co., Wadsack, III., Jacob Locky: 21 years old. For years dominated by Fins. Now only 25% of the members are Fins. The board has a minority of Fins; 2,000 members. Has five combination stores and a milk bottling plant with 16 retail milk routes. Weathering the depression successfully.

Suominen: Has 2,400 members; an annual turnover of $600,000 and assets of $850,000. Earnings with them in proportion to milk supplied. 4% to 5%. The expenses are 1% of the turnover. It has a large reserve, but depression has caused some withdrawal of stock.


Workers’ Credit Union, Fitchburg, John Sooimmen: Has 2,400 members; an annual turnover of $400,000 and assets of $800,000. One of the largest credit unions. In 16 years earnings have been $5,000. The interest rate has increased on deposits. The rate on deposits has increased 4% to 5%. The expenses are 1% of the turnover. The loan and mortgage business has not increased.

Cooperative Fire Insurance Company, Woodrige, N. Y., Boris Fogelson: There are five companies; are organized on Rochdale principles. The companies have a paid secretary. The secretary writes the insurance on a fee basis but not on a commission. They cover boarding houses and hotels. There are 1,200 members. They have 4,000 policies in effect, totaling over $150,000. Started in 1913. The members have paid in $250,000. The total business of the wholesale feed flour has an annual turnover of $25,000. Ten years ago it had 1,500 members. But now they have 750 members. The dividend rate for the last three years has been 5%. The dividend is paid on funds paid in, plus those inherited from the stockholders.

Cooperative Protective League, New York, N. Y., Mrs. Nylander: This Guild was only started a few months ago. Worked for the Amalgamated Fire Insurance Society, New York, N. Y., Newman Marquer: The society is 60 years old. The board of the cooperative is a deposit 10% of their insurance in the guarantee fund. The society operates on an assessment basis. In 1932 there has been an increase of 1,800. There have been 10,000 members in 1931. There have been 3,000 members in 1930. Today the society has 2,600 members. The society has been able to pay off $1,000 of its insurance. There is now a question of the policy holders in the first consideration. In 1931 the society had the largest increase in new business. They are now 90 over the country. In 1933 there were 15,700 members in 1937, 61,600 members. In 1933 the insurance fund was $4,000,000 and in 1932 it was $67,000,000. In 1925 the society sold $49,000,000 in 1937 they were $1,014,000. An amendment to the State law will allow it to do business in states where it is now prohibited. A referendum on the law will be held in the state.
individuals. Some money has been raised by having parties and bazaars. There are 100 numbers, only 15 of them working. They have organized a cooperative a year and a half ago.

Eastern Cooperative Wholesale, Mr. Rubin says, is a successful and increasing organization only, handling flour, yeast, milk and groceries. It does a business of $260,000 a year.

C. W. Hyde, Inc., the last Congress voted to start an insurance service. The service was actually started in January, 1931. Mr. Hyde is a wholesale broker's license in New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts. It has done a very good business, but it has taken $22,000 in premiums, half of this in the last 8 months. Most of the local cooperatives indue to the depression have been in stock companies as it is possible to make large savings for them. The biggest job handled was the fidelity bond coverage. The bond amounts to $593,000, covering 318 officers in 115 societies. The rate is 5.25 per thousand.

Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Indianapolis, Ind., L. H. Hull: Started 11 years ago to buy fertilizer. It now has county associations in 87 of the 92 counties of the state. Membership is limited to the producers of agricultural products but an attempt is being made to remove this limitation. There have been no failures since 1929. Two failures previously are not due to lack of a selling service. They now handle $1,500,000 of business and have a Book mill. They handle 20 million gallons of gas a year.

Consumer's Cooperative Union, Stafford Springs, Conn., Raymond Neri: Started in 1920, composed mostly of Italians. Grocery store, butchers, bakers, did a business of $35,000 in 1931 $100,000.

Workingmen's Cooperative Company, Cleveland, Ohio. (Reporting Tuesday.) The organization has 7-year-around membership of a Bohemian athletic team. There has been some shrinkage in dollar sales due to the depression. Among the reasons given for the shrinkage during the last year was a one-week night school held partly in English and partly in Bohemian which was made to remove this limitation. There have been no failures since 1929. Two failures previously were due to lack of an accounting service. They now handle $1,500,000 of business and have a Book mill. In 1919 there were seventy-eight billions of dollars invested in agriculture. Today that amount is plowed into less than fifty billions, while our farm debt has almost doubled. The loss has been a steady one, and steady loss organization. In fact that agriculture has been receiving less than the cost of production for its products for a number of years. It is, therefore, being laid off its capital investment and going deeper into debt until today that source has been entirely exhausted; it has no more capital, and its purchasing power destroyed.

"For a dozen years, we have pursued a policy of trying to build prosperity from the top down, and apparently we are trying to build from the bottom up. A temporary measure in the same manner—bringing profits to railroads, to banks, and to public service corporations, in the hope that their prosperity will bring returns in the stockholders who, in turn, will spend the money and raise the price of goods, and progressive thought is reviving in the most conservative labor unions. The logical course for consumers to take is to demand nothing but what is right and to associate with these allied organizations before trying to convert the indifferent public. Also first of all we must bring isolated cooperative societies under the organized movement. Our special message to the political radicals is that they cannot start to build a new society the day after the revolution. They must start out on a cooperative education in the warm school.

Our message to organized labor is that the protection which the worker gets at the point of production is necessary but is not enough. He must be protected at the point of distribution. Our duty to organized labor lies in maintaining union organization and union co-operatives in cooperative business to be afforded to open shop. The time must come when we must discuss in all earnestness the question of union co-operatives and employees which should, if possible, be affiliated with the most successful labor. We need a union of our own because of our special problems. Our employees are more than workers. They are also cooperative propagandists.

We must take advantage of group solidarity and cooperative interest wherever it exists. There is wonderful chance for successful cooperative movement because of the group solidarity which has been developed in the race for white exploitation.

The chair called upon I. H. Hull to speak on the subject "Cooperation and the Farmer." Mr. Hull said that there was a need for closer relation between the cooperative movement and the local cooperative institutions in the country. Cooperation, like the golden rule, is a method for making small savings; it is a better way of living. The organization has 7-year-around membership of a Bohemian athletic team. There has been some shrinkage in dollar sales due to the depression. Among the reasons given for the shrinkage during the last year was a one-week night school held partly in English and partly in Bohemian which was made to remove this limitation. There have been no failures since 1929. Two failures previously were due to lack of an accounting service. They now handle $1,500,000 of business and have a Book mill. In 1919 there were seventy-eight billions of dollars invested in agriculture. Today that amount is plowed into less than fifty billions, while our farm debt has almost doubled. The loss has been a steady one, and steady loss organization. In fact that agriculture has been receiving less than the cost of production for its products for a number of years. It is, therefore, being laid off its capital investment and going deeper into debt until today that source has been entirely exhausted; it has no more capital, and its purchasing power destroyed.

"For a dozen years, we have pursued a policy of trying to build prosperity from the top down, and apparently we are trying to build from the bottom up. A temporary measure in the same manner—bringing profits to railroads, to banks, and to public service corporations, in the hope that their prosperity will bring returns in the stockholders who, in turn, will spend the money and raise the price of goods, and progressive thought is reviving in the most conservative labor unions. The logical course for consumers to take is to demand nothing but what is right and to associate with these allied organizations before trying to convert the indifferent public. Also first of all we must
of 1% of the people in this country paid 60% of the income tax. The rank and file of the people could not buy back the products of their labor.

The speaker gave an idea of the cooperative power of the state. Indiana has 181,000 farm families; 100,000 of these are already connected with cooperative organizations. He suggested that a five-year program in which 200,000 people, both urban and rural, buy $3 a day each through cooperative channels, and that the cooperative organization runs on a 5% margin, there will be 15 cooperatives within which each one be returned as cooperative dividends or still better, plunged in to build up the organization. This amounts to something like $10 million dollars a year. In a short time this would build up capital sufficient to operate all the services these people need. Stepping outside the state, suppose the hundred million people of this country put the same 15 cents per day margin into cooperative enterprises, they would accumulate five billion dollars per year and the cooperatives could buy the country in a generation. How can we get them to do it?

Roy F. Bergengren spoke on "Credit Unions and Cooperatives," paying particular attention to the question: "Is it possible to organize credit unions as cooperative societies in existing credit unions?" Also are the future possibilities for converting the credit union laws and what will be the relationship of such organizations to the Cooperative League? The answer to the first question depends on the same factors that are already connected with cooperative enterprises. The Cooperative League has been organized, it will be time for the Credit Union National Extension Bureau, which is a privately financed organization, to step out of the picture. Such a national league of credit unions should be firmly allied with the national league of distributive cooperative societies. The speaker will recommend at the organization meeting of the national league of credit unions that a committee be appointed to bring about such an alliance.

Referring to remarks of the previous speakers, Mr. Bergengren felt that it would be an error to ally the cooperative movement with any group the people would give any other group out of the movement. He feels that cooperation should be one movement, the credit union movement in which men of like interests would cooperate on the basis of their ideas with an understanding of the objectives in maintaining a friendly understanding with labor parties in Sweden. The International Cooperative Alliance has succeeded in maintaining a friendly understanding with labor parties in Sweden. The International Cooperative Alliance has succeeded in maintaining a friendly understanding with labor political parties in Sweden. The International Cooperative Alliance has succeeded in maintaining a friendly understanding with labor political parties in Sweden. The International Cooperative Alliance has succeeded in maintaining a friendly understanding with labor political parties in Sweden. The International Cooperative Alliance has succeeded in maintaining a friendly understanding with labor political parties in Sweden.

Give and Take from the Floor

After the addresses the chairman called for discussion.

John Suominen: Should a credit union be legally permitted to lend to a cooperative organization? In some states it is not.

Mr. Bergengren: The draft of a credit union law which the Credit Union National Extension Bureau submits to state legislatures contains a provision that associations of the same people who constitute the credit union may borrow from the credit union. This provision has been enacted in about half of the credit union laws.

V. S. Alanne asked what the policy of the Credit Union National Extension Bureau is toward the membership of local credit unions in the Cooperative League.

Mr. Bergengren: The few state leagues which exist set their own policy. At present the resources of these state leagues are so slender that they may object to any drain on the resources of their members which reduces the value of the credit union. The question of membership of the Extension Bureau offers no objection to affiliation of credit unions with cooperative organizations.

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Mr. Aaltonen was then called to order at 2:30 p.m. The discussion was continued.

Dr. Urbaan got this issue with Mr. Salerno, stating that it was sound practice to plant a good cooperative institution like a credit union, and that it would be good for a company like a consumer union. He urged upon the credit union leaders the desirability of seeing the seeds of consumers' cooperation in all credit unions.

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get cooperative societies to subscribe in block, for the members or should we encourage ardent cooperators to canvass for individual subscriptions?

b—What can we do with the radio?

c—What about pamphlets and leaflets? How can we get them to the people who need them?

d—Cooperative schools—shall we continue to concentrate on them, or shall we turn our attention for the time to field work and propaganda? The Northern States League has decided on the latter course.

e—Meetings—how shall they be run? What are the relative values of speeches and of discussion from the floor?

f—What joint meetings with other organizations are of value?

g—Is this the time for particular attention to work among women?

h—Has the time come for concentration on work with young people?

i—Are the cooperative societies run for profit?

Mr. Alanne called on six delegates who had done outstanding educational work to lead the discussion.

Gideon Edberg said that we needed the daily press as well as our own press to get to the mass of the people. One way of getting into the daily press is through open forums. Cooperation should be maneuvered into high school discussion groups. Cooperative papers, such as the Builder, should be gotten into the households of non-members. The Konsumblad, which is published by the Swedish cooperatives, goes into half the households in Sweden. It is not given away; members of cooperative societies pay half a Swedish dollar for subscription, and non-members one dollar. Right now the psychology of the country is in favor of what we want and we should take advantage of it.

Mrs. H. H. Lanto said that she felt that women's guilds and a national league of women's guilds were of vital importance in looking ahead. The guilds which have been organized so far are societies of women interested in cooperation. Not all of them are necessarily members of a cooperative society. They are independent and autonomous organizations. There have been independent guilds here and there for the past 15 years, but only in the last two or three years have they had any general organization. When there were six women's guilds, the Northern States Women's Cooperative Guild was organized. Now there are 48 guilds belonging to the organization and they are divided into sections which hold spring and fall conferences and can mobilize attention on any cooperative question such as cooperative youth courses, subscription campaigns or the like. They are working by a trial and error method and are learning by their mistakes. Now they feel the need of a national guild to back up the local and district organizations and hope to present a definite recommendation for the organization of such a guild to the business session of the Congress.

H. O. Sankarri A cooperative youth league has been organized which is similar to the women's guilds in its form of organization and in its functions. The youth league is now a distinct organization, with 52 units and a membership age limit of 14-25. Activities have included the sponsorship of dramatics, choral singing, meetings, cooperative canvassing and the like. Representatives of youth clubs held membership on the education committee of local societies and every effort is made to prevent duplication between the activities of various cooperative groups. There are about 1,300 members in the Northern States territory.

Herman Lieberman urged a better grounding in the fundamental ideals of the movement we are trying to propagate before we try to spread propaganda. Jacques O'Hare believed we should concentrate our cooperative propaganda on those groups who are most likely to respond. Martinek said that we should get cooperative columns in all friendly papers. We should have representatives at labor union meetings. It was urged that COOPERATION have departments on the Women's Guilds and on the Youth Leagues.

Benjamin Stringham of the Natural Development Agency, Salt Lake City, told of the growth of this organization, which is a kind of clearing-house for the exchange of goods and services without the use of money. He said they did $465 business the first day with only $1.45 in cash used, and that now they are doing $3,000 a day.

Wanted: Your $10 Bills

Werner Repli described the Eastern States Agency, or credit pool. He said we have talked about fellowship and cooperation between societies, but it has been mostly talk. Here at last is a way to act, with our $10 bills. Each cooperative would invest $10, and the pool could carry all our societies. These bills are now in banks, not working for the cooperative movement, and probably not any too safe. Let's use them to make an investment in cooperation. The investment of individuals will have prior right to that of societies. Each society in the Eastern States League is asked to buy $10 worth of common stock for each 500 members. This gives voting rights and the right to apply for loans. Preferred stock and debenture bonds it is expected will be

Move Trade Union Committee

On Wednesday morning there was active discussion of the relation of cooperation and trade unions.

Meyer Robinson cited the recent sad experiences of the Purity Cooperative Bakery in Paterson and of the Cooperative Trading Association in Brooklyn. He said that Brownsville Bakery has had continued trouble. For years by maintaining the scale it has been the bulwark of the union bakers throughout New York. Now that it has tried to retreat, or perish, it has had little help in return from the union. The union sends to the cooperative all the men it can't place elsewhere. He said we can not expect much friendliness from the unions and we must get strong enough to deal with them on equal terms.

J. J. Nylander said that we should work for better relations with the unions and that was a job for the League.

Mr. Lieberman believed it was due to the fact that no effort has been made to get the unions and cooperatives together. The unions do not recognize us as any different from capitalist employers. He moved that we set up a committee of contact with unions to establish closer relations. Motion passed.
also be issued to raise funds. Loans will be issued only on good security. The Loan Committee, which has been asked to serve consists of Dr. Warbasse, Messrs. Hedman, Held, England,

How to Expand Trade

H. V. Nurmi and George Halonen of the Central Cooperative Wholesale had charge of the Trade Expansion session on Wednesday afternoon.

Nurmi said that in seeking trade we have a chance to use a much more direct and personal appeal to the public than can the private merchant. All he can advertise is his goods, and we are able to advertise our personal contact with our people.

Fieldwork is indispensable; we need the constant personal contact with our people.

Known interest was expressed in the Cooperative Workers Union which has been organized in the Central West territory, described by Nurmi. This now has over 200 members.

Its purpose is: To protect themselves through union the unorganized refused any political affiliation. It prevents factional quarrels, and it helps to push our trade. It is not a "company union.

There have been no wage disputes so far. The union plans to survey wages in the territory to determine a uniform scale. Its headquarters are Box 989, Virginia, Minn.

H. V. Nurmi spoke strongly against organizing cooperatives on a group basis. We should organize stores, not for any collective action,

Elections

The following actions were taken by the closing session of the Congress:

The Congress voted approval of the plan for a National Cooperative Women's Guild Committee, with membership: five women cooperators of New York and vicinity, plus representatives from the various districts, the purpose of the committee to further the organization of a National Cooperative Women's Guild.

The following committee was elected: Virginia Hill, Julia N. Perkins, Tyyne Aho, Bessie Blumberg, and Lydia Nylander.

Newly elected to the Executive Committee were: Arnold, Edberg, Halonen, and Marquer.

For the Eastern Cooperative Agency, or credit pool, the following members: Werner Regli (chairman), Leslie Wood Stricker of New York, Helen Hayes Lanto, H. Sankari. For the C. S. C. L.: E. Carlson, Dorothy Kenyon, alternate.

H. V. Nurmi, as chairman of the Budget Committee, then gave the committee's report. For example:

Mr. Hyde of Clusa Service was authorized to take action as regards the dues basis, and submit an amendment to the Constitution so that the Executive Committee, in addition to the above, to be voted to allow the Northern States League to make its payments to the national league on the basis of a flat 25% of all dues paid in that district.

The Congress voted enthusiastic approval of the committee's plan to support a campaign for a fieldman for this coming year, the matter should be left to the incoming Board.

An interesting part of the session was the Treasurer's report, by Mary Arnold. She explained the financial history of the Cooperative League, showing how it had progressed since 1924 from partial to full self-support, and showed how the gains have been largely brought about as we get together at Congress each year.

Raising the Budget

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Mr. Hyde stated that the total amount of protection under the bond is $593,000, covering 318 positions in 115 societies. This bond was written at the lowest rate of $2.75 per thousand, because of the combined purchasing power which is behind it. Individual societies would have to pay, and will pay as $15 per thousand for the same protection.

Resolutions

1. Resolved, that we delegate our representatives at this Eight Biennial Congress of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. express our deepest regret at the untimely loss of such outstanding cooperators as Cedric Long, Edsel Roon, Albert Sonnichsen, Jussi Kangas, Maynard Peterson, and others who have passed away since the last Congress. Let their devotion to and their work for our movement be an inspiring example to the rest of us for whom there remains the sacred duty of carrying on the honors of Cooperation through the cruel hand of Death they forced them to drop.

2. That the highest expressions of appreciation be extended to the Cooperative Services and to the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments for the splendid banquet tendered them on Wednesday night by the Eight Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League of U. S. A., and that the entertainment provided by these organizations contributed substantially to the success of the Congress.

3. That as long as an appropriation is made for a fieldman for this coming year, the matter should be left to the incoming Board.

4. That we endorse the present policy and setup of COOPERATION and that we pledge ourselves and our societies to support a campaign to carry on general educational work and that the magazine on a self-sustaining basis.

5. That we appeal to our affiliated societies to carry on general educational work and that the magazine on a self-sustaining basis.

6. That we import to our societies the information regarding the Cooperative Workers Union and ask them to work in that direction.

7. That the 8th biennial Congress of The Cooperative League feels that this depression offers a unique opportunity to awaken isolated cooperatives to cooperative philosophy and cooperative organization. With this in mind, the entire staff of the Cooperative League to use all the means at its disposal to bring into the organized movement the societies that are still outside it, and which are eligible to become members.

Congress adjourned at 6 p. m.
Cooperation of Producer and Consumer

The Experiment of the Twin Lakes Cooperative Farm

By Simon Farber

Mr. Farber, a cooperator who resides in Amalgamated Dwellings, New York City cooperative house, is one of those actively interested in the Twin Lakes project. He is also a writer on labor subjects for the Jewish Daily Forward. This is from a radio talk which he gave recently on Station WEVD.

ECONOMIC depressions and unemployment are a natural result of our present system of production for profit. What we usually term overproduction is, in reality, not overproduction but underconsumption. As long as commodities are produced, not for use but for profit, there must be a surplus of goods which the workers who produce them cannot buy. This surplus can not always be exchanged for forms of wealth which can be either saved or invested in profit-making enterprises. Part of it remains in usable commodities. In time, this part accumulates and forms an over supply for which the manufacturer or owner can find no market, and he is therefore forced to stop production.

Furthermore, under a profit system of production and competitive enterprises, "economic planning" is impossible. Every owner produces the commodity he thinks he can sell with the greatest profit. Every manufacturer strives to produce the largest quantities possible to cut down on the unit cost of production. He seldom thinks of the consumer or his market, but to the contrary, he figures that he will succeed in getting it off his hands before the market breaks, and he does not worry about what will happen to the next owner. Under these circumstances surplus is unavoidable.

To abolish depressions and their horrible results, we must, therefore, abolish production for profit, and establish in its stead a system of production for use. This is the aim and purpose of the cooperative movement.

The producing section of the population, the worker in industry, agriculture, transportation, and distribution, the hand and brain workers, have in their hands the necessary power to bring about this change in a peaceful and orderly way. By using their buying power to establish cooperative consumers' organizations, and patronizing them in preference to private merchants, they only save the profits that go into the private coffers of the middlemen, but they are also able to dry up thereby the very source of profit of the private manufacturer.

The consumers' cooperative societies have the natural tendency to extend their activity into the field of production. With the increase in the volume of their sales they gradually start to produce the merchandise in their own cooperative factories, where they are able to control the quality and price of the product. They must also in time extend their activity into the sources of supply of raw materials, into the fields and mines, closing, thereby, the great circle of human activity to satisfy human needs.

In a cooperatively owned and managed society, there is no room for the evils and abuses of the privately owned and operated industry. There are no individual profits, no speculation. Demand is the accurate guide for production. There can, therefore, be no over-supply, depression, and unemployment.

The question arises: where can the working population get the initial capital to start its cooperative enterprises? In our present system, where all means of production, land, machinery, and raw material are the private property of a limited number of individuals, where and how can the population get the means to start its own cooperative business?

The answer to that is, "Where there is a will, there is a way."

Even private business is not financed entirely with cash owned by the manufacturer or merchant. The savings of the population, whether it is kept in banks or invested in securities; the reserves of the insurance companies, which represent the accumulated collective capital of the working class—all these go into financing, manufacturing and business enterprises. If those savings should be diverted into cooperative channels, there would be money enough to finance them.

Besides, if a strong current of public opinion should be brought to bear upon the government, the billions of dollars it now expends to subsidize private business, in order, as it claims, to revive business and create jobs for the unemployed, could be used to establish cooperative undertakings. This will be a permanent solution of the problem instead of a temporary and wasteful way of relief.

With millions of men idle, with hundreds of thousands of machines rusting away, with idle capital on every hand, and raw material rotting in store rooms and warehouses, only an equitable and sane order of production and distribution is needed to abolish the poverty, misery, and degradation brought about by the present irresponsible system. The laboring masses can bring this change about by using their brains to think and their power as workers, consumers and citizens, to enforce their will.

AN interesting experiment in linking consumers' and producers' cooperative organizations is being tried now in New York State. I refer to the Twin Lakes Cooperative Farm at Ottsville, N.Y. This cooperative enterprise is only two years old. Like every experiment, it is naturally still small in scope, but has a healthy foundation upon which to build.

The project was born in the fertile mind of Abraham E. Kazan, president of the Eastern States Cooperative League. He succeeded in getting a small number of cooperators sufficiently interested in the project to raise the necessary amount of money by buying shares in the cooperatively owned farm of 300 some odd acres which was purchased. The land had not been cultivated for over 15 years. The buildings, an old house and barn were in the worst imaginable state of dilapidation. Most of the fields were overgrown with underbrush.

A farm in such state was naturally bought cheaply. The cooperative succeeded in getting a good man, a practical farmer, Mr. Bauman, to start restoring the land and a state of producing. The cooperators helped in every way possible.

The cooperators helped in every way possible.

The house and barn were repaired. Poultry houses for a few thousand chickens were built and equipped. Now, only the second year since it was started, the poultry division already pays for itself and leaves a margin of profit.

The cooperative already has laid the foundation for a dairy farm, in the near future, by buying a number of young thoroughbred Guernsey heifers. This year the experiment was extended to raising of vegetables. Two of the cooperators, Mr. and Mrs. Singer, have raised tomatoes, cabbages and other vegetables for the consumers in New York City.

In spite of the depression the cooperative farm had no difficulty in selling its eggs, poultry, vegetables and fruits, nor were they compelled to sell in the open market, through middlemen. All the products were sold direct to the consumers through the commissary of the Amalgamated Housing Corporation and through Consumers Cooperative Services. Next year this branch of farming will be considerably enlarged, employing probably three times the number of people it employed this year.

In our Twin Lakes experiment so far has proved that through cooperation the city consumers can be provided with good wholesome foods, for a reason-

(Continued on page 217)
Cooperative Youth

Organize Co-op Youth League of Massachusetts

About 65 young cooperators launched the Cooperative Youth League of Massachusetts, a federation of cooperative youth clubs, at a convention in Fitchburg, Oct. 9. The youth clubs of Fitchburg, Maynard, Gardner, Hubbardston and other towns were represented. A constitution was adopted and an Executive Committee elected consisting of Hugo Erickson, William Aaltonen, Emil Waaranen and Helvi Kimm, all of Fitchburg; Chas. Hekkala and Herbert Ruotsala of Wayward; and Miriam and C. O. of Hubbardston.

In the constitution, stress was laid on the importance of "the task of spreading cooperative education particularly among the English-speaking people and in recruiting from them new members and supporters for the cooperative movement."

Certainly in these towns no task is more important. Without a doubt, many of the American class, so-called, remain discreetly away from the cooperative because they have the impression that it is meant only for the Poles, the Italians, or the Jews, as the case may be. It is probable too that many remain away because of their impression that the cooperative is solely for Socialists and class-conscious workers, for those they think of as "red," that is. We suspect that not only the middle-class but hundreds of American workers and farmers shy away from cooperative societies for this reason. To dispel this illusion and to make these cautious Yankees see that the cooperative is a matter that youth must play in the movement, and Cooley said that we must study not only bookkeeping but psychology and entertainment.

In order to get youth clubs started in cooperative that none of them, the Executive Committee is thinking of sending out a group of mixed talent to run mixed art and entertainment and part propaganda, in various towns.

Resolutions were passed endorsing the Cooperative Institute at Brookwood, the proposed National Cooperative Youth League, Cooperative Monthly, the "Cooperators' Corner" (a department in Rajavaja, the Finnish daily), and the magazine COOPERATION and The Cooperative Builder. It was moved that each local Youth Club appoint at least one representative to get subscriptions and to write news for the cooperative press.

It seemed the desire of all that the national movement have a department in COOPERATION, and so here it is. We are glad to give a page both to the Youth Leagues and to the Women's Guilds, providing the news will be sent in to fill it.

- Contest to Be Continued

The Spirit of Cooperation story contest, announced to end Nov. 1st, will be continued another month. This is a time in which to tell our members about it and get all to enter. All entries should be at The Cooperative League by Dec. 1st.

The aim of this contest is to draw out the true stories or incidents which illustrate the spirit of cooperation: stories that is, of things cooperators have done or policies followed which animate the cooperative movement. There are many such in the history of your co-op society. 500 words is the limit. First prize $10; second prize $5; 3 third prizes, value $1.

- May Create Sections

The Cooperative Youth League of the North Central States, at present a single central organization with headquarters at Superior and local units throughout the area, Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota, is thinking of sectionalizing, that is, of grouping the local units into section or district organizations, according to their location. There are already two such sections which have proven the value of this plan. The section is governed by a Section Committee composed of one or more representatives from each local. It also has a Branch Secretary and two other members: Organizer and Secretary. The Women's Guilds have long had a similar setup.

Cooperation of Producer and Consumer

COOPERATION

CONSUMER

COOPERATION

COOPERATION

COOPERATION

My Point of View

By J. P. Warbasse

"Ay, think of it—wish it done—will it to boot—
But do it!—No, that's past my understanding!"

These are the people who hold themselves superior to those who are engaged in action. They advise waiting until the solutions of the social problems are found. Since there are no ulterior solutions, and since there will always be social problems, the waiting is apt to be both good and long.

At an Institute of Politics in one of our colleges, I was recently invited to discuss academic methods in presenting the facts of cooperation and showing that it is practical and that it works. I had told of its successes and of the advantages it gives to the people who use it, and also of its difficulties, deficiencies and hazards. But I had shown it successfully working, and also I was personally engaged in trying to make it succeed. On the academic judgment, I was actually doing something about it. All of this is rem-
xiscent of the Oxford tradition that gentlemen do not do things; they have opinions.

Is education only intellectualistic in its outlook? Or should it give practical meaning and purpose to life? Today we see the intellectual mind removing itself from participation in the affairs of men and assuming no responsibility for their fate. When a house is burning, there is often something plainly human that can be done; or one may hold himself aloof and assume that if the house does not burn down it will in the course of time rot and decay, so why the fuss?

Perhaps those people get the most out of life who are lifted away from themselves, from introspection of things, and who come to grips with the problems that concern all. Looking upon the universe and assuming that everything is futile is, perhaps, in itself the most futile of positions. It is fine for the scientist to watch his guinea pigs or the children of the new generation. In nothing is done; or one may hold him to assume that he is not one of us. It is insolence as well as arrogance for the children of the new generation.

Roger Baldwin, doggedly promoting the cause of cooperation, and James and Pearl S. Pendergast, are bringing home to all men that cooperation is of incalculable worth. Without such men as they we are in danger of developing a generation without vision or destiny, absorbed in self, committed to introspection and psychopathological complexes and steeped in frustration. People free themselves by action. Sitting unmoved and placid, like the statue of Buddha, is to invite destruction at the hands of predatory forces. To quote a modern philosopher: "The genuinely free man is not a man who spends the day contemplating his own navel, but rather the one who loses himself in a great cause or glorious adventure.

To engage in action invites the hazard of being wrong. But everybody is wrong. There is no absolute truth. No state of society is conceivable which can not be improved. To strive to move toward truth and toward perfection is all that can be hoped for. But to be moving, that is the essential.

Neutrality is impossible. An assumed effort to be neutral in respect to the affairs that deeply effect society is to give aid to the dominant forces of reaction. To take no hand in finding a way out of the present capitalist chaos, is to give support to the very forces that would maintain the conditions that bring destruction.

The perfect society, of course, is the society of perfect individuals. But this is not possible. Everybody can not be Leonardo, Copernicus or Newton. They are beyond the possibilities of the average type, Plato, Priestley, Huxley, Spencer, Wagner, Humé, Cobden and Owen have shown a way: they were not only great individuals, but they were individuals who saw their relation to society and were deeply concerned for its improvement, and strove not only to make themselves but society more perfect. They were great examples.

Matthew Arnold wisely said: "Culture looks beyond machinery, culture hates hatred, culture has one great passion, the passion for sweetness and light." It has one even yet greater! The passion for making them prevail. That means something.

Now is the time when youth is challenged to take a hand and undo the mistakes of their elders. The dark ages are closing down upon us. Youth and adults with a responsive spirit may yet make themselves free; and, if there are enough of these, they may make society free also and bring the new renaissance.

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 451, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: The Cooperative, The Cooperative League of U. S. A., 433 West 21 St., N. Y. C. Editor, Oscar Cooley, 147 West 23 St., N. Y. C. Manager, J. N. Perkins, 147 West 23 St., N. Y. C.

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

J. N. Perkins, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10th day of October, 1932.

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Nearly a Million Cast Their Vote against Capitalism on November 8—Now We Call on Them to Vote against Capitalism Every Day in the Year

THERE was once a people who were ruled by a dragon. The dragon had them so well trained that every Saturday afternoon they brought him their tenderest lambs and pigs, not to say little children, and threw them into his maw. There he squatted behind his retail counter and they were so used to bringing him their offerings that they didn't know how to do otherwise. They could have ended his rule any time they wanted to, by simply quitting to feed him. The dragon's name was Capitalism.

The thing that supports Capitalism is the buying power of the masses. The dragon will always be strong and healthy so long as the people bring their dollars and dimes and dutifully lay them on the retail counter of profit business.

Over 800,000 people voted Socialist on November 8. Several thousand more voted Communist. These were votes against Capitalism. Now for these people to go on buying Capitalist goods is inconsistency to the point of absurdity.

We call on them to buy Cooperative goods, organize Cooperatively, boycott Capitalism, forsake the system that is consuming us and that threatens to consume our children and our children's children, and lend the power of their buying dollar to building the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Do these people who voted against Capitalism mean business, or were they voting just for the fun of it? Let us hear from them.
Merry Christmas to All Cooperators
From the Staff of The Cooperative League

COOPERATION

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

Published monthly by The Cooperative League of the U. S. A., 167 West 12th St., New York City.

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Vol. XVIII, No. 12 Dec. 1932

To Those Who Look for a Radical Program

COOPERATORS should never for a minute lose sight of the fact that theirs is a thorough-going and a radical program. It goes to the roots of the profit system, chops out the rotten wood there, and in its place substitutes new growth. If you are looking for something radical, bear in mind that action is more radical than talk. And cooperation is a course of action, "direct action" if you will, which anyone, anywhere can adopt.

If there ever was a time when many people, of all classes, were looking for a thorough-going program, it is now. Consequently, our opportunity.

How can they be convinced? First, they must see that any program of genuine reconstruction to be effective must be gradual and evolutionary. All reform is based upon the individual. No real change in society can be brought about except as the individuals who make up society are changed. This applies especially to America today. We have a democratic tradition. Our people will not submit to coercion; we require to be reformed by force. But we welcome education. Any reconstruction program, to be effective in America, must be based on education. Cooperation recognizes this fact and for that reason it is a realistic program of change for this country.

Once the people are convinced that the evolutionary method, based on change in the mind of the individual, is the only one that will really work, the battle is half won for cooperation. The very essence of cooperation is education of the individual. It begins its work with the individuals in the local community.

For example, in the town of Millville a cooperative society is started. To do that a certain number of Millville people learn what cooperation is and become convinced of what it can do for them. The Millville society grows—not as capital is poured into it from Wall Street, nor as "experts" are sent from Washington to run it, for neither of these things happens—but only as other Millville people, neighbors of the first, join hands with them; seeing first, that the cooperative society is an economic asset to Millville, cutting out waste and parasitism in distribution; and second, that here is a practical way to organize our entire economic life on a basis of service to the many instead of profits to the few. The evolutionary leaven of cooperation grows and ripens just as fast—as no faster—as the people of all the Millvilles learn to understand and accept this program.

And once they have got this understanding, nothing can take it away from them. A movement based on such understanding is solid, lasting, tough and resilient, like seasoned oak.

Cooperation will not bring us to the cooperative commonwealth tomorrow. But neither will anything else. The cooperative commonwealth lies afar off. "Years of trekking across the desert of greed, struggling against the sandstorms of ignorance, are before us. Stout hearts are called for, and unflinching faith. This is not a week-end excursion; it is a crusade."

Mass Production Farming

HICKMAN PRICE set out to raise wheat on 20,000 acres in Texas by mass production methods. He was thrown into receivership the other day because he could not meet a $600 bill. Do mass production methods, big business methods, work in farming? May-be, maybe not. Hickman, we read, got into trouble because of "the March freeze, drought, cutworms and hailstorms." The farmer has to contend with natural forces which the industrialist does not. When the farmer goes in for mass production of one crop, he puts his eggs all in one basket. Then if Drought or frost or hail or the basket he is out of luck. Perhaps there is a reason why we have 6 1/2 million farmers to raise our food, and a half dozen manufacturers to make our automobiles.

Cooperators should find food for thought in this. In the back of our minds we have visions of great factories (who used to be farmers and so may still be) and huge aggregations of factories owned and controlled by consumers. Some of us also foresee great consumer-owned farms and ranches where foods and fibres will be produced most efficiently by large-scale methods. Let us not be too sure. We may be led astray by this siren of mass production efficiency.

The personal opinion of the editor (who used to be a farmer and so may be influenced by sentiment) is that in farming there will be a place for the little man for a long time yet. Farming is a highly individualistic business. Too much specialization, as Mr. Price found out, is dangerous—even in wheat. It is even more so in general farming. It is our belief that the individual farmer, owning and operating his own small holding, is sound economy. A capitalist? A profit-seeker? Yes, that he is. But not an exploiter of the consumer.

Farms marketing cooperatives do not eliminate profit, but they distribute profit over the mass of farmers, and distribution of wealth is after all what we are after.

We believe that as the cooperative movement grows the small farmer will still be with us, that his cooperative marketing associations will be a factor, and that more and more the representatives of consumers' cooperatives will sit down with the representatives of the farmer's marketing cooperatives and deal for his products direct, as they are already doing in many parts of the world. Certainly such a system of mutual dealing would seem better economy in America, where the farmer has already developed his marketing cooperatives so extensively.

And if proven by experience to be better economy, such a system should be supported by consumer cooperators. If, on the other hand, consumer-owned farms are proven more practical, then consumer-owned farms we should have.

It is good to hear that the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota made decided gains in the recent election. In addition to re-electing Governor Floyd Olson, it is reported to have won all but one of the state offices filled at this election.

No, we are not going into politics, but we are just glad to know that that state in which cooperation is so strong still has an executive who is friendly to it.

From the Secretary's Road Book

Many take me for a salesman. I am, I sell ideas: but without getting any money for them. It's funny—the most valuable things in the world, are also the most difficult things to sell—or rather to give away.

O. C.
The Neglected Consumer

The world has been brought to its present state by the actions of the Capitalist, triumphantly enacting the law of profit, and the worker, servilely and obediently carrying out the law of labor. Wealth has become the possession of the few, and labor a burden for all.

The political state has the oil and the other the troubled world. In the same year our woolen mills had as the beginning of profits. In all, received less than these 504 men re

crops, the 1,300,000 wheat farmers and the

Per cent of the population owns 59 per cent of the property in the United States. For these two chief

distribution of wealth. This inept language Is from a protagonist of an

The way to wealth is to get into the profit end of wealth produc

and the hunger for wages and profits fail

Together, bank mortgage bonds, insurance, and the like, amounting to over $12,000,000. The 33,000 cooperative banking societies in the Alliance, in 22 countries, have $1,500,000,000 reserves, $900,000,000 loan capital, $16,000,000,000 saving deposits, nearly $2,000,000,000 net capital, and have turned over $3,600,000,000 in dividends to their members. 

The problem of the United States is to get into the profit end of wealth producing. This idea has been expressed by the President of the United States. Whether we think in

Proper Principle Falls

Industry has attempted to keep going by selling its products at more than they cost. The failure of this method is obvious to any one who thinks it through. The mistake lies in applying the profit principle as a general rule. Some businesses can do this. But that all businesses can sell everything for more than it costs is an absurd assumption. It cannot be made that if one keeps on selling out of a dollar and a quarter for ten million that he will make. Presently the time will come when the store will have to stop

The fact that this activity was animated by an entirely different motive. The energy of the still more amazing

This idea was expressed during the Great War by neglect of the consumer. Capitalists, industrialists, farmers, and labor have spent their energies upon production. They have ignored the world of trade that serves them, enacted laws, and created a social economic system which is making the production of goods and services the absorbing interest of society in the United States. For these two chief

The only thing for the owner of the surplus to do with them is to consume them himself. This he cannot do. Nor can he give them away. There are no customers for such goods, and still more depress the chance for profits.

The successful application of this principle is the key to the whole situation. The successful application of this principle is the keynote of the whole situation.

endurance has limits

It is interesting that the public attempts to adopt itself to the profit principle, and to conform to the profit principle when it is not adapted to the public. When the government tries to make money, it gets into the profit end of wealth producing.

The explanation is that people have been educated to think that the only way to make money is by the profit principle. It means

The original purpose of the cooperative movement is to get into the profit end of wealth producing. One-fourth of our coal mines can be

The Cooperative Alliance. Its 230,000 societies with a membership of 60,000,000 in 70 countries have $1,000,000,000 of invested capital, and have turned over $3,600,000,000 in dividends to their members.

The ‘people’ are willing. Scattered over this continent are
door-to-door salesmen, and even the great salesmen of the world are doing much the same sort of thing.

Cooperative Succeeds

While profit business is declining and fall

The cooperative movement destroys nothing. It is wholly

The Cooperative Alliance. Its 230,000 societies with a membership of 60,000,000 in 70 countries have $1,000,000,000 of invested capital, and have turned over $3,600,000,000 in dividends to their members.

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Produce Exchanges Should Be Cooperative

By RALPH BORSODI

Mr. Borsodi is a recognized economist and the author of several books, the latest being "This Ugly Civilization." He presents here the interesting idea that our exchanges, instead of being run by gamblers should be cooperative. If such a proposal were to be accepted, he might very quickly develop the idea further.

It is unfortunate that the indescribable complexity of our economic system makes it easy to forget that the most important of all economic problems still remains the problem of exchange.

What now, is the central problem of exchange? Put in simple terms, it is the problem of fixing prices. To the farmer who produces wheat, the price of wheat is the most important element in the exchange of wheat for money. To the consumer, the price which the farmer has received is equally important, for it determines so largely the price which he has to pay for flour. When the price of bread seems unreasonable, the average housewife tends to blame the baker; when the price of flour seems unreasonable, she tends to blame the grocer, or if she looks further than that, the miller. Both bakers and millers, however, have only a small degree of control over the prices of the goods they sell to their customers. Compared to the influence exerted by the Board of Trade in Chicago, the millers and bakers may almost be said to have no voice at all in the matter. Our organized exchanges, of which there are dozens in the country, are the real price "fixers" of the exchange. The grain exchange in Chicago determines the price of wheat, corn, oats, barley; the cotton exchange in New York that of cotton, and all the cloth and clothing in which cotton is a principal raw material; the rubber exchange, not only the price of crude rubber, but also of tires. We have a cocoa exchange, a silk exchange, a sugar exchange. The number of these exchanges is constantly increasing.

In theory, these organized exchanges are supposed to be markets in which the producers of commodities and the dealers in these exchanges make money by bidding, much as at an auction, under stringent rules designed to insure fair trading and to maintain a free market—a market in which the price is free to rise and fall in accordance with the demand and supply of the commodity.

In practice, they are no such thing. It is no exaggeration to say that, as they are run today, they are gambling organizations, in which great numbers of people bet upon whether the price is going to rise or fall at some future time, settling their bets each month in accordance with the price at that time. The gamblers are called traders, and the process itself is dignified by calling it speculation. Whenever there is a marked decline tends to make the speculator places his order to buy or sell, the broker can earn a commission in the sale of that carload of wheat.

If the price changes little from month to month, there is very little speculation. To stimulate speculation, violent price changes must take place. A marked decline tends to make the speculator bet that they can sell at the present price and later buy back what they have sold at a lower price. A sharp rise tends to make them buy wheat at the current price in the hope that they can sell it later at a much higher price.

But violent price changes, which are produced as the exchanges by means of carefully organized exploitation of the cupidity and fears of the speculators, are decidedly bad for the bona fide producers and all who they are often hardness.

Cooperation and Socialism

By Morris Williams

NORMAN THOMAS has recently expressed in these pages his impatience with cooperation, and his feeling that it would be much easier for the state to take over the chain-store than for society to organize a system of cooperative retail stores. Thus does devotion to method triumph over purposeful intelligence. Mr. Thomas is known to be interested in socialist justice. He wishes a society which is democratic economically as well as politically—probably in the realization that political democracy is impossible without economic. To achieve this social democracy, he has joined the Socialist Party, and is one of its leading spokesmen. Yet so completely is his point of view political, and so little has he been able to transcend current political and sociological notions, that the best he has to offer is apparently a state capitalism, with the local grocery store run from Washington.

I do not wish to be unfair to the Socialist Party or its presidential candidate, but is not the unwillingness of the American worker to vote Socialist due to some lack of realism—some substitution of sterile theory for vital appreciation. In this party's outlook, Americans have become suspicious of politicians and politics. A system in

(Continued on page 239)
which all the present politicians (for if Socialism is politically successful, have no doubt of it, the old gang will be re-born as ‘Socialists’) would join with the present capitalists to run a Socialist Commonwealth and the workers thereof, does not appeal to the working voter as an improvement; and although but dimly realized, this is some-how what he senses as the result of Mr. Thomas’ program.

Does the Socialist Party expect to run the industry of its socialized state with the help of the present capitalists, or does it intend to place in charge of industry the enthusiastic young politicians and the comly old ones—who will have helped it to power? Neither prospect is alluring. To let the present industrialists run the socialized economy would result in their obtaining even more complete control over society than at present. To turn industry and trade over to a group of party men, trained and weeded out in the political organization, to take care of the workers thereof, does not appeal to the present capitalists to run a Socialist Party—the time will likewise be a stalemate unless it has resources ready. Hence, the Socialist Party alone can foster. The business of the territory it serves.

Socialism can only succeed in its avowed purpose of offering to the common man a fuller and richer life, by achieving some modification of the political structure. Socialism must either envisage a cooperative commonwealth, or else some non-political organization, to take care of the problems of production and distribution. Unless these are democratic in nature, our new society, whatever it may call itself, will be essentially a fascist. Fascism, as much as socialism, abjures rugged individualism. The difference is that in fascism a bureaucratic state takes over all social activities for the benefit of a ruling class, whereas in socialism the common man takes over the same activities for his own benefit. Only by making these varied activities in themselves democratic, can we avoid that fascism in socialistic clothing which could easily result from the pseudo-democracy of our present political structure.

Consumers’ and producers’ cooperatives offer the skeletal structure of this necessary social democracy, and a truly socialist state will assign to them a large part of its economic activity. It will be necessary, however, that they be true cooperatives, free, except for reasonable supervision, from political control; and it would be almost impossible for the state to give the order to liquidate such cooperatives. Besides, cooperation is an organism of too much complexity to arise out of the flat of any state.

ALL of this is not to suppose, as some enthusiastic cooperators think, that consumers’ cooperation alone can resolve the ill of our present system. Cooperators must learn the importance of political power just as much as socialists must learn the importance of economic power, and economic democracy which workers’ and consumers’ cooperatives alone can foster. The time will come in the development of cooperation when, if it has not already, will bring about the socialist state, it will feel the oppressive power to be wielded by a state devoted to capitalism. This lesson is cooperation must learn. But also—and here is the lesson for the Socialist Party—the time will likely come when the socialist state will find itself at a stalemate unless it has fostered the development of a sturdy and independent cooperative movement capable of disconnectedly running the industry and trade of the new society. The machines necessary for the creation of a free and noble society are many. They are vastly different in appearance, and each emphasizes some particular aspect of the social structure. Each individual will devote himself to that apparatus in which his personality is best utilized, but he must not make the mistake of thinking his particular machine all-sufficient for every purpose of a complex civilization. Wisdom lies in recognizing the merit of each machine for its own task, and in attempting that specialization and coordination which will result in

(Corrupted on page 236)
News and Comment

New Cooperative Worker

Joseph Gilbert, of Lincoln, Nebr., has been engaged as assistant secretary of the Northern States Cooperative League, headquarters at Minneapolis. He will specialize in field work. The increasing volume of duties made it impossible for Secretary Alanne to do as much of this work as the societies desired and are willing to support.

Writing in The Cooperative Builder, Mr. Gilbert expresses himself in part as follows:

"Never was the need greater than it is now for cooperators to demonstrate the superiority of cooperation over capitalism in meeting the needs of the times. The harvest is ripe; opportunity presents itself for united action on the part of cooperators to demonstrate the superiority of cooperation over capitalism in meeting the needs of the states; the means are at hand in the increasing efficiency of the Northern States Cooperative League to render service to its constituent societies. All that remains is for these societies to take advantage of the opportunity and become equal to the occasion of practical application of the principles they profess.

Mr. Gilbert has previously served as organizer, manager, editor and lecturer for Socialism, for Labor and for Cooperation.

The engagement of an assistant secretary is a decided step forward in the Northern states. As Mr. Gilbert writes, "the harvest is ripe." This is true everywhere; we need more and more cooperative harvest hands.

INDEX for Cooperation 1932 will be sent free to subscribers on request.

Read "The Builder"

In the North Central states, that is Minnesota, Wisconsin and upper Michigan, the cooperative movement is most active. Things are happening all the time. New oil associations are being formed. The stores served by the Central Cooperative Wholesale are on the growth. The farmers of these states are rapidly swinging over to the Rochdale banner. To keep posted on cooperative developments in that section, our readers would do well to subscribe to The Cooperative Builder. Superior, Wis., $1 per year.

The Builder is a bi-monthly newspaper, alive and packed with information. It covers the news of the Central States, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, as well. It has over 20,000 readers, and so it has to be good. We recommend it to eastern cooperators, and those on the Pacific Coast, especially, to give them a balanced view of the whole movement. Every cooperative society, no matter where located, should take at least one subscription to The Builder. Keep informed. It builds unity and brings about "national cooperation."

Cloquet Report

In the first six months of 1932, the Cloquet (Minn.) Cooperative Society had sales of $279,000 and a net trading income of $4,000. The corresponding figures for the preceding year were $237,000, and $7,600. This society, one of the largest in its district, has four stores, two of which have butcher shops, a filling station, a dry goods department, a feed department, and a coal department.

Goes to Kettle River

Theo. Heilala, formerly general manager of the Embarrass (Minn.) Cooperative Association, is now general manager of the Farmers Cooperative Mercantile Association in Kettle River, Minn.

Putting Co-op Month on the Calendar

This is the second year that October has been celebrated as Cooperative Month in various societies. It is customary of having every cooperative society during this month conduct a big push for more members, more trade and more understanding of cooperation. Time is fast running down for such a custom to "take hold." But reports received at the League office indicate that much more was done this year than last. Many societies held propaganda meetings and conducted special campaigns. For example, the Cooperative Trading Company and the Waukegan-North Chicago Cooperative Association joined in a campaign, a feature of which was a big joint mass meeting held on October 9, at which the chief speaker was C. Palmer, vice-president of the Central States League. In Superior, Wis., the Peoples Cooperative Society conducted a series of out-door meetings, with both speaking and music. Preceding the meetings, the Women's Guild of the Youth League made a house-to-house canvass, covering the town with leaflets. At Cromwell, Minn., there were displays of cooperative brand goods in connection with meetings both in English and in Finnish.

Some one has suggested that cooperatives should be offered at a special discount during Cooperative Month. Not a bad idea. The Editor welcomes all suggestions of how Cooperative Month campaigns might be improved next year.

Bloomington Attempts Again

Bloomington Cooperative Society, Ill., was forced to liquidate recently chiefly because it had been too liberal in trying to carry its unemployed members during the depression. But did the Bloomington cooperators give up? No, a new store on a strictly cash-and-carry basis has been started. The manager is T. P. Testa, an experienced cooperative manager, formerly at Taylor Store, and at Hillboro. Every cooperative will wish this new project success.

Profliteering Undertakers Fight Co-ops

The Northwestern Cooperative Burial Association has recently been formed by cooperative burial associations in southern Minnesota. There are fourteen of these societies in that section; one with a membership of nearly 1,000. They have cut the cost of funerals in half, the savings on individual funerals ranging from $100 to $1,000. The profit-making competitors have become alarmed at their growth, and, as part of their campaign to try to put them out of business, or at least stop their spread, have introduced a bill in the state legislature to transfer the licensing of embalmers to the embalmers' association.

All cooperators in Minnesota should help the associations in their fight against the bill at the next session of the legislature.

Joe to the Humanitarians

Joe Salerno came to talk to a shareholders meeting of Consumers Cooperative Services, Inc. The fiery working class preacher before the formidable humanitarians. He made a hit.

They invited him to come, to give them a vision of the cooperative commonwealth as he sees it. The fact of the matter is, they are a little bored with running cooperative cafeterias and making a success of them. Is this all there is to cooperation, they ask? There must be a better world over the horizon. Are we on the road to it?

Joe told them the story of the Workers Cooperative Union of Lawrence, the story of a gallant struggle against deficits, against ignorance, against capitalist opponents. He told them of the shareholder who bought $1000 to the society in its hour of greatest need and then mortgaged his house and brought another $1000 in the face of friends who told him that he would lose all. He told of the American Woolen Company spending $100,000 in 1926 to save a class of business. He pictured the cooperative as a bulwark of the workers
Lawrence in their struggle against capitalist oppression.

"To save 1 cent, 2 cents, on a loaf of bread—this is the ideal! But to build a better world, to emancipate the working class!"

Joe got a hand; and they meant it, then. Meeting to plan that there had been some time since the good people of C. C. S. have been stirred by such a vision of thorough-going cooperation. It ought not to be so long again.

Lecture Series at Sunnyside Ends

It rained cats-and-dogs the night of Nov. 9th, the last night of the lecture series on cooperation sponsored by Sunnyside society, Long Island City. But a fair number were out, nevertheless, to hear Leroy Bowman speak on cooperation and its relation to the progressive education movement. A sharp discussion ensued. The speakers for this series of five lectures, one a week during Cooperative Month, were supplied by the Cooperative League. We should have more such series.

Our Radio Program

Really good music is a feature of the Radio Program which is now going on the air every Saturday at 6:15 to 6:45 p.m. on station WEVD, New York (1370 m.). The Educational Committee of the Eastern States Cooperative League is running it. This is a "cooperative" program in more ways than one. The three cooperatives, the Amalgamated, C. C. S. and Cooperative Trading of Brooklyn, are taking turns in supplying the talent. Both instrumentalists and vocalists are contributing. The Amalgamated, C. C. S. is using a colored accordionist, while the cooperative Trading of Brooklyn, are taking turns in supplying the talent.

Getting Closer to the Farmer

During the national cooperative Congress recently held in New York, reference was more than once made to the desirability of a closer contact between consumer and producer cooperatives, particularly those of the farmer. This problem received considerable attention abroad. An international committee has been formed, with the consumers societies represented by the International Cooperative Alliance. The Administrative Council of the Swiss Cooperative Union has undertaken to reorganize its Agricultural Department in order to make the contact in that country closer.

New Era 35 Years Old

The New Era Life Association, Grand Rapids, Mich., is celebrating its 35th anniversary. As part of its celebration, it is conducting a campaign for new members, all employees and officers being asked to bring in at least one new applicant.

The number of retailers who are affiliated with voluntary chains has increased in the last two years from 60,000 to 83,000, a 40% increase. This is a form of cooperation for profit.
Cooperation in Sweden

By Baron Johan Liljencrants
Editor, The Swedish-American Trade Journal

The cooperative movement in Sweden, centralized in the Kooperativa Förbundet, continued in 1931 the steady growth by which it has been characterized ever since its inception in 1906. The annual report for 1931 of the Kooperativa Förbundet shows a considerable increase in the total membership of the affiliated consumers’ associations as well as in the commercial and other activities of the central organization and its affiliates.

The total membership of the consumers’ associations, which in 1908 was less than 75,000, grew from 450,908 in 1930 to 481,319 in 1931, an increase of 6.79 per cent, and the total turnover of the central organization and affiliates, from 487.4 million kronor in 1930 to 497.9 million kronor in 1931, an increase of 10.58 million kronor. In 1931, the capital was increased from 109 to 123 million kronor, in addition to which the insurance affiliates had funds amounting to 58.7 million kronor.

Last year’s operations yielded a net turnover of 3.265 metric tons of bread. The item of 3,265 metric tons of bread. The sales of the Kooperativa Förbundet amounted to 6,626,910 kronor, an increase of 4.1 per cent over 1930. Retail shoe sales from twenty-two stores owned by the Kooperativa Förbundet reached a value of 3,558,849 kronor. The total sales from the rubber factory—the Svenska Gummifabriks AB, at Gislaved—amounted to 8,424,577 kronor compared with 7,376,918 kronor in 1930. Among the main products were 1,690,000 pairs of rubber shoes and 46,555 automobile tires.

The chemico-technical factory records sales of over two million packages of chemico-technical articles, and over six million packages of tea and spices were wrapped by the factory and delivered to the colonial department of the Kooperativa Förbundet. The output of incandescent lamps is not recorded, but the year’s operations in that line left a net profit of 94,931 kronor. Among other manufacturers of the remaining enterprises is noted an item of 3,265 metric tons of bread. The total sales from the productive enterprises of the Kooperativa Förbundet amounted to 66,1 million kronor in 1931 compared with 67.0 million kronor in 1930. It should be noted, however, in this connection that the slight decline in prices indicated arose from the fall in prices which took place in 1931, and that the sales quantity actually was larger in 1931 than in 1930.

Kooperativa Förbundet has also been engaged during the year in preliminary work for beginning manufacture of cellophane, scales, slicing and cutting machines, coffee-mills, and cash registers. Heretofore, the Swedish demand for these articles has been filled largely by importation.

The sales of the Kooperativa Förbundet to its affiliates had a value of 148,036,425 kronor in 1931 compared with 143,617,591 kronor in 1930. The banking department of the Kooperativa Förbundet at the end of 1931 showed savings deposits by 106,369 depositors amounting to 44,291,978 kronor, other deposits, 1,043,093 kronor, and 1,805 capital accounts amounting to an aggregate of 22,674,059 kronor. The assets and liabilities of its insurance affiliates balanced at about 66 million kronor.

Among other activities of the Kooperativa Förbundet may be mentioned its publishing department which during the year, besides pamphlets, has published six new books and five new editions of older works, all on economic subjects. A news department issues a newspaper which in 1931 reached a circulation of 306,545 copies, and a periodical, “Kooperatören”, with a circulation of 5,350 copies.
My Point of View
By J. P. Warbasse

Why Cooperation?
These are the days of disillusionment and cynicism. People are losing hope and faith in everything. A statement has been offered to the effect that human beings have not the intelligence to organize effectively to protect their own interests; that no sort of organization lasts long; that the individual does best and improves his quality best when he goes his own way and works out his problems without the restraints of organization; that education for cooperation is ineffective and does not much influence others; and that it is more profitable to give one’s time to art or science, the accomplishments of which are lasting.

I take occasion to answer this statement as follows:
People are capable of uniting to protect their own interests, as exemplified in the cooperative movement. Unless they so unite, they are singly and individually at the mercy of vicious, united forces which will continuously exploit them to the point of extermination or degradation. The cooperative movement in every country shows people effectively uniting, working together in the spirit of mutual aid, and thus improving the physical and mental quality of individuals.

This is a social world. Everything we enjoy is largely the product of combined efforts of others. Not to participate in these combined efforts but to move toward asceticism and self-exclusiveness, fails to yield the best potential of the individual and the best satisfactions in life; and in the last analysis is essentially unfair.

The influence of one individual upon others is an obvious current phenomenon and one part of what all society. Behind it is the expert from whom others learn. It lies at the foundation of education. The literature and schools of the world are but a small part of its expression.

To find satisfaction in the arts would be impossible without the factor of influence which one individual exerts upon another. The artist is taught his art by some master, once superior to him. He is utterly influenced by the creations of others. And not a single great artistic creation is the work of any individual, be he ascetic or sociable. All are the product of a long line of artists, each one of whom has influenced the other. The same is true in science. No individual alone, without the influence of others, is capable of much of anything. Few would even be able to keep themselves alive.

The cooperative movement is the one force acting by society in operation, external to the political State, that is moving toward the elimination or the supplanting of the capitalistic profit system by an economic system based on social service. This is not a theory but a fact to be seen in at least forty-two countries, and developing in all of the rest. For the creation of better individuals, no more effective force can be discovered in action, because the domination of society by the capitalistic system is depressing the quality of individuals; and there can be little hope for the perfection of the individual until released from the incubus of capitalistic methods which spares neither art, science nor people.

Cooperation and Socialism
(Continued from page 228)

Outlines Agricultural Credit System


Dr. Boyazoglu, a Greek rural economist, outlines a complete and satisfying product. Let us then not try to assign all the work to any one system, but with our mind’s eye continuously envisaging the desired result, divide the work among the various units, letting each accomplish for the liberation of the human spirit that part of the task for which it is best fitted.
Cooperation


The purpose of the book is to show the churchmen that cooperation holds great promise as a method of meeting the needs of teachers. Contains much data, tables, charts, etc., required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 311, Postal Laws and Regulations, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.


Cooperation

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of COOPERATION, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1932, State of New York.

1. That the names and addresses of the known bondholders, mortgagees, or other security holders are: N. Perkins, 112 West 12 St., N. Y. C.

2. That the officers, directors, managing editors, owners, publishers, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, or other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

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I, J. N. Perkins, who at present own them?

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